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DISCOVERY OF THE GIGANTIC HEAD.

p. 73. vol. I.

NINEVEH

AND

ITS REMAINS:

WITH AN ACCOUNT OF A VISIT TO THE CHALDÆAN CHRISTIANS OF KURDISTAN, AND THE YEZIDIS, OR DEVIL-WORSHIPPERS; AND AN INQUIRY INTO THE MANNERS AND ARTS OF THE ANCIENT ASSYRIANS

BY AUSTEN HENRY LAYARD, ESQ., D.C.L.

"She saw men pourtrayed upon the wall, the images of the Chaldeans pourtrayed with vermilion,

"Girded with girdles upon their loins, exceeding in dyed attire upon their heads, all of them princes to look to, after the manner of the Babylonians of Chaldea, the land of their nativity." EZEKIEL, xxiii. 14, 15.

NEW EDITION, WITHOUT ABRIDGMENT.

TWO VOLUMES COMPLETE IN ONE.

NEW-YORK:

GEORGE P. PUTNAM, 155 BROADWAY.

1852.

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE,

BY

EDWARD ROBINSON, D. D., LL. D.,
AUTHOR OF "BIBLICAL RESEARCHES IN PALESTINE," ETC.

To G. P. PUTNAM, ESQ.—

My Dear Sir:—You request my opinion of Mr. LAYARD'S volumes, entitled "NINEVEH AND ITS REMAINS," which you are about to introduce to the American public. I concur entirely with you in regarding this as a work of very high interest and importance; and as destined to mark an epoch in the wonderful progress of knowledge at the present day.

In this general progress the nineteenth century stands pre-eminent. In physical science, the brilliant discoveries of Davy and others have changed the whole face of chemistry. The steam-engine, though in a measure earlier perfected, has first in our day been applied with its mighty energies to navigation, to locomotion on land, and (not least) to the printing-press. The flitting sunbeam has been grasped, and made to do man's bidding in place of the painter's pencil. And although Franklin tamed the lightning, yet not until yesterday has its instantaneous flash been made the vehicle of language; thus, in the transmission of thought, annihilating space and time. The last forty years likewise bear witness to the exploration of many lands of ancient renown; and our present exact and full acquaintance with the regions and monuments of Greece and Egypt, of Asia Minor and the Holy Land, is the result of the awakened activity, coupled with the enlarged facilities, of the nine-

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teenth century.—In all these discoveries and observations, it is not too much to say, that our country has borne at least her proportionate part.

There is another aspect. For very many centuries the hoary monuments of Egypt—its temples, its obelisks, its tombs—have presented to the eye of the beholder strange forms of sculpture and of language; the import of which none could tell. The wild valleys of Sinai, too, exhibited upon their rocky sides the unknown writing of a former people; whose name and existence none could trace. Among the ruined halls and palaces of Persepolis, and on the rock-hewn tablets of the surrounding regions, long inscriptions in forgotten characters seemed to enroll the deeds and conquests of mighty sovereigns; but none could read the record. Thanks to the skill and persevering zeal of scholars of the nineteenth century, the keys of these locked up treasures have been found; and the records have mostly been read. The monuments of Egypt, her paintings and her hieroglyphics, mute for so many ages, have at length spoken out; and now our knowledge of this ancient people is scarcely less accurate and extensive than our acquaintance with the classic lands of Greece and Rome. The unknown characters upon the rocks of Sinai have been deciphered; but the meagre contents leave us still in darkness as to their origin and purpose. The cuneiform or arrow-headed inscriptions of the Persian monuments and tablets have yielded up their mysteries, unfolding historical data of high importance; thus illustrating and confirming the few and sometimes isolated facts preserved to us in the Scriptures and other ancient writings.—Of all the works, in which the progress and results of these discoveries have been made known, not one has been reproduced or made generally accessible in this country. The scholar who would become acquainted with them and make them his own, must still have recourse to the old world.

The work of Mr. Layard brings before us still another step of progress. Here we have to do, not with hoary ruins that have borne the brunt of centuries in the presence of the world, but with a resurrection of the monuments themselves. It is the disentombing of temple-palaces from the sepulchre of ages; the recovery of the metropolis of a powerful nation from the long night of oblivion.

Nineveh, the great city "of three days' journey," that was "laid waste and there was none to bemoan her," whose greatness sank when that of Rome had just begun to rise, now stands forth again to testify to her own splendor, and to the civilization and power and magnificence of the Assyrian Empire. This may be said, thus far, to be the crowning historical discovery of the nineteenth century. But the century as yet is only half elapsed.

Nineveh was destroyed in the year 606 before Christ; less than 150 years after Rome was founded. Her latest monuments, therefore, date back not less than five-and-twenty centuries; while the foundation of her earliest is lost in an unknown antiquity. When the ten thousand Greeks marched over this plain in their celebrated retreat (400 B. C.) they found in one part a ruined city called Larissa; and in connection with it, Xenophon, their leader and historian, describes what is now the pyramid of Nimroud. But he heard not the name of Nineveh; it was already forgotten on its site; though it appears again in the later Greek and Roman writers. Even at that time the widely extended walls and ramparts of Nineveh had perished; and mounds, covering magnificent palaces, alone remained at the extremities of the ancient city, or in its vicinity, much as at the present day.

Of the site of Nineveh there is scarcely a further mention, beyond the brief notices of Benjamin of Tudela and Abulfeda, until Niebuhr saw it and described its mounds nearly a century ago. In 1820 Mr. Rich visited the spot; he obtained a few square sun-dried bricks with inscriptions, and some other slight remains; and we can all remember the profound impression made upon the public mind, even by these cursory memorials of Nineveh and Babylon.

We first hear of Mr. Layard in 1840; when, after having in the preceding year travelled with a single companion through all Syria, we find him in company with Mr. Ainsworth visiting the mounds of Kalah Shergat, and the ruins of el-Hather, the ancient Hatra in the desert. As he afterwards floated down the Tigris from Mosul to Baghdad; and passed, some sixteen miles below Mosul, the great mound of Nimroud, the most important of all; he formed the purpose of exploring at some future time these singular remains; and he subsequently called the attention of M. Botta, the French

Consul at Mosul, to this particular spot. Meantime the latter began, in 1843, to excavate the mound of Kouyunjik, opposite Mosul; but soon transferred his labors to Khorsabad, a mound and village twelve miles northeast of Mosul, at the foot of the Kurdish mountains. Here M. Botta's efforts were crowned with success; and Mr. Layard gracefully acknowledges, that "to him is due the honor of having found the first Assyrian monument." His excavations were continued through 1844; and the results have been given to the world in a magnificent series of engravings, published at the expense of the French government. But most important as are these memorials, they are nevertheless surpassed in extent and antiquity by those found by Mr. Layard in the larger and more ancient edifices exhumed at Nimroud.

The volumes of Mr. Layard contain an account of the labors carried on by him at Nimroud from November, 1845, until April, 1847; and also of the less extensive excavations made at Kalah Sherghat and Kouyunjik. It has been truly said, that the narrative is like a romance. In its incidents and descriptions it does indeed remind one continually of an Arabian tale of wonders and genii. The style is simple and direct, without ornament and without effort; yet lively, vigorous, and graphic. Many difficulties did he have to encounter with Pashas and Sheikhs, Cadis and Ulemas, with Arabs of the plain and Chaldeans of the mountains, in moulding them for the accomplishment of his great purpose. These are often amusing, and are described with effect. In this way the work presents us with a better insight into oriental character and manners and customs, than is often to be found in volumes expressly devoted to these topics. The energy, skill, and perseverance every where displayed by Mr. Layard, as also his singular tact and judgment in the management of the Arabs, are worthy of all praise. This is probably the first instance, in which so many of this wild and excitable race, these sons of the desert, have been for so long a time brought under the influence of a single Frank, and led to follow regular and protracted labor.

In the latter portion of the second volume Mr. Layard gives a summary view of the results of his investigations, and of their bearing upon the history of the Assyrians. The monuments are

yet too few to furnish full illustration ; but they make us in many respects better acquainted with that powerful people, than all the accounts we have heretofore possessed. We may hope that Mr. Layard will yet be spared to prosecute like researches throughout the Assyrian and Mesopotamian plains, teeming as they do with similar mounds ; and that the time will come, when all the monuments of those regions shall be laid open and deciphered.

Besides the specimens of beautiful glass, and the pulley, found at Nimroud, an unexpected discovery is that of the *arch*. The importance of this rests, not so much perhaps in the mere circumstance of a single small vaulted chamber, as in the fact brought out by Mr. Layard, that "arched gateways are continually represented in the bas-reliefs." It follows that the arch was well known before the Jewish exile, and at least seven or eight centuries before the time of Herod. Diodorus Siculus also relates, that the tunnel from the Euphrates at Babylon, ascribed to Semiramis, was vaulted. (Hist. ii. 9.) All this serves to remove the difficulty, still felt by some, in respect to the antiquity of the vaults yet existing under the site of the temple at Jerusalem.

During the progress of the excavations, Mr. Layard made various excursions into the adjacent regions. On the west of the Tigris he visited el-Hather with a large party from Mosul ; and at another time the mountain of Sinjar, a seat of the Yezidis, in company with the Pasha and his military retinue. The accounts of both these journeys are full of incident, comprising alike the foray and treachery of the nomadic Bedouin, and the deadly fray and pillage of the Turk. On the east of the Tigris, in the border of the Kurdish mountains, he paid a visit to the chief of the Yezidis, and was present at the yearly festival in honor of their great saint. On another occasion he extended his journey into the mountains among the Nestorians ; travelled through the district of the Tiyari, still lying desolate after the recent massacre, and passed into that of Tkhoma just before it was in like manner destroyed. Here, too, the narrative is exceedingly interesting ; though there is less of new information. The chapter on the history and doctrines of the Nestorian Christians is hardly in its place.

Such being the general character of Mr Layard's volumes, I

cannot but rejoice that they are to be made accessible to our reading public; nor can I doubt that every reader will feel himself rewarded and profited by the perusal.

Permit me to add a few words relating to the Nestorian Christians, with whom Mr. Layard came in contact, as above mentioned.

Mr. Layard gives usually to this whole people the name of *Chaldeans*. In so doing I cannot help thinking that he goes further than the historical facts warrant. As a Christian people, there is little and perhaps no evidence, that they bore this appellation before the submission of a portion of them in modern times to Papal authority. Assemani is the first writer who speaks of them generally as Chaldeans or Assyrians; but in so doing he is not borne out by his own authorities. If some of their patriarchs, as Mr. Layard affirms, did at an earlier period style themselves "Patriarch of the Chaldeans," it was but an empty form; just as the Romish bishop at Baghdad still proclaims himself "Bishop of Babylon." The name of the Chaldeans, as a nation, was extinct long before the Christian era. Neither Josephus, nor Strabo, nor Pliny has it, except as they speak of earlier ages. The kingdom of the Seleucidæ, the successors of Alexander, was a *Syrian* kingdom. The Christian Church established in those regions was the great *Syrian* Church; and so continued, until in the fifth century it was divided into the two branches of Jacobites and Nestorians. The name *Chaldeans* belongs as properly to one of these branches as to the other; but strictly to neither.

While in the country of the Nestorians, Mr. Layard is naturally led to speak of the American Missionaries among that people. His mention of them is kind and respectful, and in itself unexceptionable. Of the missionaries in the mountains, he says: "They were most zealous and worthy men. . . . I never heard their names mentioned by the Tiyari, and most particularly that of Dr. Grant, without expressions of profound respect, amounting almost to veneration." I would not refer to the subject here, had not the Quarterly Review, in its recent article on Mr. Layard's book, gone out of its way to assert in this connection "that this American Mission was in some degree connected with the fatal end of these happy communities." (Quart. Rev. Dec. 1848, p. 122.) The idea here conveyed is,

that the mission was in some degree *the occasion* of that destruction. This is a calumny for which there never was the slightest foundation; it is disproved by all the facts; it was refuted on the spot by Dr. Grant himself; and is now offensively revived, years after the death of the devoted missionary most affected by it.

The circumstances of the Kurdish invasion, with which Mr. Layard seems not to have been fully acquainted, are given in detail by Dr. Grant, in letters published in the Missionary Herald for Nov. 1843, and Feb. and March, 1844. The first irruption of the Kurds, with fire and sword, into the country of the Tiyari, took place early in July, 1843. Only three weeks before, Dr. Grant, by special invitation, had visited the two Kurdish leaders, Beder Khan Bey and Nurullah Bey, and had spent ten days at their encampment. The invasion was then in open preparation; and Dr. Grant learned that Beder Khan had spoken of his building in Ashita, and had said that he would drive him from the mountains. "To me, however," he continues, "his deportment was apparently very friendly; and he repeatedly told me, that in case of his intended invasion of Tiyari our house and property should remain entirely safe; he also added, that any Nestorians who might take shelter with me should be unmolested." After his return to Ashita, Dr. Grant had barely time to remove the effects of the mission to Mosul, when the storm broke over the mountains. But the Kurdish leader kept his promise; and Ashita and its valley, comprising four large villages, were spared in the general destruction and massacre. An exorbitant tribute was laid upon them, and a Kurdish governor was stationed in the mission-house. But it was not until the following October, three months later, and after the high-spirited Nestorians rose upon the new governor, killed some of his attendants, shut him up in his castle, and were on the point of capturing him and his party, that Beder Khan Bey again appeared and completed the tragedy. Dr. Grant justly remarks: "This [temporary] preservation of Ashita and its valley is attributed, by the Nestorian patriarch, to our mission-house, and the regard of the Kurds for ourselves. This much is quite evident, that had our building been an occasion of the invasion, the villages that were spared would have been the first to fall. But they were spared

quite long enough to disprove, if such evidence were wanting, this absurd calumny." (Miss. Herald, March, 1844, p. 82)

These scenes of massacre and desolation were, without much doubt, the result of a deliberate plan on the part of the Turkish government. "There is positive evidence that the Kurds were acting by orders of the Turkish authorities in the first invasion." Their purpose was, first, by means of the Kurds to subdue the independent Nestorians, in order that afterwards they might the more easily crush the Kurds, and thus extend the Turkish authority over the whole country. Their plan has been successful. The Nestorians are utterly subjugated. As to the fate of the Kurds, Mr. Layard relates the overthrow of Beder Khan Bey, and his banishment to the Island of Candia in 1846 ; and the latest intelligence from those regions informs us that, at the close of 1848, the Turkish government were collecting forces in order to seize Nurullah Bey and permanently remove him from the mountains.

In conclusion, I merely add, what is generally known, that certain influences are understood to have been at work in Mosul, tending not only to magnify the historical character and lineage of the Chaldeans so called, but also to counteract the efforts of the American Missionaries in the mountains. It is not impossible that even Mr. Layard may have been affected by some of these, without being aware of their existence.

Ever truly yours,

E. Robinson.

Union Theological Seminary,
New-York, March, 1849.

PREFACE

It is with considerable diffidence that I venture to submit the following narrative to the reader. The opinions of friends, and a desire on my part to communicate the little information that opportunities may have enabled me to acquire, with regard to a country and city so little known as Assyria and Nineveh, have alone induced me to undertake a work of this nature under the united disadvantages of incapacity, literary inexperience, ill-health, and a very short residence in England. When I add that I have, at the same time, been engaged in preparing for the press an illustrated work on the Monuments of Nineveh, and in superintending the publication, for the Trustees of the British Museum, of the Cuneiform inscriptions brought by me from Assyria, occupations which have demanded considerable time and care, I may perhaps appeal with more confidence to the kind indulgence of my readers, and particularly of those who are far more competent than myself to enter into the inquiries I have ventured to add to my personal narrative.

A general dissertation, such as that contained in the second volume, requires a very extensive acquaintance with those

ancient and modern authors who have written or casually touched upon similar subjects. The necessity of a residence in the country, and the consequent absence of books, have prevented me from consulting many works which might have afforded valuable information, and have rendered difficult the verification of quotations obtained, in many instances, during hurried visits to London.

With more time and opportunities at my command, this dissertation might have been rendered more entertaining and useful. I should not have added it to the narrative, had I not felt that there were many observations which could only have occurred to one engaged, like myself, in a very close examination of the ruins of Assyria, and which, right or wrong, should be recorded, if recorded at all, whilst still fresh in my memory. I may perhaps venture to hope that, although these general remarks may be of little value, they will at least afford some assistance to others who may engage in similar inquiries.

Being anxious to avoid entering upon debatable subjects, it was originally my intention to state merely the results of my researches; but, as I proceeded with my work, I found it necessary to touch upon topics connected with Assyrian history and chronology. This was almost indispensable, in order to give the reader an idea of the extent of the discoveries and of the arguments they furnish. The opinions, however, which I have ventured to offer must be considered rather in the light of suggestions. Many things that have appeared to me to be facts may require further proof before they can be generally admitted. An examination of the ruins of Assyria still unexplored, and a fuller acquaintance with the monuments and inscriptions already discovered, are required to enable us to arrive at satisfactory results in an inquiry such as I have en-

tered into. Still it appears to me that we have already sufficient data to warrant the attempt. These words of caution are necessary, and I trust the reader will acquit me of any wish to mislead him, or to make more of my subject than it deserves.

With regard to my personal narrative, I may owe an apology to the reader for introducing subjects not included in the title of my work, for adding narratives of my visits to the Tiyari and Yezidis, and a dissertation upon the Chaldæans of Kurdistan. I have thought that it might not be uninteresting to give such slight sketches of manners and customs, as would convey a knowledge of the condition and history of the present inhabitants of the country, particularly of those who, there is good reason to presume, are descendants of the ancient Assyrians. They are, indeed, as much the remains of Nineveh, and Assyria, as are the rude heaps and ruined palaces. A comparison between the dwellers in the land as they now are, and as the monuments of their ancestors lead us to believe they once were, will not perhaps be without useful results. It may give rise to serious reflection, and may even prove an instructive lesson.

With regard to the style of my narrative, I must prepare the reader for such inaccuracies and defects as arise from haste and inexperience. I have preferred sketches conveying a general idea of my operations and adventures to mere dry details, and a continuous relation of incidents which might have led me into frequent repetitions.

In spelling Eastern names I have followed no uniform system—having endeavored to write them in the best way I could, to convey the mode of their pronunciation by the people of the country. This, I am aware, is contrary to the plan

now generally adopted; but I have not had time to reduce the oriental words, in various languages, to one standard.

I have introduced into these volumes as many illustrations of the sculptures and monuments as I conveniently could. More careful and elaborate engravings of the bas-reliefs, and objects discovered will be published separately in a larger work on the Monuments of Nineveh, which may, therefore, be considered illustrative of these volumes.

It is a pleasing duty to acknowledge kindness and assistance in such labors as these, and it is with gratitude that I admit the great obligation under which I am to Mr. Birch of the British Museum, for much valuable information and many important suggestions, the source of which, when used, I have not always acknowledged. To Mr. Hawkins and the other officers of the British Museum, whom I have had occasion to consult, I also have to express my thanks for uniform kindness and courtesy. From Mr. George Scharf, jun., I have received great assistance. The plates and woodcuts have been chiefly executed, from my sketches, by him, or under his superintendence; and the reader will no doubt perceive how much my work is indebted to him. To others I would express my grateful obligations; although I am restricted from making any other allusion to the aid I have received from them.

To the Chairman and Honorable Court of Directors of the East India Company, through whose enlightened munificence I am mainly enabled to publish my drawings of the bas-reliefs discovered at Nineveh, I must take this opportunity of expressing that gratitude which many, who have been engaged in similar undertakings, have had reason to feel as strongly as myself. In recording a liberality, unfortunately so rare, I become an additional witness to the noble support they have ever rendered to literature and science.

It is to be regretted that proper steps have not been taken for the transport to England of the sculptures discovered at Nineveh. Those which have already reached this country, and it is to be feared, those which are now on their way, have consequently suffered unnecessary injury. The great winged bull and lion, which, I had hoped, would have speedily formed an important portion of the national collection, are still lying at Busrah ; and there is little prospect, at present, of their being brought to this country. Surely British ingenuity and resources cannot, as is pretended, be unable to remove objects which have already with very inadequate means, been transported nearly a thousand miles. The cases containing the small objects, recently deposited in the British Museum, were not only opened without authority at Bombay, but their contents exhibited, without proper precautions, to the public. It is remarkable that several of the most valuable (indeed *the* most valuable) specimens are missing ; and the whole collection was so carelessly repacked that it has sustained very material injury. Were these Assyrian relics, however valuable, such as could be again obtained, either by ingenuity or labor, their loss might not perhaps be so seriously lamented ; but if once destroyed they can never be restored ; and it must be remembered that they are almost the only remains of a great city and of a great nation.

Cheltenham,
October 1848.

INTRODUCTION.

Before submitting the following narrative of my labors in Assyria to the reader, it may not be uninteresting to give a slight sketch of what had been done in the field of Assyrian antiquities, previous to the recent discoveries on the site of Nineveh.

The history of Assyria had been written by Herodotus and Ctesias. Unfortunately, the work of the former, who was so scrupulous in recording facts and traditions, has been entirely lost. Not a fragment of it has been preserved by those who, it may be presumed, might have made use of it, and who quote largely from him on similar subjects. This fact has led modern critics to doubt whether Herodotus did really write an Assyrian history, although Aristotle mentions having seen it,* or whether he merely alludes to a projected undertaking. Did such a work exist, there is little doubt that we should possess a very complete history of Assyria, as Herodotus considered the subject of sufficient interest and importance to demand a separate treatise. This design of writing a distinct account of the Assyrians has unfortunately led him to omit all mention of that nation in his great work; we might otherwise have

* Hist. Anim. l. vii. c. 18.

derived much information from casual notices, similar to those which he has introduced respecting the Egyptians and other remarkable nations of antiquity. Almost the only allusion he makes to an event in Assyrian history—the sudden spread of the Assyrian power over Asia—apparently involves an assertion in direct contradiction to all that we find elsewhere recorded of the antiquity and origin of the Assyrian empire.

Of the history of Ctesias only a few fragments have been preserved, chiefly in the works of Diodorus Siculus and Photius. He was a native of Cnidus, who, either as a prisoner or a traveller, found himself at the Persian capital. Being skilled in medicine, he was taken into favor by the king, and remained seventeen years at his court, where he was treated with great distinction. During his residence in Persia he was able to consult the public archives, and he compiled from them a history of the Persians, and of their predecessors in the empire of Asia.* He also wrote an account of India and its productions; the absurd exaggerations and fables which it contains have caused all his other works to be viewed with suspicion. He is likewise accused of being led, by extreme jealousy of Herodotus, into direct mis-statements, that he may contradict that historian. Aristotle, more than once declares him to be unworthy of credit;† and modern critics have generally agreed to reject altogether, or to receive with great reserve, all his assertions. Yet Diodorus Siculus, and several ancient authors, appear to have followed and trusted him; and it may be observed, that whilst mere travellers' tales and vulgar traditions were probably the only sources of his Indian marvels, written records and monuments may have furnished him with well-authenticated historical facts, to assist him in compiling the history of the country in which he resided, and of which he had a personal knowledge. Unfortunately, of his history very little remains, except the names of kings. Much relating to

* Diod. Sicul. l. xi.

† De Generat. Animal. . ii. c. 2., and Hist. Anim. . viii. c. 18.

Assyria contained in the works of others was, however, undoubtedly copied from him.

Of later writers who have touched upon Assyrian history, Diodorus Siculus, a mere compiler, is the principal. Eusebius, and the Armenian historians, such as Moses of Chorene, have preserved a few valuable details and hints; they also obtained their information from elsewhere, but in some instances from original sources not altogether devoid of authenticity. Many other authors could be cited, who have casually in their works alluded to events in Assyrian history, or have introduced brief notices concerning the Assyrian empire; but any particular account of them, or an analysis of the information they afford, would only weary the reader.* It is remarkable, that none of the authors alluded to, do more than mention by name any of the Assyrian kings, with the exception of the three great monarchs, Ninus, Semiramis, and Sardanapalus, whom traditions have made celebrated, and whose deeds, like those of all prominent characters in an epoch before sober history commenced, have been invested with superhuman features, or have been mixed up with fables. Yet above thirty generations elapsed between Ninus and Sardanapalus, during which a whole line of kings occupied the Assyrian throne, and maintained the power of the empire. Their names have been handed down to us in genealogical series by Eusebius, the Syncellus, and others;† but the lists themselves are more than doubtful, and are generally believed to furnish sufficient evidence against their own authenticity.

With regard to Ninus and Semiramis, I need only here mention, that, like all heroes of primitive history and early tradition, their names appear to have become conventional—all great deeds and national events being assigned to them. Originally historic characters, they have been to some extent

* I may mention Berosus, Abydenus, Strabo, Nicolaus of Damascus, Castor, Polyhistor, Justin, Suidas, and the Syncellus.

† Abydenus gives a list of kings differing from those of Eusebius and the Syncellus.

invested with divine attributes, and have been mixed up with the theology of the race of which they were the first monarchs. This leads to a well-known result—the hero-worship of ancient nations. Still, in admitting this fact, we must guard against rejecting traditions, simply because they are connected with these names. Many have a foundation, and were probably derived from events which actually took place. It is the province of the critical inquirer to separate the mythic, from that which comes within the legitimate bounds of history; to trace the origin of fables, and to draw rational conclusions from them.

The Assyrians are not particularly alluded to in Holy Writ, until the period when their warlike expeditions to the west of the Euphrates, brought them into contact with the Jews. The first king whose name is recorded was Pul, who reigned between eight and nine hundred years before the Christian era; and about two hundred previous to the fall of the empire; consequently he must have been nearly the last of a long succession of kings who, it is generally admitted, had ruled over the greater part of Asia. The later monarchs are more frequently mentioned in the Bible; as their conquests over the Jews, whom they led captive into Assyria, brings them continually under notice. But except when they particularly concern the Jewish people, very little is related of the deeds of even these monarchs.

Of modern historians who have attempted to reconcile the discrepancies of Assyrian chronology, and to restore to some extent, from the fragments to which I have alluded, a history of the Assyrian empire, I scarcely know whom to point out. From such contradictory materials, it is not surprising that each writer should have formed a system of his own; and we may, without incurring the charge of skepticism, treat all their efforts as little better than ingenious speculations. In the date alone to be assigned to the commencement of the Assyrian empire, they differ nearly a thousand years; and even when they treat of events which approach the epoch of au-

thentic history,—such as the death of Sardanapalus, the invasion of the Medes, and the fall of the empire—there is nearly the same comparative discrepancy. The Bactrian and Indian expeditions of Ninus, the wonderful works of Semiramis, and the effeminacy of Sardanapalus, have been described over and over again, and form the standard ingredients of the Assyrian history of modern authors. The narratives framed upon them convey useful lessons, and are, moreover, full of romantic events to excite the imagination. As such they have been repeated, with a warning that their authenticity rests upon a slender basis, and that it is doubtful whether they are to be regarded as history, or to be classed amongst fables. Although the names of Nineveh and Assyria have been familiar to us from childhood, and are connected with our earliest impressions derived from the Inspired Writings, it is only when we ask ourselves what we really know concerning them, that we discover our ignorance of all that relates to their history, and even to their geographical position.

It is indeed one of the most remarkable facts in history, that the records of an empire, so renowned for its power and civilization, should have been entirely lost; and that the site of a city as eminent for its extent as its splendor, should for ages have been a matter of doubt; it is not perhaps less curious that an accidental discovery should suddenly lead us to hope that these records may be recovered, and this site satisfactorily identified.

The ruins in Assyria and Babylonia, chiefly huge mounds, apparently of mere earth and rubbish, had long excited curiosity from their size and evident antiquity. They were, at the same time, the only remains of an unknown period,—of a period antecedent to the Macedonian conquest. Consequently they alone could be identified with Nineveh and Babylon, and could afford a clue to the site and nature of those cities. There is, at the same time, a vague mystery attaching to remains like these, which induces travellers to examine them with more than ordinary interest, and even with some degree of awe. A

great vitrified mass of brick-work, surrounded by the accumulated rubbish of ages, was believed to represent the identical tower, which called down the divine vengeance, and was overthrown, according to an universal tradition, by the fires of heaven. The mystery and dread, which attached to the place, were kept up by exaggerated accounts of wild beasts, who haunted the subterraneous passages, and of the no less savage tribes who wandered amongst the ruins. Other mounds in the vicinity were identified with the hanging gardens, and those marvellous structures which tradition has attributed to two queens, Semiramis and Nitocris. The difficulty of reaching the site of these remains, increased the curiosity and interest with which they were regarded; and a fragment from Babylon was esteemed a precious relic, not altogether devoid of a sacred character. The ruins which might be presumed to occupy the site of the Assyrian capital, were even less known, and less visited, than those in Babylonia. Several travellers had noticed the great mounds of earth opposite the modern city of Mosul, and when the inhabitants of the neighborhood pointed out the tomb of Jonah upon the summit of one of them, it was, of course, natural to conclude, at once, that it marked the site of the great Nineveh.* Macdonald Kinneir, no mean antiquarian and geographer, who examined these mounds, was inclined to believe that they marked the site of a Roman camp of the time of Hadrian; and yet a very superficial knowledge of the ruins of Babylonia would have shown at once that they were of a very different period.

The first to engage in a serious examination of the ruins within the limits of ancient Assyria was Mr. Rich, many years

* It need scarcely be observed, that the tradition placing the tomb of Jonah amongst the ruins opposite Mosul, is not authenticated by any passage in the Scriptures. It is now received by Christians and Mussulmans, and probably originated in the spot having been once occupied by a Christian church or convent, dedicated to the prophet. The building, which is supposed to cover the tomb, is very much venerated, and only Mohammedans are allowed to enter it. The Jews, in the time of St. Jerome, pointed out the sepulchre of Jonah at Gath-hepher, in the tribe of Zabulon.

the political Resident of the East India Company at Baghdad, —a man, whom enterprise, industry, extensive and varied learning, and rare influence over the inhabitants of the country, acquired as much by character as position, eminently qualified for such a task. The remains near Hillah, being in the immediate vicinity of Baghdad, first attracted his attention; and he commenced his labors by carefully examining the nature and extent of the site they occupied, and by opening trenches into the various mounds. The results of his examination and researches, with an able dissertation on the topography of ancient Babylon, and the position of its principal buildings, appeared at Vienna, in an oriental literary journal called the "Mines de l'Orient." This memoir was translated and published in England, and was followed by a second memoir, called forth by some remarks in the "Archæologia," by Major Rennell. The two have recently been republished in a work containing a narrative of a journey to Babylon, edited by his widow.

I need not trouble the reader with a detailed account of Mr. Rich's discoveries amongst the ruins of Babylon. They were of considerable interest, though, of course, in results far behind what accident has recently furnished. They consisted chiefly of fragments of inscriptions, bricks, engraved stones, and a coffin of wood; but the careful account which he drew up of the site of the ruins was of greater value, and has formed the groundwork of all subsequent inquiries into the topography of Babylon.

In the year 1820 Mr. Rich, having been induced to visit Kurdistan for the benefit of his health, returned to Baghdad by way of Mosul. Remaining some days in this city, his curiosity was naturally excited by the great mounds on the opposite bank of the river, and he entered upon an examination of them. He learned from the inhabitants of Mosul that, some time previous to his visit, a sculpture, representing various forms of men and animals, had been dug up in a mound forming part of the great inclosure. This strange object had been the cause

of general wonder, and the whole population had issued from the walls to gaze upon it. The ulema having at length pronounced that these figures were the idols of the infidels, the Mohammedans, like obedient disciples, so completely destroyed them, that Mr. Rich was unable to obtain even a fragment.

His first step was to visit the village containing the tomb of Jonah, built upon the summit of one of the principal mounds. In the houses he met with a few stones bearing inscriptions, which had probably been discovered in digging the foundations; and under the mosque containing the tomb he was shown three very narrow and apparently ancient passages, one within the other, with several doors or apertures.

He next examined the largest mound of the group, called Kouyunjik by the Turks, and Armousheeah by the Arabs. He only found amongst the rubbish a few fragments of pottery, bricks with cuneiform characters, and some remains of building in the ravines. He ascertained that the circumference was 7690 feet. On a subsequent occasion he made a careful survey of the site of all the ruins, which is published in the collection of his journals, edited by his widow.

With the exception of a small stone chair, and a few remains of inscriptions, Mr. Rich obtained no other Assyrian relics from the ruins on the site of Nineveh; and he left Mosul, little suspecting that in these mounds were buried the palaces of the Assyrian Kings. As he floated down the Tigris to Baghdad, he landed at Nimroud, and examined the great mound. He was struck by its evident antiquity, and learnt the tales of the inhabitants of the neighboring villages connecting the ruins with Nimrod's own city, and the better authenticated tradition that they were those of Al Athur, or Ashur, from which the whole country anciently received its name. He obtained a few specimens of bricks bearing cuneiform characters, and proceeded with his journey.

The fragments collected by Mr. Rich were subsequently placed in the British Museum, and formed the principal, and indeed almost only collection of Assyrian antiquities in Eu

rope. A case scarcely three feet square inclosed all that remained, not only of the great city, Nineveh, but of Babylon itself!

Other museums in Europe contained a few cylinders and gems, which came from Assyria and Babylonia; but they were not classified, nor could it be determined to what exact epoch they belonged. Of Assyrian art nothing was known, not even by analogy. The architecture of Nineveh and Babylon was a matter of speculation, and the poet or painter restored their palaces and temples, as best suited his theme or his subject. A description of the temple of Belus by Herodotus, led to an imaginary representation of the tower of Babel. Its spiral ascent, its galleries, gradually decreasing in circumference and supported by innumerable columns, are familiar to us from the illustrations, adorning almost the opening page of that Book, which is associated with our earliest recollections.

Such was our acquaintance four years ago with Nineveh and Assyria—their history, their site, and their arts. The reader will judge from the following pages, how far recent discoveries are likely to extend our knowledge.

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NINEVEH

AND

ITS REMAINS.

CHAPTER I.

During the autumn of 1839 and winter of 1840, I had been wandering through Asia Minor and Syria, scarcely leaving untrod one spot hallowed by tradition, or unvisited one ruin consecrated by history. I was accompanied by one no less curious and enthusiastic than myself. We were both equally careless of comfort and unmindful of danger. We rode alone; our arms were our only protection; a valise behind our saddles was our wardrobe, and we tended our own horses, except when relieved from the duty by the hospitable inhabitants of a Turcoman village or an Arab tent. Thus unembarrassed by needless luxuries, and uninfluenced by the opinions and prejudices of others, we mixed amongst the people, acquired without effort their manners, and enjoyed without alloy those emotions which scenes so novel, and spots so rich in varied association, cannot fail to produce.

I look back with feelings of grateful delight to those happy days when, free and unheeded, we left at dawn the humble cottage or cheerful tent, and lingering as we listed, unconscious of distance and of the hour, found ourselves, as the sun

went down, under some hoary ruin tenanted by the wandering Arab, or in some crumbling village still bearing a well-known name. No experienced dragoman measured our distances and appointed our stations. We were honored with no conversations by pashas, nor did we seek any civilities from governors. We neither drew tears nor curses from villagers by seizing their horses, or searching their houses for provisions: their welcome was sincere; their scanty fare was placed before us; we ate, and came, and went in peace.

I had traversed Asia Minor and Syria, visiting the ancient seats of civilization, and the spots which religion has made holy. I now felt an irresistible desire to penetrate to the regions beyond the Euphrates, to which history and tradition point as the birthplace of the wisdom of the West. Most travellers, after a journey through the usually frequented parts of the East, have the same longing to cross the great river, and to explore those lands which are separated on the map from the confines of Syria by a vast blank stretching from Aleppo to the banks of the Tigris. A deep mystery hangs over Assyria, Babylonia, and Chaldea. With these names are linked great nations and great cities dimly shadowed forth in history; mighty ruins, in the midst of deserts, defying by their very desolation and lack of definite form, the description of the traveller; the remnants of mighty races still roving over the land; the fulfilling and fulfilment of prophecies; the plains to which the Jew and the Gentile alike look as the cradle of their race. After a journey in Syria the thoughts naturally turn eastward; and without treading on the remains of Nineveh and Babylon our pilgrimage is incomplete.

I left Aleppo, with my companion, on the 18th of March. We still travelled as we had been accustomed; without guide or servants. The road across the desert is at all times impracticable, except to a numerous and well-armed caravan, and offers no object of interest. We preferred that through Bir and Orfa. From the latter city we traversed the low country at the foot of the Kurdish hills, a country little known,

and abounding in curious remains. The Egyptian frontier, at that time, extended to the east of Orfa, and the war between the Sultan and Mohammed Ali Pasha being still unfinished, the tribes took advantage of the confusion, and were plundering on all sides. With our usual good fortune, we succeeded in reaching Nisibin unmolested, although we ran daily risks, and more than once found ourselves in the midst of foraging parties, and of tents which, an hour before, had been pillaged by the wandering bands of Arabs. We entered Mosul on the 10th of April.

During a short stay in this town we visited the great ruins on the east bank of the river, which have been generally believed to be the remains of Nineveh.* We rode also into the desert, and explored the mound of Kalah Sherghat, a vast ruin on the Tigris, about fifty miles below its junction with the Zab. As we journeyed thither we rested for the night at the small Arab village of Hammum Ali, around which are the vestiges of an ancient city. From the summit of an artificial eminence we looked down upon a broad plain, separated from us by the river. A line of lofty mounds bounded it to the east, and one of a pyramidical form rose high above the rest. Beyond it could be faintly traced the waters of the Zab. Its position rendered its identification easy. This was the pyramid which Xenophon had described, and near which the ten thousand had encamped: the ruins around it were those which the Greek general saw twenty-two centuries before, and which were even then the remains of an *ancient* city. Although Xenophon had confounded a name, spoken by a strange race, with one familiar to a Greek ear, and had called the place Larissa, tradition still points to the origin of the city, and, by attributing its foundation to Nimrod, whose name the ruins now bear, connects it with one of the first settlements of the human race.†

* These ruins include the great mounds of Kouyunjik and Nebbi Yunus.

† "He (Nimrod) went out into Assyria and builded Nineveh, the city Rehoboth and Calah, and Resin, between Nineveh and Calah; the same is a great

Kalah Sherghat, no less than Nimroud, was an Assyrian ruin; a vast, shapeless mass, now covered with grass, and showing scarcely any traces of the work of man except where the winter rains had formed ravines down its almost perpendicular sides, and had thus laid open its contents. A few fragments of pottery and inscribed bricks, discovered after a careful search amongst the rubbish which had accumulated round the base of the great mound, served to prove that it owed its construction to the people who had founded the city of which Nimroud is the remains. There was a tradition current amongst the Arabs, that strange figures carved in black stone still existed amongst the ruins; but we searched for them in vain, during the greater part of a day in which we were engaged in exploring the heaps of earth and bricks, covering a considerable extent of country on the right bank of the Tigris.* At the time of our visit the country had been deserted by the Arab tribes, and was only occasionally visited by bands of plunderers from the Shammar or Aneyza tents. We passed the night in the jungle which shuts in the river, and wandered during the day undisturbed by the tribes of the desert. A Cawass, who had been sent with us by the pasha of Mosul, alarmed at the solitude, and dreading the hostile Arabs, left us in the wilderness, and turned homewards. But he fell into the danger he sought to avoid. Less fortunate than ourselves, at a short distance from Kalah Sherghat, he was met by a party of horsemen, and fell a victim to his timidity.

Were the traveller to cross the Euphrates to seek for such

city." (Gen. x. 11, 12.) The ruins of Nimroud had been identified with Resen, of which Larissa was believed, first, by Bochart, to be a corruption, arising from the (presumed) use, by the inhabitants of the country, of the common Shemitic article "al" before the word. It may be observed, in the first place, that the philological grounds are inadequate; and, in the second, that if this were Resen, no room would be left for the site of Nineveh, a still greater city.

* A memoir on our visit to these ruins, by Mr. Ainsworth, will be found in the Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, vol. xi. I shall give a fuller account of the place when I describe the excavations and discoveries which I subsequently made there.

ruins in Mesopotamia and Chaldæa as he had left behind nim in Asia Minor or Syria, his search would be vain. The graceful column rising above the thick foliage of the myrtle, the ilex, and the oleander ; the gradines of the amphitheatre covering the gentle slope, and overlooking the dark blue waters of a lake-like bay ; the richly carved cornice or capital half hidden by the luxuriant herbage ; are replaced by the stern shapeless mound rising like a hill from the scorched plain, the fragments of pottery, and the stupendous mass of brickwork occasionally laid bare by the winter rains. He has left the land where nature is still lovely, where, in his mind's eye, he can rebuild the temple or the theatre, half doubting whether they would have made a more grateful impression upon the senses than the ruin before him. He is now at a loss to give any form to the rude heaps upon which he is gazing. Those of whose works they are the remains, unlike the Roman and the Greek, have left no visible traces of their civilization, or of their arts : their influence has long since passed away. The more he conjectures, the more vague the results appear. The scene around is worthy of the ruin he is contemplating ; desolation meets desolation ; a feeling of awe succeeds to wonder ; for there is nothing to relieve the mind, to lead to hope, or to tell of what has gone by. These huge mounds of Assyria made a deeper impression upon me, gave rise to more serious thought and more earnest reflection, than the temples of Balbec or the theatres of Ionia

In the middle of April I left Mosul for Baghdad. As I descended the Tigris on a raft, I again saw the ruins of Nimroud, and had a better opportunity of examining them. It was evening as we approached the spot. The spring rains had clothed the mound with the richest verdure, and the fertile meadows, which stretched around it, were covered with flowers of every hue. Amidst this luxuriant vegetation were partly concealed a few fragments of bricks, pottery, and alabaster, upon which might be traced the well-defined wedges of the cuneiform character. Did not these remains mark the

nature of the ruin, it might have been confounded with a natural eminence. A long line of consecutive narrow mounds, still retaining the appearance of walls or ramparts, stretched from its base, and formed a vast quadrangle. The river flowed at some distance from them; its waters, swollen by the melting of the snows on the Armenian hills, were broken into a thousand foaming whirlpools by an artificial barrier, built across the stream. On the eastern bank the soil had been washed away by the current; but a solid mass of masonry still withstood its impetuosity. The Arab, who guided my small raft, gave himself up to religious ejaculations as we approached this formidable cataract, over which we were carried with some violence. Once safely through the danger, my companion explained to me that this unusual change in the quiet face of the river was caused by a great dam which had been built by Nimrod,* and that in the autumn, before the winter rains, the huge stones of which it was constructed, squared, and united by clamps of iron, were frequently visible above the surface of the stream.† It was, in fact, one of those monuments of a great people, to be found in all the rivers of Mesopotamia, which were undertaken to insure a constant supply of water to the innumerable canals, spreading like network over the surrounding country, and which, even in the days of Alexander, were looked upon as the works of an ancient nation.‡ No wonder that the

* This dam is called by the Arabs, either Sukr el Nimroud, from the tradition, or El Awayee, from the noise caused by the breaking of the water over the stones. Large rafts are obliged to unload before crossing it, and accidents frequently happen to those who neglect this precaution.

† Diodorus Siculus, it will be remembered, states that the stones of the bridge built by Semiramis across the Euphrates were united by similar iron clamps, whilst the interstices were filled up with molten lead.

‡ These dams greatly impeded the fleets of the conqueror in their navigation of the rivers of Susiana and Mesopotamia, and he caused many of them to be removed. (Strabo, p. 1051, ed. Ox. 1807.) By Strabo they were believed to have been constructed to prevent the ascent of the rivers by hostile fleets; but their use is evident. Tavernier mentions, in his Travels (vol. i. p. 226), this very dam. He says that his raft went over a cascade twenty-six feet high; but he must have greatly exaggerated.

traditions of the present inhabitants of the land should assign them to one of the founders of the human race! The Arab was telling me of the connection between the dam and the city built by Athur, the lieutenant of Nimrod, the vast ruins of which were now before us—of its purpose as a causeway for the mighty hunter to cross to the opposite palace, now represented by the mound of Hammum Ali—and of the histories and fate of the kings of a primitive race, still the favorite theme of the inhabitants of the plains of Shinar, when the last glow of twilight faded away, and I fell asleep as we glided onward toward Baghdad.

My curiosity had been greatly excited, and from that time I formed the design of thoroughly examining, whenever it might be in my power, these singular ruins.

In was not until the summer of 1842 that I again passed through Mosul on my way to Constantinople. I was then anxious to reach the Turkish capital, and, travelling Tatar, had no time to explore ruins. I had not, however, forgotten Nimroud. I had frequently spoken to others on the subject of excavations in this and another mound, to which a peculiar interest also attached; and at one time had reason to hope that some persons in England might have been induced to aid in the undertaking. I had even proposed an examination of the mound to M. Costa, an architect who had been sent by the French Government, with its embassy to Persia, to draw and describe the monuments of that country.

On my arrival at Mosul, I found that M. Botta had, since my first visit, been named French Consul there; and had already commenced excavations in the large mound on the opposite side of the river, called in the country Kouyunjik. These excavations were on a very small scale, and, at the time of my passage, only fragments of brick and alabaster, upon which were engraved a few letters in the cuneiform character, had been discovered.

Whilst detained by unexpected circumstances at Constantinople, I entered into correspondence with a gentleman in

England on the subject of excavations; but, with this exception, no one seemed inclined to assist or take any interest in such an undertaking. I also wrote to M. Botta, encouraging him to proceed, notwithstanding the apparent paucity of results, and particularly calling his attention to the mound of Nimroud, which, however, he declined to explore on account of its distance from Mosul and its inconvenient position. I was soon called away from the Turkish capital to the provinces; and for some months numerous occupations prevented me turning my attention to the ruins and antiquities of Assyria.

In the meanwhile M. Botta, not discouraged by the want of success which had attended his first essay, continued his excavations in the mound of Kouyunjik; and to him is due the honor of having found the first Assyrian monument. This remarkable discovery owed its origin to the following circumstances. The small party employed by M. Botta were at work on Kouyunjik, when a peasant from a distant village chanced to visit the spot. Seeing that any fragments of brick and alabaster uncovered by the workmen were carefully preserved, he asked the reason of this, to him, strange proceeding. On being informed that they were in search of sculptured stones, he advised them to try the mound on which his village was built, and in which, he declared, many such things as they wanted had been exposed on digging for the foundations of new houses. M. Botta, having been frequently deceived by similar stories, was not at first inclined to follow the peasant's advice, but subsequently sent an agent and one or two workmen to the place. After a little opposition from the inhabitants, they were permitted to sink a well in the mound; and at a small distance from the surface they came to the top of a wall which, on digging deeper, they found to be constructed of sculptured slabs of gypsum. M. Botta, on receiving information of this discovery, went at once to the village, which was called Khorsbad.* He directed a wider trench to be

* This word is probably an abbreviation of Khosrau-abad, the abode of Khosroes. From their vicinity to the Kurdish mountains, many of the villages in this part of Assyria have Persian names.

formed, and to be carried in the direction of the wall. He soon found that he had opened a chamber, which was connected with others, and constructed of slabs of gypsum covered with sculptured representations of battles, sieges, and similar events. His wonder may easily be imagined. A new history had been suddenly opened to him—the records of an unknown people were before him. He was equally at a loss to account for the age and the nature of the monument. The art shown in the sculptures; the dresses of the figures; their arms and the objects which accompanied them; were all new to him, and afforded no clue to the epoch of the erection of the edifice, and to the people who were its founders. Numerous inscriptions were cut between the bas-reliefs, and evidently contained the explanation of the events thus recorded in sculpture. They were in the cuneiform, or arrow-head character. The nature of these inscriptions afforded at least evidence that the building was of a period preceding the conquest of Alexander; for it was generally admitted that after the subjugation of the west of Asia by the Macedonians, the cuneiform writing ceased to be employed. But too little was then known of this character to enable M. Botta to draw any inference from the peculiar arrangement of the wedges, which distinguishes the varieties used in different countries. However, it was evident that the monument appertained to a very ancient and very civilized people; and it was natural from its position to refer it to the inhabitants of Nineveh, a city, which, although it could not have occupied a site so distant from the Tigris, must have been in the vicinity of the place. M. Botta had discovered an Assyrian edifice, the first, probably, which had been exposed to the view of man since the fall of the Assyrian empire.

M. Botta was not long in perceiving that the building, which had been thus partly excavated, unfortunately owed its destruction to fire; and that the gypsum slabs, reduced to lime, were rapidly falling to pieces on exposure to the air. No precaution could arrest this rapid decay; and it was to be feared

that this wonderful monument had only been uncovered to complete its ruin. The records of victories and triumphs, which had long attested the power and swelled the pride of the Assyrian kings, and had resisted the ravages of ages, were now passing away for ever. They could scarcely be held together until an inexperienced pencil could secure an imperfect evidence of their former existence. Almost all that was first discovered thus speedily disappeared; and the same fate has befallen nearly every thing subsequently found at Khorsabad. A regret is almost felt that so precious a memorial of a great nation should have been thus exposed to destruction, when no precaution could keep entire or secure the greater part of it; but as far as the object of the monument is concerned, the intention of its founders will be amply fulfilled, and the records of their might will be more widely spread, and more effectually preserved, by modern art, than the most exalted ambition could have contemplated.

M. Botta lost no time in communicating his remarkable discovery to the principal scientific body in France. Knowing the interest I felt in his labors, he allowed me to see his letters and drawings as they passed through Constantinople; and I was amongst the first who were made acquainted with his success. And here I gladly avail myself of the opportunity of mentioning, with the acknowledgment and praise they deserve, his disinterestedness and liberality, so honorable to one engaged in the pursuit of knowledge. During the entire period of his excavations, M. Botta regularly sent me not only his descriptions, but copies of the inscriptions, without exacting any promise as to the use I might make of them. That there are few who would have acted thus liberally, those who have been engaged in a search after antiquities in the East will not be inclined to deny.

M. Botta's communications were laid before the "Académie" by M. Mohl; and that body, perceiving at once the importance of the discovery, lost no time in applying to the Minister of Public Instruction for means to carry on the re-

searches. The recommendation was attended to with that readiness and munificence which almost invariably distinguished the French Government in undertakings of this nature. Ample funds to meet the cost of extensive excavations were at once assigned to M. Botta, and an artist of acknowledged skill was placed under his orders to draw such parts of the monument discovered as could not be preserved or removed.

With the exception of a few interruptions on the part of the local authorities, who were suspicious of the objects of the excavations, the work was carried on with activity and success, and by the beginning of 1845 the monument had been completely uncovered. The researches of M. Botta were not extended beyond Khorsabad; and, having secured many fine specimens of Assyrian sculpture for his country, he returned to Europe with a rich collection of inscriptions, the most important result of his discovery.

I have thus placed before the reader, as briefly as possible, the history of the first discoveries in Assyria. M. Botta's labors may have merited a fuller description and more ample notice; but as the works carried on at Khorsabad were in most respects identical in their character with those which I afterwards undertook, I have, to avoid repetition, merely given this short sketch of his labors. Their results are now being published in France, and his countrymen have not been backward in recognizing the extent and importance of his discovery, and in rewarding the zeal, discrimination, and personal sacrifices which led to it.

The advantages which I had derived from a perusal of M. Botta's letters, and an inspection of his drawings, enabled me to call public attention, at an early period, to his discovery, and to be amongst the first to hazard an opinion on the age and origin of his remarkable monument. I endeavored to show, in three letters to the "Malta Times," the general grounds upon which such an opinion could be formed. Not having had an opportunity of examining similar Assyrian re-

mains, and my knowledge of M. Botta's discoveries being incomplete, I was led into one or two errors; but in most respects the view taken in those letters is the one which is now generally adopted.* It will be shown hereafter on what evidence we may still connect the edifice uncovered at Khorsabad with the second dynasty of Assyrian kings, or with one of those monarchs, Essaraddon or Sennacherib, who extended his conquests over the greater part of Asia.

The success of M. Botta had increased my anxiety to explore the ruins of Assyria. It was evident that Khorsabad could not stand alone. It did not represent ancient Nineveh, nor did it afford us any additional evidence of the site of that city. If the edifice discovered had been one of its palaces, surely other buildings of a vaster and more magnificent character must exist nearer the seat of government, on the banks of the river Tigris. It was true that M. Botta had labored unsuccessfully for above three months in the great mound opposite Mosul, which was usually identified with the Assyrian capital; but that mound much exceeded any other known in extent; and it was possible that in some parts of it the traces of the buildings which it once contained were as completely lost as they were in many parts of the mound of Khorsabad. My thoughts still went back to the ruin of Nimroud, and to the traditions which attached to it. I spoke to others, but received little encouragement. At last, in the autumn of 1845, Sir Stratford Canning mentioned to me his readiness to incur, for

* Misled by a passage in one of M. Botta's letters, I had supposed that two varieties of the cuneiform character had been found at Khorsabad, and had founded an argument upon this presumed fact. M. Botta, himself, perceiving that inscriptions had been cut on the back of the slabs, was, at first, led to believe that they had been taken from some more ancient edifice. The absence of the symbol which I had inadvertently called the "*Fereuher*," ultimately proved no argument; for it was discovered at Nimroud, together with many other religious emblems, which show that the Zoroastrian system was mainly derived from Assyria. I make these observations, as a reviewer in the Quarterly (No. 158) has been led into error by my observations. The letters in the Malta Times were reprinted in many of the English and Continental periodicals.

a limited period, the expenses of excavations in Assyria, in the hope that, should success attend the attempt, means would be found to carry it out on an adequate scale. I received with joy the offer of commencing and carrying on these excavations. The means were now at my disposal to prosecute a work which I had so long desired to undertake. The reader will not, I trust, be disinclined to join with me in feelings of gratitude towards one who, whilst he has maintained so successfully the honor and interests of England by his high character and eminent abilities, has acquired for his country so many great monuments of ancient civilization and art.* It is to Sir Stratford Canning we are mainly indebted for the collection of Assyrian antiquities with which the British Museum will be enriched; without his liberality and public spirit the treasures of Nimroud would have been reserved for the enterprise of those who have appreciated the value and importance of the discoveries at Khorsabad.

The enlightened and liberal spirit shown by M. Botta is unfortunately not generally shared. It was, consequently, deemed most prudent and most conducive to the success of the undertaking, that I should leave Constantinople without acquainting any one with the object of my journey. I was only furnished with the usual documents given to travellers when recommended by the Embassy, and with strong letters of introduction to the authorities at Mosul and in the neighborhood. My preparations were soon completed, and I started

* I need scarcely remind the reader that it is to Sir S. Canning we owe the marbles of Halicarnassus now in the British Museum. The difficulties which stood in the way of the acquisition of those invaluable relics, and the skill which was required to obtain them, are not generally known. I can testify to the efforts and labor which were necessary for nearly three years before the repugnance of the Ottoman government could be overcome, and permission obtained to extract the sculptures from the walls of a castle, which was more jealously guarded than any similar edifice in the empire. Their removal, notwithstanding the almost insurmountable difficulties raised by the authorities and inhabitants of Budroon, was most successfully effected by Mr. Alison. The Elgin marbles, and all other remains from Turkey or Greece now in Europe, were obtained with comparative ease.

from Constantinople by steamer to Samsoun in the middle of October.

I need scarcely trouble the reader with the details of my progress through a country so well known and so often written about, as that between Samsoun and Mosul. Anxious to reach the end of my journey, I crossed the mountains of Pontus and the great steppes of the Usun Yilak as fast as post-horses could carry me, descended the high lands into the valley of the Tigris, galloped over the vast plains of Assyria, and reached Mosul in twelve days.

CHAPTER II.

My first step on reaching Mosul was to present my letters to the governor of the province. Mohammed Pasha, being a native of Candia, was usually known as Keritli Oglu (the son of the Cretan), to distinguish him from his celebrated predecessor of the same name, who was called, during his lifetime, "Injeh Bairakdar," or the Little Standard-bearer, from the rank he had once held in the irregular cavalry. The appearance of his Excellency was not prepossessing, but it matched his temper and conduct. Nature had placed hypocrisy beyond his reach. He had one eye and one ear; he was short and fat, deeply marked by the small-pox, uncouth in gestures and harsh in voice. His fame had reached the seat of his government before him. On the road he had revived many good old customs and impositions, which the reforming spirit of the age had suffered to fall into decay. He particularly insisted on *dish-parassi*;* or a compensation in money, levied upon all villages in which a man of such rank is entertained, for the wear and tear of his teeth in masticating the food he condescends to receive from the inhabitants. On entering Mosul, he had induced several of the principal Aghas who had fled from the town on his approach, to return to their homes; and having made a formal display of oaths and protestations, cut their throats to show how much his word could be depended upon. At the time of my arrival, the population was in a state of terror and despair. Even the appearance of a casual

* Literally, "tooth-money."

traveller led to hopes, and reports were whispered about the town of the deposition of the tyrant. Of this the Pasha was aware, and hit upon a plan to test the feelings of the people towards him. He was suddenly taken ill one afternoon, and was carried to his harem almost lifeless. On the following morning the palace was closed, and the attendants answered inquiries by mysterious motions, which could only be interpreted in one fashion. The doubts of the Mosuleeans gradually gave way to general rejoicings; but at mid-day his Excellency, who had posted his spies all over the town, appeared in perfect health in the market-place. A general trembling seized the inhabitants. His vengeance fell principally upon those who possessed property, and had hitherto escaped his rapacity. They were seized and stripped, on the plea that they had spread reports detrimental to his authority.

The villages, and the Arab tribes, had not suffered less than the townspeople. The Pasha was accustomed to give instructions to those who were sent to collect money, in three words—"Go, destroy, eat;"* and his agents were not generally backward in entering into the spirit of them. The tribes who had been attacked and plundered, were retaliating upon caravans and travellers, or laying waste the cultivated parts of the Pashalic. The villages were deserted, and the roads were little frequented and very insecure.

Such was the Pasha to whom I was introduced two days after my arrival by the British Vice-Consul, Mr. Rassam. He read the letters which I presented to him, and received me with that civility which a traveller generally expects from a Turkish functionary of high rank. His anxiety to know the object of my journey was evident, but his curiosity was not gratified for the moment.

There were many reasons which rendered it necessary that my plans should be concealed, until I was ready to put

* To eat money, *i. e.* to get money unlawfully or by pillage, is a common expression in the East.

them into execution. Although I had always experienced from M. Botta the most friendly assistance, there were others who did not share his sentiments; from the authorities and the people of the town I could only expect the most decided opposition. On the 8th of November, having secretly procured a few tools, and engaged a mason at the moment of my departure, and carrying with me a variety of guns, spears, and other formidable weapons, I declared that I was going to hunt wild boars in a neighboring village, and floated down the Tigris on a small raft constructed for my journey. I was accompanied by Mr. Ross, a British merchant of Mosul,* my cawass, and a servant.

At this time of the year more than five hours are required to descend the Tigris, from Mosul to Nimroud. It was sunset before we reached the Awai, or dam across the river. We landed and walked to the village of Naifa. No light appeared as we approached, nor were we even saluted by the dogs, which usually abound in an Arab village. We had entered a heap of ruins. I was about to return to the raft, upon which we had made up our minds to pass the night, when a glare of a fire lighted up the entrance to a miserable hovel. Through a crevice in the wall, I saw an Arab family crouching round a heap of half-extinguished embers. The dress of the man, the ample cloak and white turban, showed that he belonged to one of the Arab tribes, which cultivate a little land on the borders of the desert, and are distinguished, by their more settled habits, from the Bedouins. Near him were three women, lean and haggard, their heads almost concealed in black handkerchiefs, and the rest of their persons enveloped in the striped aba. Some children, nearly naked, and one or two mangy

* Mr. Ross will perhaps permit me to acknowledge in a note, the valuable assistance I received from him, during my labors in Assyria. His knowledge of the natives, and intimate acquaintance with the resources of the country, enabled him to contribute much to the success of my undertaking; whilst to his friendship I am indebted for many pleasant hours, which would have been passed wearily in a land of strangers.

greyhounds completed the group. As we entered all the party rose, and showed some alarm at this sudden appearance of strangers. The man, however, seeing that we were Europeans, bid us welcome, and spreading some corn-sacks on the ground, invited us to be seated. The women and children retreated into a corner of the hut. Our host, whose name was Awad or Abd-Allah, was a sheikh of the Jehesh. His tribe had been plundered by the Pasha, and was now scattered in different parts of the country; he had taken refuge in this ruined village. He told us that owing to the extortions and perfidy of Keritli Oglu, the villages in the neighborhood had been deserted, and that the Arab tribe of Abou Salman had moved from the plain of Nimroud, which they usually inhabited, to the South of the Zab, and had joined with the Tai in their marauding excursions into the country on this side of the river. The neighborhood, he said, was consequently insecure, and the roads to Mosul almost closed. Awad had learnt a little Turkish, and was intelligent and active. Seeing, at once, that he would be useful, I acquainted him with the object of my journey; offering him the prospect of regular employment in the event of the experiment proving successful, and assigning him regular wages as superintendent of the workmen. He had long been acquainted with the ruins, and entertained me with traditions connected with them. "The palace," said he, "was built by Athur, the kiayah, or lieutenant of Nimrod. Here the holy Abraham, peace be with him! cast down and brake in pieces the idols which were worshipped by the unbelievers. The impious Nimrod, enraged at the destruction of his gods, sought to slay Abraham, and waged war against him. But the prophet prayed to God, and said, 'Deliver me, O God, from this man, who worships stones, and boasts himself to be the lord of all beings,' and God said to him, 'How shall I punish him?' And the prophet answered, 'To Thee armies are as nothing, and the strength and power of men likewise. Before the smallest of thy creatures will they perish.' And God was pleased at the faith of the prophet, and he sent a gnat, which

vexed Nimrod night and day, so tnat he built himself a room of glass in yonder palace, that he might dwell therein, and shut out the insect. But the gnat entered also, and passed by his ear into his brain, upon which it fed, and increased in size day by day, so that the servants of Nimrod beat his head with a hammer continually, that he might have some ease from his pain ; but he died after suffering these torments for four hundred years.' *

Such are the tales to this day repeated by the Arabs who wander round the remains of a great city ; which, by their traditions, they unwittingly help to identify.

Awad volunteered to walk, in the middle of the night, to Selamiyah, a village three miles distant, and to some Arab tents in the neighborhood, to procure men to assist in the excavations.

I had slept little during the night. The hovel in which we had taken shelter, and its inmates, did not invite slumber ; but such scenes and companions were not new to me ; they could have been forgotten, had my brain been less excited. Hopes, long cherished, were now to be realized, or were to end in disappointment. Visions of palaces underground, of gigantic monsters, of sculptured figures, and endless inscriptions, floated before me. After forming plan after plan for removing the earth, and extricating these treasures, I fancied myself wandering in a maze of chambers from which I could find no outlet. Then again, all was reburied, and I was standing on the grass-covered mound. Exhausted, I was at length sinking into sleep, when hearing the voice of Awad, I rose from my carpet, and joined him outside the hovel. The day already

* This and similar traditions are found in a work called Kusset el Nimroud, (Stories of Nimrod,) which Rich represents the inhabitants of the villages near the ruins, as reading during the winter nights. Although there is no one in these days within some miles of the place who possesses the work, or could read it if he did, the tales it contains are current amongst the Arabs of the neighborhood. I heard of several MSS. of the Kusset at Mosul ; but as they are classed amongst religious volumes, I was unable to procure a copy. (See note in chap. xxi. of Sale's Koran for a story somewhat similar to that in the text.)

dawned; he had returned with six Arabs, who agreed for a small sum to work under my direction.

The lofty cone and broad mound of Nimroud broke like a distant mountain on the morning sky. But how changed was the scene since my former visit! The ruins were no longer clothed with verdure and many-colored flowers; no signs of habitation, not even the black tent of the Arab, was seen upon the plain. The eye wandered over a parched and barren waste, across which occasionally swept the whirlwind, dragging with it a cloud of sand. About a mile from us was the small village of Nimroud, like Naifa, a heap of ruins.

Twenty minutes' walk brought us to the principal mound The absence of all vegetation enabled me to examine the remains with which it was covered. Broken pottery and fragments of bricks, both inscribed with the cuneiform character, were strewed on all sides. The Arabs watched my motions as I wandered to and fro, and observed with surprise the objects I had collected. They joined, however, in the search, and brought me handfuls of rubbish, amongst which I found with joy the fragment of a bas-relief. The material on which it was carved had been exposed to fire, and resembled, in every respect, the burnt gypsum of Khorsabad. Convinced from this discovery that sculptured remains must still exist in some part of the mound, I sought for a place where excavations might be commenced with a prospect of success. Awad led me to a piece of alabaster which appeared above the soil. We could not remove it, and on digging downward, it proved to be the upper part of a large slab. I ordered all the men to work around it, and they shortly uncovered a second slab to which it had been united. Continuing in the same line, we came upon a third; and, in the course of the morning, laid bare ten more, the whole forming a square, with one stone missing at the N. W. corner. It was evident that the top of a chamber had been discovered, and that the gap was its entrance.* I now dug down the face of the stones, and an

* This was the chamber marked A on plan 3.

inscription in the cuneiform character was soon exposed to view. Similar inscriptions occupied the centre of all the slabs, which were in the best preservation; but plain, with the exception of the writing. Leaving half the workmen to uncover as much of the chamber as possible, I led the rest to the S. W. corner of the mound, where I had observed many fragments of calcined alabaster.

I dug at once into the side of the mound, which was here very steep, and thus avoided the necessity of removing much earth. We came almost immediately to a wall,* bearing inscriptions in the same character as those already described; but the slabs had evidently been exposed to intense heat, were cracked in every part, and, reduced to lime, threatened to fall to pieces as soon as uncovered.

Night interrupted our labors. I returned to the village well satisfied with their result. It was now evident that buildings of considerable extent existed in the mound; and that although some had been destroyed by fire, others had escaped the conflagration. As there were inscriptions, and as the fragment of a bas-relief had been found, it was natural to conclude that sculptures were still buried under the soil. I determined to follow the search at the N.W. corner, and to empty the chamber partly uncovered during the day.

On returning to the village, I removed from the crowded hovel in which we had passed the night. With the assistance of Awad, who was no less pleased than myself with our success, we patched up with mud the least ruined house in the village, and restored its falling roof. We contrived at least to exclude, in some measure, the cold night winds; and to obtain a little privacy for my companion and myself.

Next morning my workmen were increased by five Turcomans from Selamiyah, who had been attracted by the prospect of regular wages. I employed half of them in emptying the chamber partly uncovered on the previous day, and the rest in

* Back of wall *j*, plan 2.

following the wall at the S.W. corner of the mound. Before evening, the work of the first was completed, and I found myself in a room built of slabs about eight feet high, and varying from six to four feet in breadth, placed upright and closely fitted together. One of the slabs had fallen backwards from its place, and was supported, in a slanting position, by the soil behind. Upon it was rudely inscribed, in Arabic characters, the name of Ahmed Pasha, one of the former hereditary governors of Mosul. A native of Selamiyah remembered that some Christians were employed to dig into the mound about thirty years before, in search of stone for the repair of the tomb of Sultan Abd-Allah, a Mussulman saint, buried on the left bank of the Tigris, a few miles below its junction with the Zab. They uncovered this slab; but being unable to move it, they cut upon it the name of their employer, the Pasha My informant further stated that, in another part of the mound, he had forgotten the precise spot, they had found sculptured figures, which they broke in pieces, the fragments being used in the reparation of the tomb.

The bottom of the chamber was paved with smaller slabs than those employed in the construction of the walls. They were covered with inscriptions on both sides, and on removing one of them, I found that it had been placed upon a layer of bitumen which must have been used in a liquid state, for it had retained, with remarkable distinctness and accuracy, an impression of the characters carved upon the stone. The inscriptions on the face of the upright slabs were about twenty lines in length, and all were precisely similar.

In one corner, as it has been observed, a slab was wanting, and although nothing could be traced, it was evident from the continuation of the pavement beyond the walls of the chamber, that this was the entrance. As the soil had been worn away by the rains to within a few inches of the tops of the upright slabs, I could form no conjecture as to the original height of the room, or as to how the walls were carried above the casing of alabaster

In the rubbish near the bottom of the chamber, I found several ivory ornaments, upon which were traces of gilding; amongst them was the figure of a man in long robes, carrying in one hand the Egyptian crux ansata, part of a crouching sphinx, and flowers designed with great taste and elegance. Awad, who had his own suspicions of the object of my search, which he could scarcely persuade himself was limited to mere stones, carefully collected all the scattered fragments of gold leaf he could find in the rubbish; and, calling me aside in a mysterious and confidential fashion, produced them wrapped up in a piece of dingy paper. "O Bey," said he, "Wallah! your books are right, and the Franks know that which is hid from the true believer. Here is the gold, sure enough, and, please God, we shall find it all in a few days. Only don't say any thing about it to those Arabs, for they are asses and cannot hold their tongues. The matter will come to the ears of the Pasha." The Sheikh was much surprised, and equally disappointed, when I generously presented him with the treasures he had collected, and all such as he might hereafter discover. He left me, muttering "Yia Rubbi!" and other pious ejaculations, and lost in conjectures as to the meaning of these strange proceedings.

On reaching the foot of the slabs in the S. W. corner, we found a great accumulation of charcoal, which was further evidence of the cause of the destruction of one of the buildings discovered. I dug also in several directions in this part of the mound, and in many places came upon walls branching out at different angles.

On the third day, I opened a trench in the high conical mound, and found nothing but fragments of inscribed bricks. I also dug at the back of the north end of the chamber first explored, in the expectation of discovering other walls beyond, but unsuccessfully. As my chief aim was to prove the existence, as soon as possible, of sculptures, all my workmen were moved to the S. W. corner, where the many ramifications of the building already identified, promised speedier success. I

continued the excavations in this part of the mound until the 13th, still uncovering inscriptions, but finding no sculptures.

Some days having elapsed since my departure from Mosul, and the experiment having been now sufficiently tried, it was time to return to the town and acquaint the Pasha, who had, no doubt, already heard of my proceedings, with the object of my researches. I started, therefore, early in the morning of the 14th, and galloped to Mosul in about three hours.

I found the town in great commotion. In the first place, his Excellency had, on the day before, entrapped his subjects by the reports of his death, in the manner already described, and was now actively engaged in seeking pecuniary compensation for the insult he had received in the rejoicings of the population. In the second, the British Vice-Consul having purchased an old building in which to store his stock in trade, the Cadi, a fanatic and a man of the most infamous character, on the pretence that the Franks had formed a design of buying up the whole of Turkey, was endeavoring to raise a riot, which was to end in the demolition of the Consulate and other acts of violence. I called on the Pasha, and, in the first place, congratulated him on his speedy recovery; a compliment which he received with a grim smile of satisfaction. He then introduced the subject of the Cadi, and the disturbance he had created. "Does that ill-conditioned fellow," exclaimed he, "think that he has Sheriff Pasha (his immediate predecessor) to deal with, that he must be planning a riot in the town? When I was at Siwas the Ulema tried to excite the people because I encroached upon a burying-ground. But I made them eat dirt! Wallah! I took every gravestone and built up the castle walls with them." He pretended at first to be ignorant of the excavations at Nimroud; but subsequently thinking that he would convict me of prevarication in my answers to his questions as to the amount of treasure discovered, pulled out of his writing-tray a scrap of paper, as dingy as that produced by Awad, in which was also preserved an almost invisible par-

ticle of gold-leaf. This, he said, had been brought to him by the commander of the irregular troops stationed at Selamiyah, who had been watching my proceedings. I suggested that he should name an agent to be present as long as I worked at Nimroud, to take charge of all the precious metals that might be discovered. He promised to write on the subject to the chief of the irregulars; but offered no objection to the continuation of my researches.

Reports of the wealth extracted from the ruins had already reached Mosul, and had excited the cupidity and jealousy of the Cadi and principal inhabitants of the place. Others, who well knew my object, and might have spared me any additional interruption without a sacrifice of their national character, were not backward in throwing obstacles in my way, and in fanning the prejudices of the authorities and natives of the town. It was evident that I should have to contend against a formidable opposition; but as the Pasha had not, as yet, openly objected to my proceedings, I hired several Nestorian Chaldæans, who had left their mountains for the winter to seek employment in Mosul, and sent them to Nimroud. At the same time I engaged agents to explore several mounds in the neighborhood of the town, hoping to ascertain the existence of sculptured buildings in some part of the country, before steps were taken to interrupt me.

Whilst at Mosul, Mormous, an Arab of the tribe of Haddedeen, informed me that figures had been accidentally uncovered in a mound near the village of Tel Kef. As he offered to take me to the place, we rode out together; but he only pointed out the site of an old quarry, with a few rudely-hewn stones. Such disappointments were daily occurring; and I wearied myself in scouring the country to see remains which had been most minutely described to me as groups of sculptures, and slabs covered with writing, and which generally proved to be the ruin of some modern building, or an early tombstone inscribed with Arabic characters.

The mounds, which I directed to be opened, were those

of Baasheikha (of considerable size), Ba-Zani, Karamles, Karakush, Yara, and Jeraiyan. Connected with the latter ruin many strange tales were current in the country. It was said that on it formerly stood a temple of black stone, held in great reverence by the Yezidis, or worshippers of the devil. In this building were all manner of sculptured figures, and the walls were covered with inscriptions in an unknown language. When the Bey of Rowandiz fell upon the Yezidis, and massacred all those who were unable to escape, he destroyed this house of idols; but the materials, of which the walls were built, were only thrown down, and were supposed to be now covered by a small accumulation of rubbish. The lower part of an Assyrian figure, carved in relief on basalt, dug up, it was said, in the mound, was actually brought to me; but I had afterwards reason to suspect that it was discovered at Khorsabad. Excavations were carried on for some time at Jeraiyah, but no remains of the Yezidi temple were brought to light.

Having finished my arrangements in Mosul, I returned to Nimroud on the 19th. During my absence, the workmen, under the direction of my Cawass, had carried the excavations along the back of the wall *c*, in plan 2, and had discovered the entrance *d*. Being anxious to make as much progress as possible, I increased my party to thirty men, and distributed them in three sets over the S. W. corner of the mound. By opening long trenches at right angles in various directions, we came upon the top of wall *m*, built of slabs with inscriptions similar to those already described. One, however (No. 10), was reversed, and was covered with characters, exceeding in size any I had yet seen. On examining the inscription carefully, it was found to correspond with those of the chamber in the N. W. corner. I could not account for its strange position. The edges of this, as well as of all the other slabs in the S. W. corner, had been cut away, several letters of the inscriptions being destroyed, in order to make the stones fit into the wall. From these facts it was evident that materials

taken from another building had been used in the construction of the one we were now exploring. But as yet it could not be ascertained whether the face or the back of the slabs had been uncovered. Neither the plan nor the nature of the edifice could be determined until the heap of rubbish and earth under which it was buried had been removed. The excavations were now carried on but slowly. The soil, mixed with sun-dried and kiln-burnt bricks, pottery, and fragments of alabaster, offered considerable resistance to the tools of the workmen; and when loosened, had to be removed in baskets and thrown over the edge of the mound. The Chaldæans from the mountains, strong and hardy men, could alone wield the pick; the Arabs were employed in carrying away the earth. The spade could not be used, and there were no other means, than those I had adopted, to clear away the ruins. A person standing on the mound would see no remains of building until he approached the edge of the trenches, into which the workmen descended by steps. Parts of the walls were now exposed to view; but it was impossible to conjecture which course they took, or whether the slabs were facing the inside, or formed the back of the chamber which had probably been discovered.

The Abou Salman and Tai Arabs continuing their depredations in the plains of Nimroud and surrounding country, I deemed it prudent to remove from Naifa, where I had hitherto resided, to Selamiyah. The latter village is built on a rising ground near the Tigris, and was formerly a place of some importance, being mentioned at a very early period as a market town by the Arab geographers, who generally connect it with the ruins of Athur or Nimroud. It probably occupied an ancient site, and in a line of mounds, now at a considerable distance from the village, but inclosing it, can be traced the original walls. Even five years ago Selamiyah was a flourishing village, and could furnish 150 well-armed horsemen. The Pasha had, however, plundered it; and the inhabitants had fled to the mountains or into the Baghdad territories. At that

time ten miserable huts stood in the midst of the ruins of bazaars and streets surrounding a kasr or palace, belonging to the family of the old hereditary Pashas, well built of Mosul alabaster, but rapidly falling into decay. I had intended to take possession of this building, which was occupied by a few Hytas or irregular troops; but the rooms were in such a dilapidated condition that the low mud hut of the Kiayah appeared to be both safer and warmer. I accordingly spread my carpet in one of its corners, and giving the owner a few piastres to finish other dwelling-places which he had commenced, established myself for the winter. The premises, which were speedily completed, consisted of four hovels, surrounded by a wall built of mud, and covered in with reeds and boughs of trees plastered over with the same material. I occupied half of the largest habitation, the other half being appropriated to various domestic animals,—cows, bullocks, and other beasts of the plough. We were separated by a wall; in which, however, numerous apertures served as a means of communication. These I studiously endeavored for some time to block up. A second hut was devoted to the wives, children, and poultry of my host; a third served as kitchen and servants' hall: the fourth was converted into a stall for my horses. In the inclosure formed by the buildings and the outer wall, the few sheep and goats which had escaped the rapacity of the Pasha, congregated during the night, and kept up a continual bleating and coughing until they were milked and turned out to pasture at daybreak.

The roofs not being constructed to exclude the winter rains now setting in, it required some exercise of ingenuity to escape the torrent which descended into my apartment. I usually passed the night on these occasions crouched up in a corner, or under a rude table which I had constructed. The latter, having been surrounded by trenches, to carry off the accumulating waters, generally afforded the best shelter. My Cawass, who was a Constantinopolitan, complained bitterly of the hardships he was compelled to endure, and I had some

difficulty in prevailing upon my servants to remain with me

The present inhabitants of Selamiyah, and of most of the villages in this part of the Pashalic of Mosul, are Turcomans, descendants of tribes brought by the early Turkish Sultans from the north of Asia Minor, to people a country which had been laid waste by repeated massacres and foreign invasions. In this portion of the Ottoman Empire, except in Mosul and the Mountains, there is scarcely a vestige of the ancient population. The tribes which inhabit the Desert were brought from the Jebel Shammar, in Nedjd, almost within the memory of man. The inhabitants of the plains to the east of the Tigris are mostly Turcomans and Kurds, mixed with Arabs, or with Yezidis, who are strangers in the land, and whose origin cannot easily be determined. A few Chaldæans and Jacobite Christians, scattered in Mosul and the neighboring villages, or dwelling in the most inaccessible part of the Mountains, their places of refuge from the devastating bands of Tamerlane, are probably the only descendants of that great people which once swayed, from these plains, the half of Asia.

The Yuz-bashi, or captain of the irregular troops, one Daoud Agha, a native of the north of Asia Minor, came to call upon me as soon as I was established in my new quarters. Like most men of his class, acknowledged freebooters,* he

* The irregular cavalry, [Hytas as they are called in this part of Turkey, and Bashi-bozuks in Roumelia and Anatolia,] are collected from all classes and provinces. A man, known for his courage and daring, is named Hyta-bashi, or chief of the Hytas, and is furnished with teskérés, orders for pay and provisions, for so many horsemen, from four or five hundred to a thousand or more. He collects all the vagrants and freebooters he can find to make up his number. They must find their own arms and horses, although sometimes they are furnished by the Hyta-bashi, who deducts a part of their pay until he reimburses himself. The best Hytas are Albanians and Lazos, and they form a very effective body of irregular cavalry. Their pay at Mosul is small, amounting to about eight shillings a month; in other provinces it is considerably more. They are quartered on the villages, and are the terror of the inhabitants, whom they plunder and ill-treat as they think fit. When a Hyta-bashi has established a reputation for himself, his followers are numerous and devoted. He wanders about the provinces, and like a condottieri

was frank and intelligent. He tendered me his services, entertained me with his adventures, and planned hunting expeditions. A few presents secured his adherence, and he proved himself afterwards a very useful and faithful ally.

I had now to ride three miles every morning to the mound; and my workmen, who were afraid, on account of the Arabs, to live at Naifa, returned after the day's labor, to Selamiyah.

The excavations were still carried on as actively as the means at my disposal would permit. The entrance, *d* (plan 2), had now been completely exposed, and the backs of several slabs of wall *d* had been uncovered. On them were the usual inscriptions, and the corner-stone (No. 4), which had evidently been brought from another building, was richly ornamented with carved flowers and scroll-work. But still no sculptures had been discovered; nor could any idea be yet formed of the relative position of the walls. I ordered a trench to be opened obliquely from the entrance (*d*) into the interior of the mound, presuming that we should ultimately find the opposite side of the chamber, to which, it appeared probable, we had found the passage. After removing a large accumulation of earth mixed with charcoal, charred wood, and broken bricks, we reached the top of wall *f*, on the afternoon of the 28th November. In order to ascertain whether we were in the inside of a chamber, the workmen were directed to clear away the earth from both sides of the slabs. The south face was unsculptured, but the first stroke of the pick on the opposite side disclosed the top of a bas-relief. The Arabs were no less excited than myself by the discovery; and notwithstanding a violent shower of rain, working until dark, they completely exposed to view two slabs (Nos. 1 and 2).

On each slab were two bas-reliefs, separated from one another by a band of inscriptions. The subject on the upper part of No. 1, was a battle scene. Two chariots, drawn by

of the middle ages, sells his services, and those of his troops, to the Pasha who offers most pay, and the best prospects of plunder.

horses richly caparisoned, were each occupied by a group of three warriors; the principal person in both groups was beardless, and evidently an eunuch. He was clothed in a complete suit of mail, and wore a pointed helmet on his head, from the sides of which fell lappets covering the ears, the lower part of the face, and the neck. The left hand, the arm being extended, grasped a bow at full stretch; whilst the right, drawing the string to the ear, held an arrow ready to be discharged. A second warrior urged, with reins and whip to the utmost of their speed, three horses, who were galloping over the plain. A third, without helmet, and with flowing hair and beard, held a shield for the defence of the principal figure. Under the horses' feet, and scattered about the relief, were the conquered, wounded by the arrows of the conquerors. I observed with surprise the elegance and richness of the ornaments, the faithful and delicate delineation of the limbs and muscles, both in the men and horses, and the knowledge of art displayed in the grouping of the figures, and the general composition. In all these respects, as well as in costume, this sculpture appeared to me not only to differ, but to surpass the bas-reliefs of Khorsabad. I traced also in the character used in the inscription a marked difference from that found on the monuments discovered by M. Botta. Unfortunately, the slab had been exposed to fire, and was so much injured that its removal was hopeless. The edges had, moreover, been cut away, to the injury of some of the figures and of the inscription; and as the next slab (No. 2) was reversed, it was evident that both had been brought from another building. This fact rendered any conjecture, as to the origin and form of the edifice we were exploring, still more difficult.

The lower bas-relief on No. 1, represented the siege of a castle or of a walled city. To the left were two warriors, each holding a circular shield in one hand, and a short sword in the other. A tunic, confined at the waist by a girdle, and ornamented with a fringe of tassels, descended to the knee; a quiver was suspended at the back, and the left arm was passed through

the bow, which was thus kept by the side, ready for use. They wore the pointed helmets before described. The foremost warrior was ascending a ladder placed against the castle. Three turrets, with angular battlements, rose above walls similarly ornamented. In the first turret were two warriors, the one in the act of discharging an arrow, the other raising a shield and casting a stone at the assailants, from whom the besieged were distinguished by their head-dress,—a simple fillet binding the hair above the temples. Their beards, at the same time, were less carefully arranged. The second turret was occupied by a slinger preparing his sling. In the interval between this turret and the third, and over an arched gateway, was a female figure, known by her long hair descending upon the shoulders in curls. Her right hand was elevated as if in the act of asking for mercy. In the third turret were two more of the besieged, the first discharging an arrow, the second elevating his shield and endeavoring with a torch to burn an instrument resembling a catapult, which had been brought up to the wall by an inclined plane built on a heap of boughs and rubbish. These figures were out of all proportion when compared with the size of the building. A warrior with a pointed helmet, bending on one knee, and holding a torch in his right hand, was setting fire to the gate of the castle, whilst another in full armor was forcing the stones from the foundation with an instrument, probably of iron, resembling a blunt spear. Between them was a wounded man falling headlong from the walls.

No. 2, was a corner-stone very much injured, the greater part of the relief having been cut away to reduce it to convenient dimensions. The upper part, being reversed, was occupied by two warriors; the foremost in a pointed helmet, riding on one horse and leading a second; the other, without helmet, standing in a chariot, and holding the reins loosely in his hands. The horses had been destroyed, and the marks of the chisel were visible on many parts of the slab, the sculpture having been in some places carefully defaced. The lower bas-relief represented a singular subject. On the walls of the

castle, two stories high, and defended by many towers, stood a woman tearing her hair to show her grief. Beneath and by the side of a stream, figured by numerous undulating lines, crouched a fisherman drawing from the water a fish he had caught. This slab had been exposed to fire like that adjoining, and had sustained too much injury to be removed.

As I was meditating in the evening over my discovery, Daoud Agha entered, and seating himself near me, delivered a long speech, to the effect, that he was a servant of the Pasha, who was again the slave of the Sultan; and that servants were bound to obey the commands of their master, however disagreeable and unjust they might be. I saw at once to what this exordium was about to lead, and was prepared for the announcement, that he had received orders from Mosul to stop the excavations by threatening those who were inclined to work for me. On the following morning, therefore, I rode to the town, and waited upon his Excellency. He pretended to be taken by surprise, disclaimed having given such orders, and directed his secretary to write at once to the commander of the irregular troops, who was to give me every assistance rather than throw impediments in my way. He promised to let me have the letter in the afternoon before I returned to Selamiyah; but an officer came to me soon after, and stated that as the Pasha was unwilling to detain me he would forward it in the night. I rode back to the village, and acquainted Daoud Agha with the result of my visit. About midnight, however, he returned to me, and declared that a horseman had just brought him more stringent orders than any he had yet received, and that on no account was he to permit me to carry on the work.

Surprised at this inconsistency, I returned to Mosul early next day, and again called upon the Pasha. "It was with deep regret," said he, "I learnt, after your departure yesterday, that the mound in which you are digging had been used as a burying-ground by Mussulmans, and was covered with their graves; now you are aware that by the law it is forbid

den to disturb a tomb, and the Cadi and Mufti have already made representations to me on the subject." "In the first place," replied I, "being pretty well acquainted with the mound, I can state that no graves have been disturbed; in the second, after the wise and firm '*politica*' which your Excellency exhibited at Siwas, grave-stones would present no difficulty. Please God, the Cadi and Mufti have profited by the lesson which your Excellency gave to the ill-mannered Ulema of that city." "In Siwas," returned he, immediately understanding my meaning, "I had Mussulmans to deal with, and there was tanzimat,* but here we have only Kurds and Arabs, and, Wallah! they are beasts. No, I cannot allow you to proceed; you are my dearest and most intimate friend; if any thing happens to you, what grief should I not suffer! your life is more valuable than old stones: besides, the responsibility would fall upon my head." Finding that the Pasha had resolved to interrupt my proceedings, I pretended to acquiesce in his answer, and requested that a Cawass of his own might be sent with me to Nimroud, as I wished to draw the sculptures and copy the inscriptions which had already been uncovered. To this he consented, and ordered an officer to accompany me. Before leaving Mosul, I learnt with regret from what quarter the opposition to my proceedings chiefly came.

On my return to Selamiyah there was little difficulty in inducing the Pasha's Cawass to countenance the employment of a few workmen to *guard* the sculptures during the day; and as Daoud Agha considered that this functionary's presence relieved him from any further responsibility, he no longer interfered with any experiment I might think proper to make. Wishing to ascertain the existence of the graves, and also to draw one of the bas-reliefs, which had been uncovered, though not to continue the excavations for a day or two, I rode to the ruins on the following morning, accompanied by the Hytas and their chief, who were going their usual rounds in search

* The reformed system introduced into most provinces of Turkey, but which had not yet been extended to Mosul and Baghdad.

of plundering Arabs. Daoud Agha confessed to me on our way that he had received orders to make graves on the mound, and that his troops had been employed for two nights in bringing stones from distant villages for that purpose.* "We have destroyed more real tombs of the true Believers," said he, "in making sham ones, than you could have defiled between the Zab and Selamiyah. We have killed our horses and ourselves in carrying those accursed stones." A steady rain setting in, I left the horsemen and returned to the village.

In the evening Daoud Agha brought back with him a prisoner and two of his followers severely wounded. He had fallen in with a party of Arabs under Sheikh Abd-ur-rahman of the Abou Salman, whose object in crossing the Zab had been to plunder me as I worked at the mound. After a short engagement, the Arabs were compelled to recross the river.

I continued to employ a few men to open trenches by way of experiment, and was not long in discovering other sculptures. Near the western edge we came upon the lower part of several gigantic figures, uninjured by fire.† It was from this place that in the time of Ahmed Pasha, materials were taken for rebuilding the tomb of Sultan Abdallah, and the slabs had been sawn in half, and otherwise injured. At the foot of the S. E. corner was found a crouching lion, rudely carved in basalt, which appeared to have fallen from the building above, and to have been exposed for centuries to the atmosphere. In the centre of the mound we uncovered part of a pair of gigantic winged bulls, the head and half the wings of which had been destroyed. On the back of the enormous slabs, the length of which was fourteen feet, whilst the height must have been originally the same, on which these animals had been carved in high relief, were inscriptions in large and well-cut characters. A pair of small winged lions‡, the heads and upper part

* In Arabia, the graves are merely marked by unhewn stones placed upright at the head and feet, and in a heap over the body.

† Wall *t*, in plan 2.

‡ Entrance to chamber BB, plan 3.

destroyed, were also discovered. They appeared to form an entrance into a chamber, were admirably designed and very carefully executed. Finally, a human figure, nine feet high, the right hand elevated, and carrying in the left a branch with three flowers, resembling the poppy, was found in wall *k* (plan 2). I uncovered only the upper part of these sculptures, satisfied with proving their existence, without exposing them to the risk of injury, should my labors be at any time interrupted. Still no conjecture could be formed as to the contents of the mound, or as to the nature of the buildings I was exploring. Only detached and unconnected walls had been discovered, and it could not even be determined which side of them had been laid bare.

The experiment had been fairly tried; there was no longer any doubt of the existence not only of sculptures and inscriptions, but even of vast edifices in the interior of the mound of Nimroud, as all parts of it that had yet been examined, furnished remains of buildings and carved slabs. I lost no time, therefore, in acquainting Sir Stratford Canning with my discovery, and urging the necessity of a Firman, or order from the Porte, which would prevent any future interference on the part of the authorities, or the inhabitants of the country.

It was now nearly Christmas, and as it was desirable to remove all the tombs, which had been made by the Pasha's orders, on the mound, and others, more genuine, which had since been found, I came to an understanding on the subject with Daoud Agha. I covered over the sculptures brought to light, and withdrew altogether from Nimroud, leaving an agent at Selamiyah.

On entering Mosul on the morning of the 18th, I found the whole population in a ferment of joy. A Tartar had that morning brought from Constantinople the welcome news that the Porte, at length alive to the wretched condition of the province, and to the misery of the inhabitants, had disgraced the governor, and named Ismail Pasha, a young Major-General of the new school, to carry on affairs until Hafiz Pasha, who

had been appointed to succeed Keritli Oglu, could reach his government. Only ten days previously the inhabitants had been well-nigh driven to despair by the arrival of a Firman, confirming Mohammed Pasha for another year; but this only proved a trick on the part of the secretaries of the Porte to obtain the presents which are usually given on these occasions, and which the Pasha, on receipt of the document, hastened to remit to Constantinople. His Excellency was consequently doubly aggrieved by the loss of his Pashalic and of his money.

Ismail Pasha, who had been for some time in command of the troops at Diarbekir, had gained a great reputation for justice amongst the Mussulmans, and for tolerance amongst the Christians. Consequently his appointment had given much satisfaction to the people of Mosul, who were prepared to receive him with a demonstration. However, his Excellency slipped into the town during the night, some time before he had been expected. On the following morning a change had taken place at the Serai, and Mohammed Pasha, with his followers, were reduced to extremities. The dragoman of the Consulate, who had business to transact with him, found the late Governor sitting in a dilapidated chamber, through which the rain penetrated without hindrance. "Thus it is," said he, "with God's creatures. Yesterday all those dogs were kissing my feet; to-day every one, and every thing, falls upon me, even the rain!"

During these events the state of the country rendered the continuation of my researches at Nimroud almost impossible. I determined, therefore, to proceed to Baghdad, to make arrangements for the removal of the sculptures at a future period, and to consult generally with Major Rawlinson, from whose experience and knowledge I could derive the most valuable assistance. A raft having been constructed, I started with Mr. Hector, a gentleman from Baghdad, who had visited me at Nimroud, and reached that city on the 24th of December.

CHAPTER III.

On my return to Mosul in the beginning of January, I found Ismail Pasha installed in the government. He received me with courtesy, offered no opposition to the continuation of my researches at Nimroud, and directed the irregular troops stationed at Selamiyah to afford me every assistance and protection. The change since my departure had been as sudden as great. A few conciliatory acts on the part of the new Governor, an order from the Porte for an inquiry into the sums unjustly levied by the late Pasha, with a view to their repayment, and a promise of a diminution of taxes, had so far reassured and gained the confidence of those who had fled to the mountains and the desert, that the inhabitants of the villages were slowly returning to their homes; and even the Arab tribes, which were formerly accustomed to pasture their flocks in the districts of Mosul, were again pitching their tents on the banks of the Tigris. The diminished population of the province had been so completely discouraged by the repeated extortions of Keritli Oglu, that the fields had been left untilled. The villagers were now actively engaged, although the season was already far advanced, in sowing grain of various kinds. The palace was filled with Kurdish chiefs and Arab Sheikhs, who had accepted the invitation of the new Pasha to visit the town, and were seeking investiture as heads of their respective tribes. The people of Mosul were looking forward to an equal taxation, and the abolition of the system of torture and arbitrary exactions, which had hitherto been adopted by their governors.

During my absence my agents had not been inactive. Several trenches had been opened in the great mound of Baasheikha; and fragments of sculpture and inscriptions, with much entire pottery and inscribed bricks, had been discovered there. At Karamles a platform of brickwork had been uncovered, and the Assyrian origin of the ruin was proved by the inscription on the bricks, which contained the name of the Khorsabad king.

I rode to Nimroud on the 17th of January, having first engaged a party of Nestorian Chaldæans to accompany me.

The change that had taken place in the face of the country during my absence, was no less remarkable than that which I had found in the political state of the province. To me they were both equally agreeable and welcome. The rains, which had fallen almost incessantly from the day of my departure for Baghdad, had rapidly brought forward the vegetation of spring. The mound was no longer an arid and barren heap; its surface and its sides were equally covered with verdure. From the summit of the pyramid my eye ranged, on one side, over a broad level inclosed by the Tigris and the Zab; on the other, over a low undulating country bounded by the snow-capped mountains of Kurdistan; but it was no longer the dreary waste I had left a month before; the landscape was clothed in green, the black tents of the Arabs checkered the plain of Nimroud, and their numerous flocks pastured on the distant hills. The Abou Salman, encouraged by favorable reports of the policy of the new Pasha, had recrossed the Zab, and had sought their old encamping grounds. The Jehesh and Shemutti Arabs had returned to their villages, around which the wandering Jebours had pitched their tents, and were now engaged in cultivating the soil. Even on the mound the plough opened its furrows, and corn was sown over the palaces of the Assyrian kings.

Security had been restored, and Nimroud offered a more convenient and more agreeable residence than Selamiyah. Hiring, therefore, from the owners three huts, which had been

hastily built in the outskirts of the village, I removed to my new dwelling-place. A few rude chairs, a table, and a wooden bedstead, formed the whole of my furniture. My Cawass spread his carpet, and hung his tobacco-pouch in the corner of a hovel, which he had appropriated, and spent his days in peaceful contemplation. The servants constructed a rude kitchen, and the grooms shared the stalls with the horses. Mr. Hormuzd Rassam, the brother of the British Vice-Consul, came to reside with me, and undertook the daily payment of the workmen and the domestic arrangements.

My agent, with the assistance of the chief of the Hytas, had punctually fulfilled the instructions he had received on my departure. Not only were the counterfeit graves carefully removed, but even others, which possessed more claim to respect, had been rooted out. I entered into an elaborate argument with the Arabs on the subject of the latter, and proved to them that, as the bodies were not turned towards Mecca, they could not be those of true believers. I ordered the remains, however, to be carefully collected, and to be reburied at the foot of the mound.

I had now uncovered the back of the whole of wall *j*, of wall *k* to slab 15, and of six slabs of wall *m*; Nos. 1 and 2 of wall *f*, and the entrance *d* with a small part of wall *a*. All these belonged to the palace in the S. W. corner of the mound represented by plan 2. In the centre of the mound I had discovered the remains of the two winged bulls; in the N. W. palace, figured in plan 3, the chamber A, and the two small winged lions forming the entrance to chamber BB. The only additional bas-reliefs were two on slab 12 of wall *k* (plan 2), the upper much injured and the subject unintelligible; the lower containing four figures, carrying presents or supplies for a banquet. The hands of the foremost figure having been destroyed, the object which they held could not be determined. The second bears either fruit or a loaf of bread, the third has a basket in his right hand, whilst the left holds a skin of wine thrown over the shoulder, and the fourth is the bearer of a

similar skin, having in the right hand a vessel of not inelegant shape. The four figures are clothed in long robes, richly fringed, descending to the ankles, and wear the conical cap or helmet before described. The slab on which these bas-reliefs occurred had also been reduced in size, to the injury of the sculpture, and had evidently belonged to another building. The slabs on either side of it bore the usual inscription.

I had scarcely resumed my labors when I received information that the Cadi of Mosul was endeavoring to stir up the people against me, chiefly on the plea that I was carrying away treasure; and, what was worse, finding inscriptions which proved that the Franks once held the country, and upon the evidence of which they intended immediately to resume possession of it, exterminating all true believers. These stories, however absurd they may appear, rapidly gained ground in the town. Old Mohammed Emin Pasha brought out his Yakuti, and confirmed, by that geographer's statements with regard to Khorsabad, the allegations of the Cadi. A representation was ultimately made by the Ulema to Ismail Pasha; and as he expressed a wish to see me, I rode to Mosul. He was not, he said, influenced by the Cadi or the Mufti, nor did he believe the absurd tales which they had spread abroad. I should shortly see how he intended to treat these troublesome fellows, but he thought it prudent at present to humor them, and made it a personal request that I would, for the time, suspend the excavations. I consented with regret; and once more returned to Nimroud without being able to gratify the ardent curiosity I felt to explore further the extraordinary building, the nature of which was still a mystery to me.

The Abou Salman Arabs, who encamp around Nimroud, are known for their thieving propensities, and might have caused me some annoyance. Thinking it prudent, therefore, to conciliate their chief, I rode over one morning to their principal encampment. Sheikh Abd-ur-rahman received me at the entrance of his capacious tent of black goat-hair, which was crowded with his relations, followers, and strangers, who

were enjoying his hospitality. He was one of the handsomest Arabs I ever saw; tall, robust, and well-made, with a countenance in which intelligence was no less marked than courage and resolution. On his head he wore a turban of dark linen, from under which a many-colored handkerchief fell over his shoulders; his dress was a simple white shirt, descending to the ankles, and an Arab cloak thrown loosely over it. Unlike Arabs in general, he had shaved his beard; and, although he could scarcely be much beyond forty, I observed that the little hair which could be distinguished from under his turban was gray. He received me with every demonstration of hospitality, and led me to the upper place, divided by a goat-hair curtain from the harem. The tent was capacious; half was appropriated by the women, the rest formed the place of reception, and was at the same time occupied by two favorite mares and a colt. A few camels were kneeling on the grass around, and the horses of the strangers were tied by the halter to the tent-pins. From the carpets and cushions, which were spread for me, stretched on both sides a long line of men of the most motley appearance, seated on the bare ground. The Sheikh himself, as is the custom in some of the tribes, to show his respect for his guest, placed himself at the furthest end; and could only be prevailed upon, after many excuses and protestations, to share the carpet with me. In the centre of the group, near a small fire of camel's dung, crouched a half naked Arab, engaged alternately in blowing up the expiring embers, or pounding the roasted coffee in a copper mortar, ready to replenish the huge pots which stood near him.

After the customary compliments had been exchanged with all around, one of my attendants beckoned to the Sheikh, who left the tent to receive the presents I had brought to him,—a silk gown and a supply of coffee and sugar. He dressed himself in his new attire and returned to the assembly. "Inshallah," said I, "we are now friends, although scarcely a month ago you came over the Zab on purpose to appropriate the little property I am accustomed to carry about me." "Wallah,

Bey," he replied, "you say true, we are friends; but listen: the Arabs either sit down and serve his Majesty the Sultan, or they eat from others, as others would eat from them. Now my tribe are of the Zobeide, and were brought here many years ago by the Pashas of the Abd-el-Jelleel.* These lands were given us in return for the services we rendered the Turks in keeping back the Tai and the Shammar, who crossed the rivers to plunder the villages. All the great men of the Abou Salman perished in encounters with the Bedouin, and Injeh Bairakdar, Mohammed Pasha, upon whom God has had mercy, acknowledged our fidelity and treated us with honor. When that blind dog, the son of the Cretan, may curses fall upon him! came to Mosul, I waited upon him, as it is usual for the Sheikh; what did *he* do? Did he give me the cloak of honor? No; he put me, an Arab of the tribe of Zobeide, a tribe which had fought with the Prophet, into the public stocks. For forty days my heart melted away in a damp cell, and I was exposed to every variety of torture. Look at these hairs," continued he, lifting up his turban; "they turned white in that time, and I must now shave my beard, a shame amongst the Arabs. I was released at last; but how did I return to the tribe?—a beggar, unable to kill a sheep for my guests. He took my mares, my flocks, and my camels, as the price of my liberty. Now tell me, O Bey, in the name of God, if the Osmanlis have eaten from me and my guests, shall I not eat from them and theirs?"

The fate of Abd-ur-rahman had been such as he described it; and so had fared several chiefs of the desert and of the mountains. It was not surprising that these men, proud of their origin and accustomed to the independence of a wandering life, had revenged themselves upon the unfortunate inhabitants of the villages, who had no less cause to complain than themselves. However, the Sheikh promised to abstain from plunder for the future, and to present himself to Ismail Pasha, of whose conciliatory conduct he had already heard.

It was near the middle of February before I thought it

* The former hereditary governors of Mosul.

prudent to make some fresh experiments among the ruins. To avoid notice I only employed a few men, and confined myself to the examination of such parts of the mound as appeared to contain buildings. A trench was first opened at right angles to the centre of wall *k* (plan 2), and we speedily found the wall *q*. All the slabs were sculptured, and uninjured by fire; but unfortunately had been half destroyed by long exposure to the atmosphere. Three consecutive slabs were occupied by the same subject; others were placed without regularity, portions of a figure, which should have been continued on an adjoining stone, being wanting. It was evident from the costume, the ornaments, and the nature of the relief, that these sculptures did not belong either to the same building, or to the same period as those previously discovered. I recognized in them the style of Khorsabad, and in the inscriptions particular forms in the character, which were used in the inscriptions of that monument. Still the slabs were not "in situ;" they had been brought from elsewhere, and I was even more perplexed than I had hitherto been.

The most perfect of the bas-reliefs (No. 1), was in many respects interesting. It represented a king, distinguished by his high conical tiara, standing over a prostrate warrior; his right hand elevated, and the left supported by a bow. The figure at his feet, probably a captive enemy or rebel, wore a pointed cap, somewhat similar in form to that already described. I was, from this circumstance, at first inclined to believe that the sculpture represented the conquest of the original founders of Nimroud, by a new race,—perhaps the overthrow of the first by the second Assyrian dynasty; but I was subsequently led to abandon the conjecture. An eunuch holds a fly-flapper or fan over the head of the king, who appears to be conversing or performing some ceremony with a figure standing in front of him; probably his vizir or minister.* Behind this personage, who differs from the king by

* I shall in future always designate this figure, which frequently occurs in the Assyrian bas-reliefs, the King's Vizir or Minister. It has been conjectured that the

his head-dress,—a simple fillet round the temple,—are two attendants, the first an eunuch, the second a bearded figure, half of which was continued on the adjoining slab. This bas-relief was separated from a second above, by a band of inscriptions; the upper sculpture was almost totally destroyed, and I could with difficulty trace upon it the forms of horses, and horsemen. A wounded figure beneath the horses wore a helmet with a curved crest, resembling the Greek. These two subjects were continued on either side, but the slabs were broken off near the bottom, and the feet of a row of figures, probably other attendants, standing behind the king and his minister, could only be distinguished.

Another slab in this wall (No. 3) was occupied, with the exception of the prisoner, by figures resembling those on the slab just described. The king, however, holds his bow horizontally, and his attendant eunuch is carrying his arms, a second bow, the mace, and a quiver. All these figures are about three feet eight inches in height, the dimensions of those before discovered being somewhat smaller.

The rest of the wall, which had completely disappeared in some places, was composed of gigantic winged figures, sculptured in low relief. They were found to be almost entirely defaced.

Several trenches carried to the west of wall *q*, and at right angles with it, led me to walls *s* and *t*. The sculptured slabs, of which they were built, were not better preserved than others in this part of the mound. I could only distinguish the lower part of gigantic figures; some had been purposely defaced by a sharp instrument; others, from long exposure, had been worn almost smooth. Inscriptions were carried across the slabs over the drapery, but were interrupted when a naked

person represented is a friendly or tributary monarch, but as he often occurs amongst the attendants, aiding the king in his battles, or waiting upon him at the celebration of religious ceremonies, with his hands crossed in front, as is still the fashion in the East with dependents, it appears more probable that he was his adviser or some high officer of the court.

limb occurred, and resumed beyond it. Such is generally the case when, as in the older palace of Nimroud, inscriptions are engraved over a figure.

These experiments were sufficient to prove that the building I was exploring had not been entirely destroyed by fire, but had been partly exposed to gradual decay. No sculptures had hitherto been discovered in a perfect state of preservation, and only one or two could bear removal. I determined, therefore, to abandon this corner, and to resume excavations near the chamber first opened,* where the slabs had in no way been injured. The workmen were directed to dig behind the small lions,† which appeared to form an entrance, and to be connected with other walls. After removing much earth, a few unsculptured slabs were discovered, fallen from their places, and broken in many pieces. The sides of the room of which they had originally formed a part could not be traced.

As these ruins occurred on the edge of the mound, it was probable that they had been more exposed than the rest, and consequently had sustained more injury than other parts of the building. As there was a ravine running far into the mound, apparently formed by the winter rains, I determined to open a trench in the centre of it. In two days the workmen reached the top of a slab, which appeared to be both well preserved, and to be still standing in its original position. On the south side I discovered, to my great satisfaction, two human figures, considerably above the natural size, sculptured in low relief, and still exhibiting all the freshness of a recent work. This was No. 30 of chamber B in the third plan. In a few hours the earth and rubbish had been completely removed from the face of the slab, no part of which had been injured. The ornaments delicately graven on the robes, the tassels and fringes, the bracelets and armlets, the elaborate curls of the hair and beard, were all entire. The figures were

* Chamber A, plan 3. † Entrance to chamber B B.

EAGLE-HEADED FIGURE. (N. W. Palace. Nimroud.

back to back, and furnished with wings. They appeared to represent divinities, presiding over the seasons, or over particular religious ceremonies. The one, whose face was turned to the East, carried a fallow deer on his right arm, and in his left hand a branch bearing five flowers. Around his temples was a fillet, adorned in front with a rosette. The other held a square vessel, or basket, in the left hand, and an object resembling a fir cone in the right. On his head he wore a rounded cap, at the base of which was a horn. The garments of both, consisting of a stole falling from the shoulders to the ankles, and a short tunic underneath, descending to the knee, were richly and tastefully decorated with embroideries and fringes, whilst the hair and beard were arranged with study and art. Although the relief was lower, yet the outline was perhaps more careful, and true, than that of the Assyrian sculptures of Khorsabad. The limbs were delineated with peculiar accuracy, and the muscles and bones faithfully, though somewhat too strongly, marked. An inscription ran across the sculpture.

To the west of this slab, and fitting to it, was a corner-stone ornamented with flowers and scroll-work, tastefully arranged, and resembling in detail those graven on the injured tablet, near entrance *d* of the S.W. building. I recognized at once from whence many of the sculptures, employed in the construction of that edifice, had been brought; and it was evident that I had at length discovered the earliest palace of Nimroud.

The corner-stone led me to a figure of singular form.* A human body, clothed in robes similar to those of the winged men on the previous slab, was surmounted by the head of an eagle or of a vulture.† The curved beak, of considerable length, was half open, and displayed a narrow pointed tongue, which was still covered with red paint. On the shoulders fell

* No. 32, chamber B, plan 3.

† It has been suggested that this is the head of a cock, but it is unquestionably that of a carnivorous bird of the eagle tribe.

the usual curled and bushy hair of the Assyrian mages, and a comb of feathers rose on the top of the head Two wings sprang from the back, and in either hand was the square vessel and fir cone.

On all these figures paint could be faintly distinguished, particularly on the hair, beard, eyes, and sandals. The slabs on which they were sculptured had sustained no injury, and could be without difficulty packed and moved to any distance. There could no longer be any doubt that they formed part of a chamber, and that, to explore it completely, I had only to continue along the wall, now partly uncovered.

On the morning following these discoveries, I rode to the encampment of Sheikh Abd-ur-rahman, and was returning to the mound, when I saw two Arabs of his tribe urging their mares to the top of their speed. On approaching me they stopped. "Hasten, O Bey," exclaimed one of them—"hasten to the diggers, for they have found Nimrod himself. Wallah, it is wonderful, but it is true! we have seen him with our eyes. There is no God but God;" and both joining in this pious exclamation, they galloped off, without further words, in the direction of their tents.

On reaching the ruins I descended into the new trench, and found the workmen, who had already seen me, as I approached, standing near a heap of baskets and cloaks. Whilst Awad advanced, and asked for a present to celebrate the occasion, the Arabs withdrew the screen they had hastily constructed, and disclosed an enormous human head sculptured in full out of the alabaster of the country. They had uncovered the upper part of the figure, the remainder of which was still buried in the earth. I saw at once that the head must belong to a winged lion or bull, similar to those of Khorsabad and Persepolis. It was in admirable preservation. The expression was calm, yet majestic, and the outline of the features showed a freedom and knowledge of art, scarcely to be looked for in the works of so remote a period. The cap had three horns,

and, unlike that of the human-headed bulls hitherto found in Assyria, was rounded and without ornament at the top.

I was not surprised that the Arabs had been amazed and terrified at this apparition. It required no stretch of imagination to conjure up the most strange fancies. This gigantic head, blanched with age, thus rising from the bowels of the earth, might well have belonged to one of those fearful beings which are pictured in the traditions of the country, as appearing to mortals, slowly ascending from the regions below. One of the workmen, on catching the first glimpse of the monster, had thrown down his basket and run off towards Mosul as fast as his legs could carry him. I learnt this with regret, as I anticipated the consequences.

Whilst I was superintending the removal of the earth, which still clung to the sculpture, and giving directions for the continuation of the work, a noise of horsemen was heard, and presently Abd-ur-rahman, followed by half his tribe, appeared on the edge of the trench. As soon as the two Arabs had reached the tents, and published the wonders they had seen, every one mounted his mare and rode to the mound, to satisfy himself of the truth of these inconceivable reports. When they beheld the head they all cried out together, "There is no God but God, and Mahommed is his Prophet!" It was some time before the Sheikh could be prevailed upon to descend into the pit, and convince himself that the image he saw was of stone. "This is not the work of men's hands," exclaimed he, "but of those infidel giants of whom the Prophet, peace be with him! has said, that they were higher than the tallest date tree; this is one of the idols which Noah, peace be with him! cursed before the flood." In this opinion, the result of a careful examination, all the bystanders concurred.

I now ordered a trench to be dug due south from the head, in the expectation of finding a corresponding figure, and before night-fall reached the object of my search about twelve feet distant. Engaging two or three men to sleep near the sculptures, I returned to the village and celebrated the day's dis

covery by a slaughter of sheep, of which all the A abs near partook. As some wandering musicians chanced to be at Selamiyah, I sent for them, and dances were kept up during the greater part of the night. On the following morning Arabs from the other side of the Tigris, and the inhabitants of the surrounding villages congregated on the mound. Even the women could not repress their curiosity, and came in crowds, with their children, from afar. My Cawass was stationed during the day in the trench, into which I would not allow the multitude to descend.

As I had expected, the report of the discovery of the gigantic head, carried by the terrified Arab to Mosul, had thrown the town into commotion. He had scarcely checked his speed before reaching the bridge. Entering breathless into the bazars, he announced to every one he met that Nimrod had appeared. The news soon got to the ears of the Cadi, who, anxious for a fresh opportunity to annoy me, called the Mufti and the Ulema together, to consult upon this unexpected occurrence. Their deliberations ended in a procession to the Governor, and a formal protest, on the part of the Musulmans of the town, against proceedings so directly contrary to the laws of the Koran. The Cadi had no distinct idea whether the bones of the mighty hunter had been uncovered, or only his image; nor did Ismail Pasha very clearly remember whether Nimrod was a true-believing prophet, or an Infidel. I consequently received a somewhat unintelligible message from his Excellency, to the effect that the remains should be treated with respect, and be by no means further disturbed, and that he wished the excavations to be stopped at once, and desired to confer with me on the subject.

I called upon him accordingly, and had some difficulty in making him understand the nature of my discovery. As he requested me to discontinue my operations until the sensation in the town had somewhat subsided, I returned to Nimroud and dismissed the workmen, retaining only two men to dig leisurely along the walls without giving cause for further in-

terference. I ascertained by the end of March the existence of a second pair of winged human-headed lions,* differing from those previously discovered in form, the human shape being continued to the waist and furnished with arms. In one hand each figure carried a goat or stag, and in the other, which hung down by the side, a branch with three flowers. They formed a northern entrance into the chamber of which the lions previously described were the southern portal. I completely uncovered the latter, and found them to be entire. They were about twelve feet in height, and the same number in length. The body and limbs were admirably portrayed; the muscles and bones, although strongly developed to display the strength of the animal, showed at the same time a correct knowledge of its anatomy and form. Expanded wings sprung from the shoulder and spread over the back; a knotted girdle, ending in tassels, encircled the loins. These sculptures, forming an entrance, were partly in full and partly in relief. The head and fore-part, facing the chamber, were in full; but only one side of the rest of the slab was sculptured, the back being placed against the wall of sun-dried bricks. That the spectator might have both a perfect front and side view of the figures, they were furnished with five legs; two were carved on the end of the slab to face the chamber, and three on the side. The relief of the body and three limbs was high and bold, and the slab was covered, in all parts not occupied by the image, with inscriptions in the cuneiform character. These magnificent specimens of Assyrian art were in perfect preservation; the most minute lines in the details of the wings and in the ornaments had been retained with their original freshness. Not a character was wanting in the inscriptions.

I used to contemplate for hours these mysterious emblems, and muse over their intent and history. What more noble forms could have ushered the people into the temple of their gods? What more sublime images could have been borrowed

* Entrance of chamber B, plan 3.

from nature, by men who sought, unaided by the light of revealed religion, to embody their conception of the wisdom, power, and ubiquity of a Supreme Being? They could find no better type of intellect and knowledge than the head of the man; of strength, than the body of the lion; of rapidity of motion, than the wings of the bird. These winged human-headed lions were not idle creations, the offspring of mere fancy; their meaning was written upon them. They had awed and instructed races which flourished 3000 years ago. Through the portals which they guarded, kings, priests, and warriors had borne sacrifices to their altars, long before the wisdom of the East had penetrated to Greece, and had furnished its mythology with symbols long recognized by the Assyrian votaries. They may have been buried, and their existence may have been unknown, before the foundation of the eternal city. For twenty-five centuries they had been hidden from the eye of man, and they now stood forth once more in their ancient majesty. But how changed was the scene around them! The luxury and civilization of a mighty nation had given place to the wretchedness and ignorance of a few half-barbarous tribes. The wealth of temples, and the riches of great cities, had been succeeded by ruins and shapeless heaps of earth. Above the spacious hall in which they stood, the plough had passed and the corn now waved. Egypt has monuments no less ancient and no less wonderful; but they have stood forth for ages to testify her early power and renown; whilst those before me had but now appeared to bear witness in the words of the prophet, that once "the Assyrian was a cedar in Lebanon with fair branches and with a shadowing shroud of a high stature; and his top was among the thick boughs . . . . his height was exalted above all the trees of the field, and his boughs were multiplied, and his branches became long, because of the multitude of waters when he shot forth. All the fowls of heaven made their nests in his boughs, and under his branches did all the beasts of the field bring forth their young, and under his shadow dwelt all great nations;"

WINGED HUMAN-HEADED LION. (N. W. Palace. Nimroud.)

for now is "Nineveh a desolation and dry like a wilderness, and flocks lie down in the midst of her; all the beasts of the nations, both the cormorant and bittern, lodge in the upper lintels of it; their voice sings in the windows; and desolation is in the thresholds."*

Behind the lions was another chamber.† I uncovered about fifty feet of its northern wall. On each slab was carved the winged figure with the horned cap, fir cone, and square vessel or basket. They were in pairs facing one another and divided by an emblematic tree, similar to that on the corner stone in chamber B. All these bas-reliefs were inferior in execution, and finish, to those previously discovered.

During the month of March I received visits from the principal Sheikhs of the Jebour Arabs, whose tribes had now partly crossed the Tigris, and were pasturing their flocks in the neighborhood of Nimroud, or cultivating millet on the banks of the river. The Jebour are a branch of the ancient tribe of Obeid. Their encamping grounds are on the banks of the Khabour, from its junction with the Euphrates,—from the ancient Carchemish or Circesium,—to its source at Ras-el-Ain. They were suddenly attacked and plundered a year or two ago by the Aneyza; and being compelled to leave their haunts, took refuge in the districts around Mosul. The Pasha at first received them well; but learning that several mares of pure Arab blood still remained with the Sheikhs, he determined to seize them. To obtain them as presents, or by purchase, he knew to be impossible; he consequently formed the design of taking the tribe by surprise, as they had been thrown off their guard by their friendly reception. A body of irregular troops was accordingly sent for the purpose towards their tents; but the Arabs, suspecting the nature of their visit, prepared to resist. A conflict ensued in which the Pasha's horsemen were completely defeated. A more formidable expedition, including regular troops and artillery, now marched against them. But they were

* Ezekiel, xxxi. 3., &c., Zephaniah, ii. 13. and 14.

† Chamber C.

again victorious and repulsed the Turks with considerable loss They fled, nevertheless, to the desert, where they had since been wandering in great misery, joining with the Shammar and other tribes in plundering the villages of the Pashalic. On learning the measures taken by Ismail Pasha, dying with hunger, they had returned to arable lands on the banks of the river; where, by an imperfect and toilsome fashion of irrigation, they could, during the summer months, raise a small supply of millet to satisfy their immediate necessities.

The Jebour were at this time divided into three branches, obeying different Sheikhs. The names of the three chiefs were Abd'rubbou, Mohammed Emin, and Mohammed ed Dagher. Although all three visited me at Nimroud, it was the first with whom I was best acquainted, and who rendered me the most assistance. I thought it necessary to give them each small presents, a silk dress, or an embroidered cloak, with a pair of capacious boots, as in case of any fresh disturbances in the country it would be as well to be on friendly terms with the tribe. The intimacy, however, which sprang from these acts of generosity, was not in all respects of the most desirable or convenient nature. The Arab compliment of "my house is your house" was accepted more literally than I had intended, and I was seldom free from a large addition to my establishment. A Sheikh and a dozen of his attendants were generally installed in my huts, whilst their mares were tied at every door. My fame even reached the mountains, and one day, on returning from Mosul, I found a Kurdish chief, with a numerous suite, in the full enjoyment of my premises. The whole party were dressed in the height of fashion. Every color had received due consideration in their attire. Their arms were of very superior design and workmanship, their turbans of adequate height and capacity. The chief enjoyed a multiplicity of titles, political, civil, and ecclesiastical: he was announced as Mullah Ali Effendi Bey,* and brought, as a token of friend-

* These double titles are very common amongst the Kurds, as Beder Khan Bey, Mir Nur Ullah Bey, &c. The Porte, however, persists in writing the word Khan,

ship, a skin of honey and cheese, a Kurdish carpet, and some horse trappings. I felt honored by the presence of so illustrious a personage, and the duties of hospitality compelled me to accept his offerings, which were duly placed amongst the stores.

He had evidently some motives sufficiently powerful to overcome his very marked religious prejudices—motives which certainly could not be traced to disinterested friendship. Like Shylock, he would have said, had he not been of too good breeding, "I will buy with you, sell with you, talk with you, walk with you, and so following; but I will not eat with you, drink with you, nor pray with you;" for he sat in solitary sanctity to eat his own pillaf, drank out of a reserved jar, and sought the dwellings of the true believers to spread his prayer-carpet. Dogs were an abomination to him, and two of his attendants were constantly on the watch to keep his legs and the lower part of his garments free from the touch of my greyhounds, who wandered through the premises.

As my guest was the chief of a large tribe of nomad Kurds who inhabit the mountains in the neighborhood of Rowandiz during the summer, and the plains around Arbil in winter, I did not feel the necessity of conciliating him as I had done the Arab Sheikhs encamping near Nimroud, nor did I desire to encourage visits from persons of his sanctity and condition. I allowed him therefore to remain without making any return for his presents, or understanding the hints on the subject he took frequent occasion to drop. At length, on the second evening, his secretary asked for an interview. "The Mullah Effendi," said he, "will leave your Lordship's abode to-morrow. Praise be to God, the most disinterested and sincere friendship has been established between you, and it is suitable that your Lordship should take this opportunity of giving a public testi-

"Kan," because it will not recognize in any one else a title which is given by the Turks to the Osmanlee Sultans alone. So the word "Hadji," a Pilgrim, when applied to a Christian is not written the same as when borne by a Musulman, for a religious epithet would be polluted if added to the name of an unbeliever.

mony of your regard for his Reverence. Not that he desires to accept any thing from you, but it would be highly gratifying to him to prove to his tribe that he has met with a friendly reception from so distinguished a person as yourself, and to spread through the mountains reports of your generosity." "I regret," answered I, "that the trifling differences in matters of religion which exist between us, should preclude the possibility of the Effendi's accepting any thing from me; for I am convinced that, however amiable and friendly he may be, a man of his sanctity would not do any thing forbidden by the law. I am at a loss, therefore, to know how I can meet his wishes." "Although," he rejoined, "there might perhaps be some difficulty on that score, yet it could be, I hope, overcome. Moreover, there are his attendants; they are not so particular as he is, and, thank God, we are all one. To each of them you might give a pair of yellow boots and a silk dress; besides, if you chance to have any pistols or daggers, they would be satisfied with them. As for me, I am a man of letters, and, having nothing to do with arms and boots, you might, therefore, show your approbation of my devotedness to your service, by giving me white linen for a turban, and a pair of breeches. The Effendi, however, would not object to a set of razors, because the handles are of ivory and the blades of steel; and it is stated in the Hadith that those materials do not absorb moisture;* besides, he would feel obliged if you could lend him a small sum—five purses, for instance, (Wallah, Billah, Tillah he would do the same for you at any time,) for which he would give you a note of hand." "It is very unfortunate," I replied, "that there is not a bazar in the village.

* The Sheeas and some other sects, who scrupulously adhere to the precepts of the Koran and to the Hadith or sacred traditions, make a distinction between those things which may be used or touched by a Musulman after they have been in the hands of a Christian, and those which may not; this distinction depends upon whether they be, according to their doctors, absorbents or non-absorbents. If they are supposed to absorb moisture, they become unclean after contact with an unbeliever.

I will make a list of all the articles you specify as proper to be given to the attendants and to yourself. But these can only be procured in Mosul, and two days would elapse before they could reach me. I could not think of taking up so much of the valuable time of the Mullah Effendi, whose absence must already have been sorely felt by his tribe. With regard to the money, for which, God forbid that I should think of taking any note of hand (praise be to God! we are on much too good terms for such formalities), and to the razors, I think it would give more convincing proof of my esteem for the Effendi, if I were myself to return his welcome visit, and be the bearer of suitable presents." Finding that a more satisfactory answer could not be obtained, the secretary retired with evident marks of disappointment in his face. A further attempt was made upon Mr. Hormuzd Rassam, and renewed again in the morning; but nothing more tangible could be procured. After staying four days, the Mullah Effendi Bey and his attendants, about twenty in number, mounted their horses and rode away. I was no more troubled with visits from Kurdish Chiefs.

The middle of March in Mesopotamia is the brightest epoch of spring. A new change had come over the face of the plain of Nimroud. Its pasture lands, known as the "Jaif," are renowned for their rich and luxuriant herbage. In times of quiet, the studs of the Pasha and of the Turkish authorities, with the horses of the cavalry and of the inhabitants of Mosul, are sent here to graze. Day by day they arrived in long lines. The Shemutti and Jehesh left their huts, and encamped on the greensward which surrounded the villages. The plain, as far as the eye could reach, was studded with the white pavilions of the Hytas and the black tents of the Arabs. Picketed around them were innumerable horses in gay trappings, struggling to release themselves from the bonds, which restrained them from ranging over the green pastures.

Flowers of every hue enamelled the meadows; not thinly scattered over the grass as in northern climes, but in such thick

and gathering clusters that the whole plain seemed a patchwork of many colors. The dogs, as they returned from hunting, issued from the long grass dyed red, yellow, or blue, according to the flowers through which they had last forced their way.

The villages of Naifa and Nimroud were deserted, and I remained alone with Said, and my servants. The houses now began to swarm with vermin; we no longer slept under the roofs, and it was time to follow the example of the Arabs. I accordingly encamped on the edge of a large pond on the outskirts of Nimroud. Said accompanied me; and Salah, his young wife, a bright-eyed Arab girl, built up his shed, and watched and milked his diminutive flock of sheep and goats.

I was surrounded by Arabs, who had either pitched their tents, or, too poor to buy the black goat-hair cloth of which they are made, had erected small huts of reeds and dry grass.

When I returned in the evening after the labor of the day, I often sat at the door of my tent, and giving myself up to the full enjoyment of that calm and repose which are imparted to the senses by such scenes as these, I gazed listlessly on the varied groups before me. As the sun went down behind the low hills which separate the river from the desert—even their rocky sides had struggled to emulate the verdant clothing of the plain—its receding rays were gradually withdrawn, like a transparent veil of light, from the landscape. Over the pure cloudless sky was the glow of the last light. The great mound threw its dark shadow far across the plain. In the distance, and beyond the Zab, Keshaf, another venerable ruin, rose indistinctly into the evening mist. Still more distant, and still more indistinct was a solitary hill overlooking the ancient city of Arbela. The Kurdish mountains, whose snowy summits cherished the dying sunbeams, yet struggled with the twilight. The bleating of sheep and lowing of cattle, at first faint, became louder as the flocks returned from their pastures, and wandered among the tents. Girls hurried over the greensward

to seek their father's cattle, or crouched down to milk those which had returned alone to their well-remembered folds. Some were coming from the river bearing the replenished pitcher on their heads or shoulders; others, no less graceful in their form, and erect in their carriage, were carrying the heavy load of long grass which they had cut in the meadows. Sometimes a party of horsemen might have been seen in the distance slowly crossing the plain, the tufts of ostrich feathers which topped their long spears showing darkly against the evening sky. They would ride up to my tent, and give me the usual salutation, "Peace be with you, O Bey," or, "Allah Aienak, God help you." Then driving the end of their lances into the ground, they would spring from their mares, and fasten their halters to the still quivering weapons. Seating themselves on the grass, they related deeds of war and plunder, or speculated on the site of the tents of Sofuk, until the moon rose, when they vaulted into their saddles and took the way of the desert.

The plain now glittered with innumerable fires. As the night advanced, they vanished one by one until the landscape was wrapped in darkness and in silence, only disturbed by the barking of the Arab dog.

Abd-ur-rahman rode to my tent one morning, and offered to take me to a remarkable cutting in the rock, which he described as the work of Nimrod, the Giant. The Arabs call it "Negoub," or, The Hole. We were two hours in reaching the place, as we hunted gazelles and hares by the way. A tunnel, bored through the rock, opens by two low arched outlets, upon the river. It is of considerable length, and is continued for about a mile by a deep channel, also cut out of the rock, but open at the top. I suspected at once that this was an Assyrian work, and, on examining the interior of the tunnel, I discovered a slab covered with cuneiform characters, which had fallen in from a platform, and had been wedged in a crevice of the rock. With much difficulty I succeeded in ascertaining that an inscription was also cut on the back of

the tablet. From the darkness of the place, I could scarcely copy even the few characters which had resisted the wear of centuries. Some days after, others who had casually heard of my visit, and conjectured that some Assyrian remains might have been found there, sent a party of workmen to the spot; who, finding the slab, broke it into pieces, in their attempt to displace it. This wanton destruction of the tablet is much to be regretted; as, from the fragment of the inscription I copied, I can perceive that it contained an important, and, to me, new genealogical list of kings. I had intended to remove the stone carefully, and had hoped, by placing it in a proper light, to ascertain accurately the forms of the various characters upon it. This was not the only loss I had to complain of, from the jealousy and competition of rivals.

The tunnel of Negoub is undoubtedly a remarkable work, undertaken, as far as I can judge by the fragment of the inscription, during the reign of an Assyrian king of the latter dynasty, who may have raised the tablet to commemorate the completion of the work. Its object is rather uncertain. It may have been cut to lead the waters of the Zab into the surrounding country for irrigation; or it may have been the termination of the great canal, which is still to be traced by a double range of lofty mounds, near the ruins of Nimroud, and which may have united the Tigris with the neighboring river, and thus fertilized a large tract of land. In either case, the level of the two rivers, as well as the face of the country, must have changed considerably since the period of its construction. At present Negoub is above the Zab, except at the time of the highest flood in the spring, and then water is only found in the mouth of the tunnel; all other parts having been much choked up with rubbish and river deposits.

CHAPTER IV.

THE operations at Nimroud having been completely suspended until I could receive assistance from Constantinople, I thought the time not inopportune to visit Sofuk, the Sheikh of the great Arab tribe of Shammar, which occupies nearly the whole of Mesopotamia. He had lately left the Khabour, and was now encamped near the western bank of the Tigris, below its junction with the Zab, and consequently not far from Nimroud. I had two objects in going to his tents; in the first place I wished to obtain the friendship of the chief of a large tribe of Arabs, who would probably cross the river in the neighborhood of the excavations during the summer, and might indulge, to my cost, in their plundering propensities; and, at the same time, I was anxious to visit the remarkable ruins of Al Hather, which I had only examined very hastily on my former journey.

Mr. Rassam (the Vice-Consul) and his wife, with several native gentlemen of Mosul, Mussulmans and Christians, were induced to accompany me; and, as we issued from the gates of the town, and assembled in the well-peopled burying-ground opposite the governor's palace, I found myself at the head of a formidable party. Our tents, obtained from the Pasha, and our provisions and necessary furniture, were carried by a string of twelve camels. Mounted above these loads, and on donkeys, was an army of camel-drivers, tent-pitchers, and volunteers ready for all services. There were, moreover, a few irregular horsemen, the Cawasses, the attendants of the Mosul gentlemen, the Mosul gentlemen themselves, and our own servants

all armed to the teeth. Ali Effendi, chief of the Mosul branch of the Omeree, or descendants of Omar, which had furnished several Pashas to the province, was our principal Mussulman friend. He was mounted on the Hedban, a well-known white Arab, beautiful in form and pure in blood, but now of great age. Close at his horse's heels followed a confidential servant; who, perched on a pack-saddle, seemed to roll from side to side on two small barrels, the use of which might have been an enigma, had they not emitted a very strong smell of raki. A Christian gentleman was wrapped up in cloaks and furs, and appeared to dread the cold, although the thermometer was at 100. The English lady was equipped in riding-habit and hat. The two Englishmen, Mr. Ross and myself, wore a striking mixture of European and oriental raiments. Mosul ladies, in blue veils, their faces concealed by black horse-hair sieves, had been dragged to the top of piles of carpets and cushions, under which groaned their unfortunate mules. Greyhounds in leashes were led by Arabs on foot; whilst others played with strange dogs, who followed the caravan for change of air. The horsemen galloped round and round, now dashing into the centre of the crowd, throwing their horses on their haunches when at full speed, or discharging their guns and pistols into the air. A small flag with British colors was fastened to the top of a spear, and confided to a Cawass. Such was the motley caravan which left Mosul by the Bab el Top, where a crowd of women had assembled to witness the procession.

We took the road to the ruins of the monastery of Mar Elias a place of pilgrimage for the Christians of Mosul, which we passed after an hour's ride. Evening set in before we could reach the desert, and we pitched our tents for the night on a lawn near a deserted village, about nine miles from the town.

On the following morning we soon emerged from the low limestone hills; which, broken into a thousand rocky valleys, form a barrier between the Tigris and the plains of Mesopotamia. We now found ourselves in the desert, or rather wilderness; for at this time of the year, nature could not disclose a

more varied scene, or a more luxuriant vegetation. We trod on an interminable carpet, figured by flowers of every hue. Nor was water wanting; for the abundant rains had given reservoirs to every hollow, and to every ravine. Their contents, owing to the nature of the soil, were brackish, but not unwholesome. Clusters of black tents were scattered, and flocks of sheep and camels wandered, over the plain. Those of our party who were well mounted urged their horses through the meadows, pursuing the herds of gazelles, or the wild boar, skulking in the long grass. Although such scenes as these may be described, the exhilaration caused by the air of the desert in spring, and the feeling of freedom arising from the contemplation of its boundless expanse, must have been experienced before they can be understood. The stranger, as well as the Arab, feels the intoxication of the senses which they produce. From their effects upon the wandering son of Ishmael, they might well have been included by the Prophet amongst those things forbidden to the true believer.

The first object we had in view was to discover the tents of Sofuk. The Sheikh had been lately exposed to demands on the part of the governors of Mosul and Baghdad; and, moreover, an open hostility to his authority had arisen amongst the Shammar tribes. He was consequently keeping out of sight, and seeking the most secluded spots in the desert to pitch his tents. We asked our way of the parties of Arab horsemen, whom we met roving over the plain; but received different answers from each. Some were ignorant; others fancied that our visit might be unacceptable, and endeavored to deceive us.

About mid-day we found ourselves in the midst of extensive herds of camels. They belonged to the Haddedeen. The sonorous whoop of the Arab herdsmen resounded from all sides. A few horsemen were galloping about, driving back the stragglers, and directing the march of the leaders of the herd. Shortly after we came up with some families moving to a new place of encampment, and at their head I recognized my old antiquity hunter, Mormous. He no sooner perceived us than

he gave orders to those who followed him, and of whom he was the chief, to pitch the tents. We were now in the Wadi Ghusub, formed by a small salt stream, which forces its sluggish way through a dense mass of reeds and water shrubs, from whence the valley has taken its name. About fifteen tents were soon raised. A sheep was slaughtered in front of the one in which we sat; large wooden bowls of sour milk, and platters of fresh butter were placed before us; fires of camel's dung were lighted; decrepit old women blew up the flames; the men cut the carcass into small pieces, and capacious caldrons soon sent forth volumes of steam.

Mormous tended the sheep of Ali Effendi, our travelling companion as well as his own.* The two were soon in discussion, as to the amount of butter and wool produced. Violent altercations arose on the subject of the missing beasts. Heavy responsibilities, which the Effendi did not seem inclined to admit, were thrown upon the wolves. Some time elapsed before these vital questions were settled to the satisfaction of both parties; ears having been produced, oaths taken, and witnesses called, with the assistance of wolves and the rot, the diminution in the flocks was fully accounted for.

The sheep was now boiled. The Arabs pulled the fragments out of the caldron and laid them on wooden platters with their fingers. We helped ourselves after the same fashion. The servants succeeded to the dishes, which afterwards passed through the hands of the camel-drivers and tent-pitchers; and at last, denuded of all apparently edible portions, reached a strong party of expectant Arabs. The condition of the bones by the time they were delivered to a crowd of hungry dogs, assembled on the occasion, may easily be imagined.

* It is customary for the inhabitants of Mosul possessing flocks to confide them to the Haddedeen Arabs, who take them into the desert during the winter and spring, and pasture them in the low hills to the east of the town during the summer and autumn. The produce of the sheep, the butter and wool, is divided between the owner and the Arab in charge of them; the sour milk, curds, &c., are left to the latter. In case of death the Arab brings the ears, and takes an oath that they belong to the missing animal.

We resumed our journey in the afternoon, preceded by Mormous, who volunteered to accompany us. As we rode over the plain, we fell in with the Sheikh of Haddedeen, mounted on a fine mare, and followed by a large concourse of Arabs, driving their beasts of burden loaded with tents and furniture. He offered to conduct us to a branch of the Shammar, whose encampment we could reach before evening. We gladly accepted his offer, and he left his people to ride with us.

We had been wandering to and fro in the desert, uncertain as to the course we should pursue. The Sheikh now rode in the direction of the Tigris. Before nightfall we came to a large encampment, and recognized in its chief one Khalaf, an Arab who frequently came to Mosul, and whom Mr. Rassam and myself had met on our previous journey to Al Hather. His tribe, although a branch of the Shammar, usually encamp near the town; and avoid, if possible, the broils which divide their brethren. Strong enough to defend themselves against the attacks of other Arabs, and generally keeping at a sufficient distance from Mosul to be out of reach of the devastating arm of its governors, they have become comparatively wealthy. Their flocks of sheep and camels are numerous, and their Sheikhs boast some of the finest horses and mares in Mesopotamia.

Sheikh Khalaf received us with hospitality; sheep were immediately slaughtered, and we dismounted at his tent. Even his wives, amongst whom was a remarkably pretty Arab girl, came to us to gratify their curiosity by a minute examination of the Frank lady. As the intimacy, which began to spring up, was somewhat inconvenient, we directed our tents to be pitched at a distance from the encampment, by the side of a small stream. It was one of those calm and pleasant evenings which in spring make a paradise of the desert. The breeze, bland and perfumed by the odor of flowers, came calmly over the plain. As the sun went down countless camels and sheep wandered to the tents, and the melancholy call of the herdsmen rose above the bleating of the flocks. The Arabs led

their prancing mares to the water; the colts, as they followed, played and rolled on the grass. I spread my carpet at a distance from the group to enjoy uninterrupted the varied scene. Rassam, now in his element, collected around him a knot of wondering Arabs, unscrewed telescopes, exhibited various ingenious contrivances, and described the wonders of Europe, interrupted by the exclamations of incredulous surprise, which his marvellous stories elicited from the hearers. Ali Effendi and his Mussulman friends, who preferred other pleasures and more definite excitement, hid themselves in the high rushes, and handed round a small silver bowl containing fragrant ruby-colored spirits, which might have rejoiced even the heart of Hafiz. The camel-drivers and servants hurried over the lawn, tending their animals or preparing for the evening meal.

We had now reached the pasture-grounds of the Shammar and Sheikh Khalaf declared that Sofuk's tents could not be far distant. A few days before they had been pitched almost amongst the ruins of Al Hather; but he had since left them, and it was not known where he had encamped. We started early in the morning, and took the direction pointed out by Khalaf. Our view was bounded to the east by a rising ground. When we reached its summit, we looked down upon a plain, which appeared to swarm with moving objects. We had come upon the main body of the Shammar. It would be difficult to describe the appearance of a large tribe, like that we now met, when migrating to new pastures. The scene caused in me feelings of melancholy, for it recalled many hours, perhaps unprofitably, though certainly happily spent; and many friends, some who now sighed in captivity for the joyous freedom which those wandering hordes enjoyed; others who had perished in its defence. We soon found ourselves in the midst of wide-spreading flocks of sheep and camels. As far as the eye could reach, to the right, to the left, and in front, still the same moving crowd. Long lines of asses and bullocks laden with black tents, huge caldrons and variegated carpets; aged women and men, no longer able to walk, tied on the heap of

domestic furniture; infants crammed into saddle-bags, their tiny heads thrust through the narrow opening, balanced on the animal's back by kids or lambs tied on the opposite side; young girls clothed only in the close-fitting Arab shirt, which displayed rather than concealed their graceful forms; mothers with their children on their shoulders; boys driving flocks of lambs; horsemen armed with their long tufted spears, scouring the plain on their fleet mares; riders urging their dromedaries with their short hooked sticks, and leading their high-bred steeds by the halter; colts galloping amongst the throng: high-born ladies seated in the centre of huge wings, which extend like those of a butterfly from each side of the camel's hump, and are no less gaudy and variegated. Such was the motley crowd through which we had to wend our way for several hours. Our appearance created a lively sensation; the women checked our horses; the horsemen assembled round us, and rode by our side; the children yelled and ran after the Franks.

It was mid-day before we found a small party that had stopped and were pitching their tents. A young chesnut mare belonging to the Sheikh, was one of the most beautiful creatures I ever beheld. As she struggled to free herself from the spear to which she was tied, she showed the lightness and elegance of the gazelle. Her limbs were in perfect symmetry; her ears long, slender and transparent; her nostrils high, dilated and deep red; her neck gracefully arched, and her mane and tail of the texture of silk. We all involuntarily stopped to gaze at her. "Say Masha-Allah," exclaimed the owner, who, seeing not without pride, that I admired her, feared the effect of an evil eye. "That I will," answered I, "and with pleasure; for, O Arab, you possess the jewel of the tribe." He brought us a bowl of camel's milk, and directed us to the tents of Sofuk.

We had still two hours' ride before us, and when we reached the encampment of the Shammar Sheikh, our horses, as well as ourselves, were exhausted by the heat of the sun,

and the length of the day's journey. The tents were pitched on a broad lawn in a deep ravine; they were scattered in every direction, and amongst them rose the white pavilions of the Turkish irregular cavalry. Ferhan, the son of Sofuk, and a party of horsemen, rode out to meet us as we approached, and led us to the tent of the chief, distinguished from the rest by its size, and the spears which were driven into the ground at its entrance. Sofuk advanced to receive us; he was followed by about three hundred Arabs, including many of the principal Sheikhs of the tribe. In person he was short and corpulent, more like an Osmanli than an Arab; but his eye was bright and intelligent, his features regular, well formed and expressive. His dress differed but in the quality of the materials from that of his followers. A thick kerchief, striped with red, yellow, and blue, and fringed with long platted cords, was thrown over his head, and fell down his shoulders. It was held in its place, above the brow, by a band of spun camel's wool, tied at intervals by silken threads of many colors. A long white shirt, descending to the ankles, and a black and white cloak over it, completed his attire.

He led Rassam and myself to the top of the tent, where we seated ourselves on well-worn carpets. When all the party had found places, the words of welcome, which had been exchanged before we dismounted, were repeated. "Peace be with you, O Bey! upon my head you are welcome; my house is your house," exclaimed the Sheikh, addressing the stranger nearest to him. "Peace be with you, O Sofuk! may God protect you!" was the answer, and similar compliments were made to every guest and every person present. Whilst this ceremony, which took nearly half an hour, was going on, I had leisure to examine those who had assembled to meet us. Nearest to me was Ferhan, the Sheikh's son, a young man of handsome appearance and intelligent countenance, although the expression was neither agreeable nor attractive. His dress resembled that of his father; but from beneath the handkerchief thrown over his head hung his long black tresses platted

into many tails. His teeth were white as ivory like those of most Arabs. Beyond him sat a crowd of men of the most ferocious and forbidding exterior—warriors who had passed their lives in war and rapine, looking upon those who did not belong to their tribe as natural enemies, and preferring their wild freedom to all the riches of the earth.

Mrs. Rassam had been ushered into this crowded assembly and the scrutinizing glance with which she was examined from head to foot, by all present, was not agreeable. We requested that she might be taken to the tent of the women. Sofuk called two black slaves, who led her to the harem, scarcely a stone's-throw distant.

The compliments having been at length finished, we conversed upon general topics. Coffee, highly drugged with odoriferous roots found in the desert, and with spices, a mixture for which Sofuk has long been celebrated, was handed round before we retired to our own tents.

Sofuk's name was so well known in the desert, and he so long played a conspicuous part in the politics of Mesopotamia, that a few words on his history may not be uninteresting. He was descended from the Sheikhs, who brought the tribe from Nedjd. At the commencement of his career he had shared the chiefship with his uncle, after whose death he became the great Sheikh of the Shammar. From an early period he had been troublesome to the Turkish governors, of the provinces on the Tigris and Euphrates; but gained the applause and confidence of the Porte by a spirited attack which he made upon the camp of Mohammed Ali Mirza, son of Feth Ali Shah, and governor of Kirmanshah, when that prince was marching upon Baghdad and Mosul. After this exploit, to which was mainly attributed the safety of the Turkish cities, Sofuk was invested as Sheikh of the Shammar. At times, however, when he had to complain of ill-treatment from the Pasha of Baghdad, or could not control those under him, his tribes were accustomed to indulge their love of plunder, to sack villages and pillage caravans. He thus became formida-

ble to the Turks, and was known as the King of the Desert. When Mehemet Reshid Pasha led his successful expedition into Kurdistan and Mesopotamia, Sofuk was amongst the chiefs whose power he sought to destroy. He knew that it would be useless to attempt it by force, and he consequently invited the Sheikh to his camp on the pretence of investing him with the customary robe of honor. He was seized and sent a prisoner to Constantinople. Here he remained some months, until deceived by his promises, the Porte permitted him to return to his tribes. From that time his Arabs had generally been engaged in plunder, and all efforts to subdue them had failed. They had been the terror of the Pashalics of Mosul and Baghdad, and had even carried their depredations to the east of the Tigris. However, Nejris, the son of Sofuk's uncle, had appeared as his rival, and many branches of the Shammar had declared for the new Sheikh. This led to dissensions in the tribe; and, at the time of our visit, Sofuk, who had forfeited his popularity by many acts of treachery, was almost deserted by the Arabs. In this dilemma he had applied to the Pasha of Mosul, and had promised to serve the Porte and to repress the depredations of the tribes, if he were assisted in re-establishing his authority. This state of things accounted for the presence of the white tents of the Hytas in the midst of the encampment.

His intercourse with the Turkish authorities, who must be conciliated by adequate presents before assistance can be expected from them; and the famine, which for the last two years had prevailed in the countries surrounding the desert, were not favorable to the domestic prosperity of Sofuk. The wealth and display, for which he was once renowned amongst the Arabs, had disappeared. A few months before, he had even sent to Mosul the silver ankle-rings of his favorite wife —the last resource—to be exchanged for corn. The furred cloaks, and embroidered robe, which he once wore, had not been replaced. The only carpet in his tent was the rag on which sat his principal guests; the rest squatted on the grass,

or on the bare ground. He led the life of a pure Bedouin, from the commonest of whom he was only distinguished by the extent of his female establishment—always a weak point with the Sheikh. But even in his days of greatest prosperity, the meanest Arab looked upon him as his equal, addressed him as "Sofuk," and seated himself unbidden in his presence. The system of patriarchal government, faithfully described by Burckhardt, still exists, as it has done for 4000 years, in the desert. Although the Arabs for convenience recognize one man as their chief, yet any unpopular or oppressive act on his part at once dissolves their allegiance; and they seek, in another, a more just and trustworthy leader. Submitting, for a time, to contributions demanded by the Sheikh, if they believe them to be necessary for the honor and security of the tribe, they consider themselves the sole judges of that necessity. The chief is consequently always unwilling to risk his authority by asking for money, or horses, from those under him. He can only govern as long as he has the majority in his favor. He moves his tent; and others, who are not of his own family, follow him if they think proper. If his ascendency is great, and he can depend upon his majority, he may commit acts of bloodshed and oppression, becoming an arbitrary ruler; but such things are not forgotten by the Arabs, or seldom in the end go unpunished. Of this Sofuk himself was, as it will be seen hereafter, an example.

The usual Arab meal was brought to us soon after our arrival—large wooden bowls and platters filled with boiled fragments of mutton swimming in melted butter, and sour milk.

When our breakfast was removed, the chief of the Hytas called upon us. I had known him at Mosul; he was the commander of the irregular troops stationed at Selamiyah, and had been the instrument of the late Pasha in my first troubles, as he now good-humoredly avowed. He was called Ibrahim Agha, Goorgi Oglu, or the son of the Georgian, from his Christian origin. In his person he was short; his features were regular, and his eyes bright; his compressed brow, and a

sneer, which continually curled his lip, well marked the character of the man. In appearance he was the type of his profession; his loose jacket, tight under vest, and capacious shalwars, were covered with a mass of gold embroidery; the shawls round his head and waist were of the richest texture and gayest colors; the arms in his girdle of the costliest description, and his horses and mares were renowned. His daring and courage had made him the favorite of Mohammed Pasha; and he was chiefly instrumental in reducing to obedience the turbulent inhabitants of Mosul and Kurdistan, during the struggle between that governor and the hereditary chiefs of the province. One of his exploits deserves notice. Some years ago there lived in the Island of Zakko, formed by the river Khabour, and in a castle of considerable strength, a Khurdish Bey of great power and influence. Whilst his resistance to the authority of the Porte called for the interference of Mohammed Pasha, the reports of his wealth were no mean incentives to an expedition against him. All attempts, however, to seize him and reduce his castle had failed. At the time of my first visit to Mesopotamia he still lived as an independent chief, and I enjoyed for a night his hospitality. He was one of the last in this part of Kurdistan who kept up the ancient customs of the feudal chieftains. His spacious hall, hung around with arms of all kinds, with the spreading antlers of the stag and the long knotted horns of the ibex, was filled every evening with guests and strangers. After sunset the floor was covered with dishes overflowing with various messes. The Bey sat on cushions at the top of the hall, and by him were placed the most favored guests. After dinner he retired to his harem; every one slept where it was most convenient to himself, and rising at daybreak, went his way without questions from his host. The days of the chief were spent in war and plunder, and half the country had claims of blood against him. "Will no one deliver me from that Kurdish dog?" exclaimed Mohammed Pasha one day in his salamlik, after an ineffectual attempt to reduce Zakko; "By God and

his Prophet, the richest cloak of honor shall be for him who brings me his head." Ibrahim Agha, who was standing amongst the Pasha's courtiers, heard the offer and left the room. Assembling a few of his bravest followers, he took the oad to the mountains. Concealing all his men, but six or ight, in the gardens outside the small town of Zakko, he entered after nightfall the castle of the Kurdish chief. He was received as a guest, and the customary dishes of meat were placed before him. After he had eaten he rose from his seat, and advancing towards his host, fired his long pistol within a few feet of the breast of the Bey, and drawing his sabre, severed the head from the body. The Kurds, amazed at this unparalleled audacity, offered no resistance. A signal from the roof was answered by the men outside; the innermost recesses of the castle were rifled, and the Georgian returned to Mosul with the head and wealth of the Kurdish chieftain. The Castle of Zakko was suffered to fall into decay; Turkish rule succeeded to Kurdish independence; and a few starving Jews are now alone found amongst the heap of ruins.

But this is not the last deed of daring of Ibrahim Agha; Sofuk himself, now his host, was destined likewise to become his victim.

After the Hyta-bashi had retired, Sofuk came to our tents and remained with us the greater part of the day. He was dejected and sad. He bewailed his poverty, inveighed against the Turks, to whom he attributed his ruin, and confessed, with tears, that his tribe was fast deserting him. Whilst conversing on these subjects, two Sheikhs rode into the encampment, and hearing that the chief was with us, they fastened their high-bred mares at the door of our tent and seated themselves on our carpets. They had been amongst the tribes to ascertain the feeling of the Shammar towards Sofuk, of whom they were the devoted adherents. One was a man of forty, blackened by long exposure to the desert sun, and of a savage and sanguinary countenance. His companion was a youth; his features were so delicate and feminine, and his eyes so bright

that he might have been taken for a woman; the deception would not have been lessened by a profusion of black hair which fell, platted into numerous tresses, on his breast and shoulders. An animated discussion took place as to the desertion of the Nejm, a large branch of the Shammar tribe. The young man's enthusiasm and devotedness knew no bounds. He threw himself upon Sofuk, and clinging to his neck covered his cheek and beard with kisses. When the chief had disengaged himself, his follower seized the edge of his garment, and sobbed violently as he held it to his lips. "I entreat thee, O Sofuk!" he exclaimed, "say but the word; by thine eyes, by thy beard, by the Prophet, order it, and this sword shall find the heart of Nejris, whether he escape into the farthest corner of the desert, or be surrounded by all the warriors of the tribe." But it was too late, and Sofuk saw that his influence in the tribe was fast declining.

Mrs. Rassam, having returned from her visit to the ladies, described her reception. I must endeavor to convey to the reader some idea of the domestic establishment of a great Arab Sheikh. Sofuk, at the time of our visit, was the husband of three wives, who were considered to have special claims to his affection and his constant protection; for it was one of Sofuk's weaknesses, arising either from a desire to impress the Arabs with a notion of his greatness and power, or from a partiality to the first stage of married life, to take a new partner nearly every month; and at the end of that period to divorce her, and marry her to one of his attendants. The happy man thus lived in a continual honeymoon. Of the three ladies now forming his harem, the chief was Amsha, a lady celebrated in the song of every Arab of the desert, for her beauty and noble blood. She was daughter of Hassan, Sheikh of the Tai, a tribe tracing its origin from the remotest antiquity, and one of whose chiefs, Hatem, her ancestor, is a hero of Eastern romance. Sofuk had carried her away by force from her father; but had always treated her with great respect. From her rank and beauty she had earned the title

of "Queen of the Desert." Her form, traceable through the thin shirt which she wore like other Arab women, was well proportioned and graceful. She was tall in stature, and fair in complexion. Her features were regular, and her eyes dark and brilliant. She had undoubtedly claims to more than ordinary beauty; to the Arabs she was perfection, for all the resources of their art had been exhausted to complete what nature had begun. Her lips were dyed deep blue, her eyebrows were continued in indigo until they united over the nose, her cheeks and forehead were spotted with beauty marks, her eyelashes darkened by kohl; and on her legs and bosom could be seen the tattooed ends of flowers and fanciful ornaments, which were carried in festoons and network over her whole body. Hanging from each ear, and reaching to her waist, was an enormous ear-ring of gold, terminating in a tablet of the same material, carved and ornamented with four turquoises. Her nose was also adorned with a prodigious gold ring, set with jewels, of such ample dimensions that it covered the mouth, and was to be removed when the lady ate. Ponderous rows of strung beads, Assyrian cylinders, fragments of coral, agates, and parti-colored stones, hung from her neck; loose silver rings encircled her wrists and ankles, making a loud jingling as she walked. Over her blue shirt was thrown, when she issued from her tent, a coarse striped cloak, and a common black handkerchief was tied round her head.

Her ménage combined, if the old song be true, the domestic and the queenly, and was carried on with a nice appreciation of economy. The immense sheet of black goat-hair canvas, which formed the tent, was supported by twelve or fourteen stout poles, and was completely open on one side. Being entirely set apart for the women it had no partitions, as in the tent of the common Arab, who is obliged to reserve a corner for the reception of his guests. Between the centre poles were placed, upright and close to one another, large camel or goat-hair sacks, filled with rice, corn, barley, coffee, and other household stuff; their mouths being, of course, up-

wards. Upon them were spread carpets and cushions, on which Amsha reclined. Around her, squatted on the ground, were some fifty handmaidens, tending the wide caldron, baking bread on the iron plate heated over the ashes, or shaking between them the skin suspended between three stakes, and filled with milk, to be thus churned into butter. It is the privilege of the head wife to prepare in her tent the dinners of the Sheikh's guests. The fires, lighted on all sides, sent forth a cloud of smoke, which hung heavily under the folds of the tent, and would have long before dimmed any eyes less bright than those of Amsha. As supplies were asked for by the women she lifted the corner of her carpet, untied the mouths of the sacks, and distributed their contents. Every thing passed through her hands. To show her authority and rank she poured continually upon her attendants a torrent of abuse, and honored them with epithets of which I may be excused attempting to give a translation; her vocabulary equalling, if not exceeding, in richness that of the highly educated lady of the city.* The combination of the domestic and authoritative was thus complete. Her children, three naked little urchins, black with sun and mud, and adorned with a long tail hanging from the crown of their heads, rolled in the ashes or on the grass.

Amsha, as I have observed, shared the affections, though not the tent of Sofuk—for each establishment had a tent of its own—with two other ladies; Atouia, an Arab not much inferior to her rival in personal appearance; and Ferrah, originally a Yezidi slave, who had no pretensions to beauty. Amsha, however, always maintained her sway, and the others could not sit, without her leave, in her presence. To her alone were confided the keys of the larder—supposing Sofuk to have had

* It may not perhaps be known that the fair inmate of the harem, whom we picture to ourselves conversing with her lover in language, too delicate and refined to be expressed by any thing else but flowers, uses ordinarily words which would shock the ears of even the most depraved amongst us.

either keys or larder—and there was no appeal from her authority on all subjects of domestic economy.

Mrs. Rassam informed me that she was received with great ceremony by the ladies. To show the rank and luxurious habits of her husband, Amsha offered her guest a glass of "eau sucrée," which Mrs. Rassam, who is over-nice, assured me she could not drink, as it was mixed by a particularly dirty negro, in the absence of a spoon, with his fingers, which he sucked continually during the process.

When the tribe is changing its pastures, the ladies of the Sheikhs are placed on the backs of dromedaries in the centre of the most extraordinary contrivance that man's ingenuity, and a love of the picturesque, could have invented. A light framework, varying from sixteen to twenty feet in length, stretches across the hump of the camel. It is brought to a point at each end, and the outer rods are joined by distended parchment; two pouches of gigantic pelicans seem to spring from the sides of the animal. In the centre, and over the hump, rises a small pavilion, under which is seated the lady. The whole machine, as well as the neck and body of the camel, is ornamented with tassels and fringes of worsted of every hue, and with strings of glass beads and shells. It sways from side to side as the beast labors under the unwieldy burthen; looking, as it appears above the horizon, like some stupendous butterfly skimming slowly over the plain.

In the evening Amsha and Ferrah returned Mrs. Rassam's visit; Sofuk having, however, first obtained a distinct promise that they were not to be received in a tent where gentlemen were to be admitted. They were very inquisitive, and their indiscreet curiosity could with difficulty be satisfied.

I may mention that Sofuk was the owner of a mare of matchless beauty, called, as if the property of the tribe, the Shammeriyah. Her dam, who died about ten years ago, was the celebrated Kubleh, whose renown extended from the sources of the Khabour to the end of the Arabian promontory, and the day of whose death is the epoch from which the

Arabs of Mesopotamia now date the events concerning their tribe. Mohammed Emin, Sheikh of the Jebour, assured me that he had seen Sofuk ride down the wild ass of the Sinjar on her back, and the most marvellous stories are current in the desert as to her fleetness and powers of endurance. Sofuk esteemed her and her daughter above all the riches of the tribe; for her he would have forfeited all his wealth, and even Amsha herself. Owing to the visit of the irregular troops, the best horses of the Sheikh and his followers were concealed in a secluded ravine at some distance from the tents.

Al Hather was about eighteen miles from Sofuk's encampment. He gave us two well-known horsemen to accompany us to the ruins. Their names were Dathan and Abiram. The former was a black slave, to whom the Sheikh had given his liberty and a wife—two things, it may be observed, which are in the desert perfectly consistent. He was the most faithful and brave of all the adherents of Sofuk, and the fame of his exploits had spread through the tribes of Arabia. As we rode along, I endeavored to obtain from him some information concerning his people, but he would only speak on one subject. "Ya Bej,"* said he, "the Arab only thinks of two things, war and love: war, Ya Bej, every one understands; let us, therefore, talk of love;" and he dwelt upon the beauties of Arab maidens in glowing language, and on the rich reward they offered to him who has distinguished himself in the foray or the fight. He then told me how a lover first loved, and how he made his love known. An Arab's affections are quickly bestowed upon any girl that may have struck his fancy as she passed him, when bearing water from the springs, or when moving to fresh pastures. Nothing can equal the suddenness of his first attachment, but its ardor. He is ready to die for her, and gives himself up to desperate feats, or to deep melancholy. The maiden, or the lady of his love, is ignorant of the

* "Ya Bej," O my Lord; he so prefaced every sentence. The Shammar Arabs pronounce the word Beg, which the Constantinopolitans soften into Bey, Bej.

sentiment she has unconsciously inspired. The lover therefore seeks to acquaint her with his passion. He speaks to a distant relation, or to a member of the tribe who has access to the harem of the tent which she occupies; and after securing his secrecy by an oath, he confesses his love, and entreats his confidant to arrange an interview. If the person addressed consents to talk to the woman, he goes to her when she is alone, and gathering a flower or a blade of grass, he says to her, "Swear by him who made this flower and us also, that you will not reveal to any one that which I am about to unfold to you." If she be not disposed to encourage the addresses of any lover, or if in other cases she be virtuous, she refuses and goes her way, but will never disclose what has passed; otherwise she answers, "I swear by him who made the leaf you now hold and us," and the man settles a place and time of meeting. Oaths taken under these circumstances are seldom, if ever, broken.

The Shammar women are not celebrated for their chastity. Some time after our visit to Sofuk, Mohammed Emin, Sheikh of the Jebour, was a guest at his tents. Some altercation arising between him and Ferhan, he called the son of the chief "a liar." "What manner of unclean fellow art thou," exclaimed Sofuk, "to address thus a Sheikh of the Shammar? Dost thou not know that there is not a village in the pashalic of Mosul in which the Arab name is not dishonored by a woman of the Jebour?" "That may be," replied the indignant chief; "but canst thou point out, O Sofuk, a man of the Nejm who can say that his father is not of the Jebour?" This reproach, which the fame of the large branch of the Shammar to which he alluded warranted to a certain extent, so provoked Sofuk, that he sprang upon his feet, and, drawing his sword, would have murdered his guest had not those who sat in the tent interposed.

The system of marriages, and the neglect with which women are treated, cannot but be productive of bad results. If an Arab suspects the fidelity of his wife, and obtains such

proof as is convincing to him, he may kill her on the spot; but he generally prefers concealing his dishonor from the tribe, as an exposure would be looked upon as bringing shame upon himself. Sometimes he merely divorces her, which can be done by thrice repeating a certain formula. The woman has most to fear from her own relations, who generally put her to death if she has given a bad name, as they term it, to the family.

As we rode to Al Hather, we passed large bodies of the Shammar moving with their tents, flocks, and families. On all sides appeared the huge expanding wings of the camel, such as I have described. Dathan was known to all. As the horsemen approached, they dismounted and embraced him, kissing him, as is customary, on both cheeks, and holding him by the hand until many compliments had been exchanged.

A dark thunder-cloud rose behind the time-worn ruins of Al Hather as we approached them. The sun, still throwing its rays upon the walls and palace, lighted up the yellow stones until they shined like gold.* Mr. Ross and myself, accompanied by an Arab, urged our horses onwards, that we might escape the coming storm; but it burst upon us in its fury ere we reached the palace. The lightning played through the vast buildings, the thunder re-echoed through its deserted halls, and the hail compelled us to rein up our horses, and turn our backs to the tempest. It was a fit moment to enter such ruins as these. They rose in solitary grandeur in the midst of a desert, "in mediâ solitudine positæ," as they stood fifteen centuries before, when described by the Roman historian.† On my previous visit, the first view I obtained of Al Hather was perhaps no less striking. We had been wandering for three days in the wilderness without seeing one human habitation. On

* The rich golden tint of the limestone, of which the great monuments of Syria are built, is known to every traveller in that country. The ruins of Al Hather have the same bright color; they look as if they had been steeped in the sunbeams.

† Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. 25, cap. 8.

the fourth morning a thick mist hung over the place. We had given up the search when the vapors were drawn up like a curtain, and we saw the ruins before us. At that time within the walls were the tents of some Shammar Arabs, but now as we crossed the confused heaps of fragments, forming a circle round the city, we saw that the place was tenantless. Flocks on a neighboring rising ground showed, however, that Arabs were not distant.

We pitched our tents in the great court-yard, in front of the palace, and near the entrance to the inner inclosure. During the three days we remained amongst the ruins I had ample time to take accurate measurements, and to make plans of the various buildings still partly standing within the walls. As Al Hather has already been described by others, and as the information I was able to collect has been placed before the public,* I need not detain the reader with a detailed account of the place. Suffice it to mention, that the walls of the city, flanked by numerous towers, form almost a complete circle, in the centre of which rises the palace, an edifice of great magnificence, solidly constructed of squared stones, and elaborately sculptured with figures and ornaments. It dates probably from the reign of one of the Sassanian Kings of Persia, certainly not prior to the Arsacian dynasty, although the city itself was, I have little doubt, founded at a very early period. The marks upon all the stones, which appear to be either a builder's sign or to have reference to some religious observance, are found in most of the buildings of Sassanian origin in Persia, Babylonia, and Susiana.†

With the exception of occasional alarms in the night, caused

* See Dr. Ross's Memoir in the Geographical Society's Journal, and Dr. Ainsworth's Travels. A memoir on the subject, accompanied by plans, &c., was read before the Institute of British Architects, and partly printed in a number of the Builder.

† Many of these marks are given in Mr. Ainsworth's Memoir, in the Journal of the Royal Geographical Society. They are not letters of any one particular alphabet, but they are signs of all kinds. I discovered similar marks at Bisutun, Isphahan, Shuster, and other places in Persia where Sassanian buildings appear to have existed.

by thieves attempting to steal the horses, we were not disturbed during our visit. The Arabs from the tents in the neighborhood brought us milk, butter, and sheep. We drank the water of the Thathar, which is, however, rather salt; and our servants and camel-drivers filled during the day many baskets with truffles.

On our return we crossed the desert, reaching Wadi Ghrsub the first night, and Mosul on the following morning. Dathan and Abiram, who had both distinguished themselves in recent foraging parties, and had consequently accounts to settle with the respectable merchants of the place, the balance being very much against them, could not be prevailed upon to enter the town, where they were generally known. We had provided ourselves with two or three dresses of Damascus silk, and we invested our guides as a mark of satisfaction for their services. Dathan grinned a melancholy smile as he received his reward. "Ya Bej," he exclaimed, as he turned his mare towards the desert; "may God give you peace! Wallah, your camels shall be as the camels of the Shammar. Be they laden with gold, they shall pass through our tents, and our people shall not touch them."

A year after our visit the career of Sofuk was brought to its close. The last days of his life may serve to illustrate the manners of the country, and the policy of those who are its owners. I have mentioned that Nejris, Sofuk's rival, had obtained the support of nearly the whole tribe of Shammar. In a month Sofuk found himself nearly alone. His relations and immediate adherents, amongst whom were Dathan and Abiram, still pitched their tents with him, but he feared the attacks of his enemies, and retreated for safety into the territory of Beder Khan Bey, to the East of the Tigris, near Jezirah. He sent his son Ferhan with a few presents, and with promises of more substantial gifts in case of success, to claim the countenance and support of Nejib Pasha of Baghdad, under whose authority the Shammar are supposed to be. The Pasha honored the young Sheikh with his favor, and invested him as chief of the

tribe, to the exclusion of Sofuk, whom he knew to be unpopular; but who still, it was understood, was to govern as the real head of the Shammar. He also promised to send a strong military force to the assistance of Ferhan, to enable him to enforce obedience amongst the Arabs.

The measures taken by Nejib Pasha had the effect of bringing back a part of the tribe to Sofuk, who now proposed to Nejris, that they should meet at his tents, forget their differences, and share equally the Sheikhship of the Shammar. Nejris would not accept the invitation; he feared the treachery of a man, who had already forfeited his good name as an Arab. Sofuk prevailed upon his son to visit his rival. He hoped through the means of the young chief, who was less unpopular and more trusted than himself, to induce Nejris to accept the terms he had offered, and to come to his encampment. Ferhan refused, and was only persuaded to undertake the mission after his father had pledged himself, by a solemn oath, to respect the laws of hospitality. He rode to the tents of Nejris, who received him with affection, but refused to trust himself in the power of Sofuk, until Ferhan had given his own word that no harm should befall him. "I would not have gone," said he, "to the tents of Sofuk, had he sworn a thousand oaths; but to show you, Ferhan, that I have confidence in your word, I will ride with you alone;" and he mounted his mare, and, unaccompanied by any of his attendants, followed Ferhan to the encampment of his father.

His reception showed him at once that he had been betrayed. Sofuk sat in gloomy silence, surrounded by several of the most desperate of his tribe. He rose not to receive his guest, but beckoned him to a place by his side. Ferhan trembled as he looked on the face of his father; but Nejris undaunted advanced into the circle, and seated himself where he had been bidden. Sofuk at once upbraided him as a rebel to his authority, and sought the excuse of a quarrel. As Nejris answered boldly, the occasion was not long wanting. Sofuk sprang to his feet, and drawing his sword threw himself

upon his rival. In vain Ferhan appealed to his father's honor, to the laws of hospitality, so sacred to the Arab; in vain he entreated him not to disgrace his son by shedding the blood of one whom he had brought to his tents. Nejris sought protection of Hajar, the uncle of Sofuk, and clung to his garments; but he was one of the most treacherous and bloodthirsty of the Shammar. Upon this man's knee was the head of the unfortunate Sheikh held down, whilst Sofuk slew him as he would have slain a sheep. The rage of the murderer was now turned against his son, who stood at the entrance of the tent tearing his garments, and calling down curses upon the head of his father. The reeking sword would have been dipped in his blood, had not those who were present interfered.

The Shammar were amazed and disgusted by this act of perjury and treachery. The hospitality of an Arab tent had been violated, and disgrace had been brought upon the tribe. A deed so barbarous and so perfidious had been unknown. They withdrew a second time from Sofuk, and placed themselves under a new leader, a relation of the murdered Sheikh. Sofuk again appealed to Nejib Pasha, justifying his treachery by the dissensions which would have divided the tribe, and would have led to constant disorders in Mesopotamia had there still been rival candidates for the Sheikship. Nejib pretended to be satisfied, and agreed to send out a party of irregular troops to assist Sofuk in enforcing his authority throughout the desert.

The commander of the troops sent by Nejib was Ibrahim Agha, the son of the Georgian, whom we met on our journey into the desert. Sofuk received him with joy, and immediately marched against the tribe; but he himself was the enemy against whom the Agha was sent. He had scarcely left his tent, when he found that he had fallen into a snare which he had more than once set for others. In a few hours after, his head was in the palace of the Pasha of Baghdad.

Such was the end of one whose name will long be remem-

bered in the wilds of Arabia; who from his power and wealth, enjoyed the title of "The King of the Desert," and led the great tribe of Shammar from the banks of the Khabour to the ruins of Babylon. The tale of the Arab will turn for many years to come on the exploits and magnificence of Sofuk.

CHAPTER V.

On my return to Mosul, I hastened back to Nimroud. During my absence little progress had been made, as only two men had been employed in removing the rubbish from the upper part of the chamber to which the great human-headed lions formed an entrance. The lions to the east of them (entrance *d*) had, however, been completely uncovered; that to the right (No. 2) had fallen from its place, and was sustained by the opposite sculpture. Between them was a large pavement slab covered with cuneiform characters.

In clearing the earth from this entrance, and from behind the fallen lion, many ornaments in copper, two small ducks in baked clay, and tablets of alabaster inscribed on both sides were discovered.* Amongst the copper mouldings were the head of a ram or a bull,† several hands (the fingers closed and slightly bent), and a few flowers. The hands may have served as a casing to similar objects in baked clay, frequently found amongst the ruins, and having an inscription, containing the names, titles, and genealogy of the King, graved upon the fingers. The heads of the ducks, for they resemble that bird more than any other, are turned and rest upon the back, which is covered with cuneiform characters. Objects somewhat similar have been found in Egypt. It is difficult to determine the original site of the small tablets. They appeared

* All these objects will be deposited in the British Museum.

† This head may have belonged to the end of a chariot pole, or may have cased the head of the bull or ram carried by the winged lion, at the feet of which it was discovered.

to me to have been built up in the walls above the slabs, or to have been placed behind the slabs themselves, and this conjecture was confirmed by subsequent discoveries. The inscription upon them resembled that on all the slabs in the N. W. palace.

It was remarkable that whilst such parts of the chamber B as had been uncovered were paved with kiln-burnt bricks, and the entrance *d* with a large slab of alabaster, between the two great lions there was only a flooring of common sun-dried brick. In the middle of the entrance, near the forepart of the lions, were a few square stones carefully placed. I expected to find under them small figures in clay, similar to those discovered by M. Botta in the doorways at Khorsabad, but nothing of the kind existed.

As several of the principal Christian families of Mosul were anxious to see the sculptures, whose fame had been spread over the town and provinces, I was desirous of gratifying their curiosity before the heat of summer had rendered the plain of Nimroud almost uninhabitable. An opportunity at the same time presented itself of securing the good-will of the Arab tribes encamping near the ruins, by preparing an entertainment which might gratify all parties. The Christian ladies, who had never before been out of sight of the walls of their houses, were eager to see the wonders of Nimroud, and availed themselves joyfully of the permission, with difficulty extracted from their husbands, to leave their homes. The French consul and his wife, and Mr. and Mrs. Rassam joined the party. On the day after their arrival I issued a general invitation to all the Arabs of the district, men and women.

White pavilions, borrowed from the Pasha, had been pitched near the river, on a broad lawn still carpeted with flowers. These were for the ladies, and for the reception of the Sheikhs. Black tents were provided for some of the guests, for the attendants, and for the kitchen. A few Arabs encamped around us to watch the horses, which were picketed on all sides. An open space was left in the centre of the

group of tents for dancing, and for various exhibitions provided for the entertainment of the company.

Early in the morning came Abd-ur-rahman, mounted on a tall white mare. He had adorned himself with all the finery he possessed. Over his keffiah, or head-kerchief, was folded a white turban, edged with long fringes which fell over his shoulders, and almost concealed his handsome features. He wore a long robe of red silk and bright yellow boots, an article of dress much prized by Arabs. He was surrounded by horsemen carrying spears tipped with tufts of ostrich feathers.

As the Sheikh of the Abou-Salman approached the tents I rode out to meet him. A band of Kurdish musicians, hired for the occasion, advanced at the same time to do honor to the Arab chief. As they drew near to the encampment, the horsemen, led by Schloss, the nephew of Abd-ur-rahman, urged their mares to the utmost of their speed, and engaging in mimic war, filled the air with their wild war-cry. Their shoutings were, however, almost drowned by the Kurds, who belabored their drums, and blew into their pipes with redoubled energy. Sheikh Abd-ur-rahman, having dismounted, seated himself with becoming gravity on the sofa prepared for guests of his rank; whilst his Arabs picketed their mares, fastening the halters to their spears driven into the ground.

The Abou-Salman were followed by the Shemutti and Jehesh, who came with their women and children on foot, except the Sheikhs, who rode on horseback. They also chanted their peculiar war-cry as they advanced. When they reached the tents, the chiefs placed themselves on the divan, whilst the others seated themselves in a circle on the greensward.

The wife and daughter of Abd-ur-rahman, mounted on mares, and surrounded by their slaves and handmaidens, next appeared. They dismounted at the entrance of the ladies' tents, where an abundant repast of sweetmeats, halwa, parched peas, and lettuces had been prepared for them.

Fourteen sheep had been roasted and boiled to feast the

crowd that had assembled. They were placed on large wooden platters, which, after the men had satisfied themselves, were passed on to the women. The dinner having been devoured to the last fragment, dancing succeeded. Some scruples had to be overcome before the women would join, as there were other tribes, besides their own, present; and when at length, by the exertions of Mr. Hormuzd Rassam, this difficulty was overcome, they made up different sets. Those who did not take an active share in the amusements seated themselves on the grass, and formed a large circle round the dancers. The Sheikhs remained on the sofas and divans. The dance of the Arabs, the Debkè, as it is called, resembles in some respects that of the Albanians, and those who perform in it are scarcely less vehement in their gestures, or less extravagant in their excitement, than those wild mountaineers. They form a circle, holding one another by the hand, and, moving slowly round at first, go through a shuffling step with their feet, twisting their bodies into various attitudes. As the music quickens, their movements are more active; they stamp with their feet, yell their war-cry, and jump as they hurry round the musicians. The motions of the women are not without grace; but as they insist on wrapping themselves in their coarse cloaks before they join in the dance, their forms, which the simple Arab shirt so well displays, are entirely concealed.

When those who formed the Debkè were completely exhausted by their exertions, they joined the lookers-on, and seated themselves on the ground. Two warriors of different tribes, furnished with shields and drawn scimitars, then entered the circle, and went through the sword-dance. As the music quickened, the excitement of the performers increased. The bystanders at length were obliged to interfere, and to deprive the combatants of their weapons, which were replaced by stout staves. With these they belabored one another unmercifully, to the great enjoyment of the crowd. On every successful hit, the tribe, to which the one who dealt it belonged, set up their war-cry and shouts of applause whilst the women deafened us

with the shrill "*tahlehl*," a noise made by a combined motion of the tongue, throat, and hand vibrated rapidly over the mouth. When an Arab or Kurd hears this tahlehl he almost loses his senses through excitement, and is ready to commit any desperate act.

A party of Kurdish jesters from the mountains entertained the Arabs with performances and imitations, more amusing than refined. They were received with shouts of laughter. The dances were kept up by the light of the moon the greater part of the night.

On the following morning Abd-ur-rahman invited us to his tents, and we were entertained with renewed Debkès and sword-dances. The women, undisturbed by the presence of another tribe, entered more fully into the amusement, and danced with greater animation. The Sheikh insisted upon my joining with him in leading off a dance, in which we were joined by some five hundred warriors, and the Arab women. His admiration of the beauty of the French lady who accompanied us exceeded all bounds, and when he had ceased dancing, he sat gazing upon her from a corner of the tent—"Wallah," he whispered to me, "she is the sister of the Sun! what would you have more beautiful than that? Had I a thousand purses, I would give them all for such a wife. See!—her eyes are like the eyes of my mare, her hair is as bitumen, and her complexion resembles the finest Busrah dates. Any one would die for a Houri like that." The Sheikh was almost justified in his admiration

The festivities lasted three days, and made the impression I had anticipated. They earned me a great reputation and no small respect, the Arabs long afterwards talking of their reception and entertainment. When there was occasion for their services, I found the value of the feeling towards me, which a little show of kindness to these ill-used people had served to produce.

Hafiz Pasha, who had been appointed to succeed the last governor, having received a more lucrative post, the province

was sold to Tahyar Pasha. He made his public entry into Mosul early in May, and I rode out to meet him. He was followed by a large body of troops, and by the Cadi, Mufti, Ulema, and principal inhabitants of the town, who had been waiting for him at some distance from the gates to show their respect. The Mosuleeans had not been deceived by the good report of his benevolence and justice which had preceded him. He was a venerable old man, bland and polished in his manners, courteous to Europeans, and well informed on subjects connected with the literature and history of his country. He was a perfect specimen of the Turkish gentleman of the old school, of whom few are now left in Turkey. I had been furnished with serviceable letters of introduction to him; he received me with every mark of attention, and at once permitted me to continue the excavations. As a matter of form, he named a Cawass, to superintend the work on his part. I willingly concurred in this arrangement, as it saved me from any further inconvenience on the score of treasure; for which, it was still believed, I was successfully searching. This officer's name was Ibrahim Agha. He had been many years with Tahyar, and was a kind of favorite. He served me during my residence in Assyria, and on my subsequent journey to Constantinople, with great fidelity; and, as is very rarely the case with his fraternity, with great honesty.

The support of Tahyar Pasha relieved me from some of my difficulties; for there was no longer cause to fear any interruption on the part of the authorities. But my means were very limited, and my own resources did not enable me to carry on the excavations as I wished. I returned, however, to Nimroud, and formed a small but effective body of workmen, choosing those who had already proved themselves equal to the work.

The heats of summer had now commenced, and it was no longer possible to live under a white tent. The huts were equally uninhabitable, and still swarmed with vermin. In this dilemma I ordered a recess to be cut into the bank of the river

where it rose perpendicularly from the water's edge. By skreening the front with reeds and boughs of trees, and covering the whole with similar materials, a small room was formed. I was much troubled, however, with scorpions and other reptiles, which issued from the earth forming the walls of my apartment; and later in the summer by the gnats and sand-flies, which hovered on a calm night over the river. Similar rooms were made for my servants. They were the safest that could be invented, should the Arabs take to stealing after dark. My horses were picketed on the edge of the bank above, and the tents of my workmen were pitched in a semi-circle behind them.

The change to summer had been as rapid as that which ushered in the spring. The verdure of the plain had perished almost in a day. Hot winds, coming from the desert, had burnt up and carried away the shrubs; flights of locusts, darkening the air, had destroyed the few patches of cultivation, and had completed the havoc commenced by the heat of the sun. The Abou-Salman Arabs, having struck their black tents, were now living in ozailis, or sheds, constructed of reeds and grass along the banks of the river. The Shemutti and Jehesh had returned to their villages, and the plain presented the same naked and desolate aspect that it wore in the month of November. The heat, however, was now almost intolerable. Violent whirlwinds occasionally swept over the face of the country. They could be seen as they advanced from the desert, carrying along with them clouds of sand and dust. Almost utter darkness prevailed during their passage, which lasted generally about an hour, and nothing could resist their fury. On returning home one afternoon after a tempest of this kind, I found no traces of my dwellings; they had been completely carried away. Ponderous wooden frameworks had been borne over the bank, and hurled some hundred yards distant; the tents had disappeared, and my furniture was scattered over the plain. When on the mound, my only secure place of refuge was beneath the fallen lion, where I could defy the fury

of the whirlwind; the Arabs ceased from their work and crouched in the trenches, almost suffocated and blinded by the dense cloud of fine dust and sand which nothing could exclude.*

Although the number of my workmen was small, the excavations were carried on as actively as possible. The two human-headed lions, forming the entrance *d*,† led into another chamber, or to sculptured walls, which, as it will hereafter be explained, may have formed an outward facing to the building. The slabs to the right and left, on issuing from this portal, had fallen from their original position, and all of them, except one, were broken. I had some difficulty in raising the pieces from the ground. As the face of the slabs was downwards, the sculpture had been well preserved.

On the slabs Nos. 2 and 3 was represented the King, holding a bow in one hand and two arrows in the other. He was followed by his attendant eunuch, who carried a mace, a second bow and a quiver for his use. Facing him was his vizir, his hands crossed before him, also followed by an eunuch. These figures were about eight feet high; the relief very low, and the ornaments rich and elaborately carved. The bracelets, armlets, and weapons, were all adorned with the heads of bulls and rams; color still remained on the hair, beard, and sandals.

No. 1, forming a corner wall, was a slab of enormous dimensions; it had been broken in two: the upper part was on the floor, the lower was still standing in its place It was only after many ineffectual attempts that I succeeded in raising

* Storms of this nature are frequent during the early part of summer throughout Mesopotamia, Babylonia, and Susiana. It is difficult to convey an idea of their violence. They appear suddenly and without any previous sign, and seldom last above an hour. It was during one of them that the Tigris steamer, under the command of Colonel Chesney, was wrecked in the Euphrates; and so darkened was the atmosphere, that, although the vessel was within a short distance of the bank of the river, several persons who were in her are supposed to have lost their lives from not knowing in what direction to swim.

† Chamber B, plan 3.

the fallen part sufficiently to ascertain the nature of the sculpture. It was a winged figure, with a three-horned cap, carrying the fir cone and square utensil; in other respects, similar to those already described, except that it had two wings rising from both sides of the back and inclosing the person. Its dimensions were gigantic, the height being about sixteen feet and a half, but the relief was low.

The first slab on the other side of the entrance contained a vizir and his attendant, similar to No. 3. The succeeding slabs were occupied by figures, differing altogether in costume from those previously discovered, and apparently representing people of another race; some carrying presents or offerings, consisting of armlets, bracelets, and ear-rings, on trays; others elevating their clinched hands, either in token of submission, or in the attitude still peculiar to Easterns when they dance. One figure was accompanied by two monkeys, held by ropes; the one raising itself on its hind legs in front, the other sitting on the shoulders of the man, and supporting itself by placing its fore paws on his head.* The dresses of all these figures are singular. They have high boots turned up at the toes, somewhat resembling those still in use in Turkey and Persia. Their caps, although conical, appear to have been made up of bands, or folds of felt or linen. Their tunics vary in shape, and in the fringes, from those of the high-capped warriors and attendants represented in other bas-reliefs. The figure with the monkeys wears a tunic descending to the calf of the leg. His hair is simply fastened by a fillet. There were traces of black color all over the face, and it is not improbable that it was painted to represent a negro: it is, however, possible that the paint of the hair has been washed down by water over other parts of the sculpture. These peculiarities of dress suggest that the persons represented were captives from some distant country, bringing tribute to the conquerors.

In chamber B the wall was continued to the south, or to

* This bas-relief will be placed in the British Museum.

WINGED HUMAN-HEADED BULL. (N. W. Palace Nimroud.)

the left facing the great lion,* by an eagle-headed figure resembling that already described; adjoining it was a corner stone, occupied by the sacred tree; beyond, the wall ceased altogether. On digging downwards, it was found that the slabs had fallen in; and although they were broken, the sculptures, representing battles, sieges, and other historical subjects, were, as far as it could be ascertained by the examination of one or two, in admirable preservation. The sun-dried brick wall, against which they were placed, was still distinctly visible to the height of twelve or fourteen feet; and I could trace, by the accumulation of ashes, the places where beams had been inserted to support the roof, or for other purposes. This wall served as my guide in digging onwards, as, to the distance of 100 feet, the slabs had all fallen in. I was unwilling to raise them at present, as I had neither the means of packing nor moving them.

The first sculpture, still standing in its original position, which was uncovered after following this wall, was a winged human-headed bull of yellow limestone. On the previous day the detached head, now in the British Museum, had been found. The bull, to which it belonged, had fallen against the opposite sculpture, and had been broken by the fall into several pieces. I lifted the body with difficulty; and, to my surprise, discovered under it sixteen copper lions, admirably designed, and forming a regular series, diminishing in size from the largest, which was above one foot in length, to the smallest, which scarcely exceeded an inch. To their backs was affixed a ring, giving them the appearance of weights. Here I also discovered a broken earthen vase, on which were represented two Priapean human figures, with the wings and claws of a bird, the breast of a woman, and the tail of a scorpion, or some similar reptile. I carefully collected and packed the fragments.

Beyond the winged bull the slabs were still entire, and oc-

* Entrance A, chamber B, plan 3.

cupied their original positions. On the first was sculptured a winged human figure, carrying a branch with five flowers in the raised right hand, and the usual square vessel in the left. Around his temples was a fillet adorned with three rosettes. On each of the four adjoining slabs were two bas-reliefs, separated by a band of inscriptions. The upper, on the first slab, represented a castle built by the side of a river, or on an island. One tower is defended by an armed man, two others are occupied by females. Three warriors, probably escaping from the enemy, are swimming across the stream; two of them on inflated skins, in the mode practised to this day by the Arabs inhabiting the banks of the rivers of Assyria and Mesopotamia; except that, in the bas-relief, the swimmers are pictured as retaining the aperture, through which the air is forced, in their mouths. The third, pierced by arrows discharged from the bows of two high-capped warriors kneeling on the bank, is struggling, without the support of a skin, against the current. Three rudely designed trees complete the back-ground.

In the upper compartment of the next slab was the siege of the city, with the battering-ram and movable tower, now in the British Museum. The lower part of the two slabs was occupied by one subject, a king receiving prisoners brought before him by his vizir. The sculpture, representing the king followed by his attendants and chariot, is already in the national collection. The prisoners were on the adjoining slab. Above their heads are vases and various objects, amongst which appear to be shawls and elephants' tusks, probably representing the spoil carried away from the conquered nation.

Upon the third slab were, in the upper compartment, the king hunting, and in the lower, the king standing over the lion, both deposited in the British Museum; and on the fourth the bull hunt, now also in England, and the king standing over the prostrate bull.

The most remarkable of the sculptures hitherto discovered was the lion hunt; which, from the knowledge of art displayed in the treatment and composition, the correct and effective

delineation of the men and animals, the spirit of the grouping, and its extraordinary preservation, is probably the finest specimen of Assyrian art in existence.

On the flooring, below the sculptures, were discovered considerable remains of painted plaster still adhering to the sun-dried bricks, which had fallen in masses from the upper part of the wall. The colors, particularly the blues and reds, were as brilliant and vivid when the earth was removed from them, as they could have been when first used. On exposure to the air they faded rapidly. The designs were elegant and elaborate. It was found almost impossible to preserve any portion of these ornaments, the earth crumbling to pieces when an attempt was made to raise it.

About this time I received the vizirial letter procured by Sir Stratford Canning, authorizing the continuation of the excavations and the removal of such objects as might be discovered. I was sleeping in the tent of Sheikh Abd-ur-rahman, who had invited me to hunt gazelles with him before dawn on the following morning, when an Arab awoke me. He was the bearer of letters from Mosul, and I read by the light of a small camel-dung fire, the document which secured to the British nation the records of Nineveh, and a collection of the earliest monuments of Assyrian art.

The vizirial order was as comprehensive as could be desired; and having been granted on the departure of the British ambassador, was the highest testimony the Turkish government could give of their respect for the character of Sir Stratford Canning, and of their appreciation of the eminent services he had rendered them.

One of the difficulties, and not one of the least which had to be encountered, was now completely removed. Still, however, pecuniary resources were wanting, and in the absence of the necessary means, extensive excavations could not be carried on. I hastened, nevertheless, to communicate the letter of the Grand Vizir to the Pasha, and to make arrangements for pursuing the researches as effectually as possible.

Not having yet examined the great mound of Kouyunjik, which, as it has already been observed, has generally been believed by travellers to mark the true site of Nineveh, I determined to open trenches in it I had not previously done so, as the vicinity of the ruins to Mosul would have enabled the inhabitants of the town to watch my movements, and to cause me continual interruptions before the sanction of the authorities could be obtained to my proceedings. A small party of workmen having been organized, excavations were commenced on the southern face, where the mound was highest; as sculptures, if any still existed, would probably be found in the best state of preservation under the largest accumulation of rubbish.

The only opposition I received was from the French Consul, who claimed the ruins as French property. The claim not being recognized, he also dug into the mound, but in another direction. We both continued our researches for about a month without much success. A few fragments of sculpture and inscriptions were discovered, which enabled me to assert with some confidence that the remains were those of a building contemporary, or nearly so, with Khorsabad, and consequently of a more recent epoch than the most ancient palace of Nimroud. All the bricks dug out bore the name of the same king, but I could not find any traces of his genealogy.

On my return to Nimroud, about thirty men, chiefly Arabs, were employed to carry on the excavations. Being anxious to learn as soon as possible the extent of the building, and the nature of the sculptures it contained, I merely dug down to the top of the slabs and ascertained the character of the sculpture upon them, reserving a completer examination for a more favorable opportunity. I was thus able to form an opinion as to the number of bas-reliefs that could be removed, and to preserve those partially uncovered from injury, by heaping the rubbish again over them.

United to the last of the four slabs with small bas-reliefs, beyond the bulls of yellow limestone, was an ornamented cor-

ner-stone marking the end of hall B, the length of which could now be ascertained. Its dimensions were peculiar—154 feet in length by 33 in breadth—resembling in its narrowness the chambers of Khorsabad, though exceeding them all in its proportions. Adjoining the corner-stone was a winged figure; beyond it a slab 14 feet in length cut into a recess, in which are four figures. Two kings stand facing one another, but separated by the symbolic tree, above which is the divinity, with the wings and tail of a bird, inclosed in a circle, and holding a ring in one hand, resembling the image so frequently occurring on the early sculptures of Persia, and at one time conjectured to be the Zoroastrian "ferouher," or spirit of the person beneath. The fact of the identity of this figure with the Persian symbol is remarkable, and gives rise to new speculations and conjectures, which will be alluded to hereafter. Each king holds a mace or instrument formed by a handle with a ball or circle at the end,* and is followed by a winged figure carrying the fir cone and basket. This bas-relief is well designed and delicately carved, and the ornaments on the dresses and arms of the figures are elegant and elaborate.†

This large slab was followed by a winged figure similar to that preceding it, and the end of the hall was formed by a second ornamented corner-stone. The half of both the winged figures adjoining the centre slab, as well as the lower part of that slab, which advanced beyond the sculpture, had been purposely destroyed, and the stone still bore the marks of the chisel.

Subsequent excavations disclosed in front of the large bas-relief a slab of alabaster, 10 feet by 8, and about 2 feet thick, cut at the western end into steps or gradines. It appeared to be a raised place for a throne, or to be an altar on which sacrifices were made; the latter conjecture was strengthened by a conduit for water or some other fluid, also of alabaster, be-

* A similar object is seen in the hand of a sitting figure on a cylinder, engraved in Rich's Second Memoir on Babylon.

† This bas-relief has been sent to England: it is broken in several pieces.

ing carried round the stone, which was covered on both sides with inscriptions. On raising it, a process of considerable difficulty from its weight and size, I found underneath a few pieces of gold-leaf and fragments of bones.

In the northern corner of the same part of the chamber, and near this slab, were two square stones slightly hollowed in the centre.

The first slab forming the northern wall after the corner-stone, was occupied by a human figure, with four wings; his right hand was raised, and in his left was a mace. Beyond were two lions* to correspond with those forming the entrance *d*, from which they differed somewhat in form, the hands being crossed in front, and no animal being carried on the arm. They led to an outer wall or vestibule similar to that marked E, in the 3d plan. The bas-reliefs represented figures bearing ornaments; there was another gigantic figure like that already described, which was also broken into two pieces.

As the edge of a deep ravine had now been reached by the trenches, the workmen were directed to return to the yellow bulls, which were found to form the entrance into a new chamber, marked F in the 3d plan. I only partly uncovered the slabs as far as the entrance *a*, and three to the west of it. On No. 4 was a king attended by eagle-headed figures. Around his neck were suspended the symbolic or astronomical signs, which are frequently found in Assyrian monuments; sometimes detached and placed close to the principal personage, inclosed in a square or scattered over the slab;† at others forming a part of his attire. They are generally five in number, and include the sun, a star, a half-moon, a three-pronged or two-pronged instrument, and a horned cap similar to that worn by the human-headed bulls, and the winged figures in chamber B. All the other slabs in this chamber were occu-

* Entrance *c*, chamber B, plan 3.

† In the rock sculptures of Bavian, to the east of Mosul, they occur above the king, and they are frequently found on cylinders.

pied by eagle-headed figures in pairs, facing one another and separated by the usual symbolic tree.

The entrance *a* was formed by four slabs, on two of which (Nos. 1 and 2) were figures without wings, with the right hand raised, and carrying in the left a mystic flower; and on the others simply the often-repeated inscription. This entrance led me into a new chamber, remarkable for the elaborate and careful finish of its sculptures, and the size of its slabs. I uncovered the northern wall, and the eastern as far as the entrance *e*.* Each slab, except the corner-stones, was occupied by two figures about eight feet in height. Nos. 2, 3, and 4, formed one group. On the centre slab No. 3 is the king seated on a stool or throne of most elegant design and careful workmanship. His feet are placed upon a footstool supported by lions' paws. In his elevated right hand he holds a cup; his left rests upon his knee. His attire and head-dress resemble those of the kings in other bas-reliefs, but the robes are covered with the most elaborate embroidery. Upon his breast, and forming a border to which fringes are attached, are graved a variety of religious emblems, and figures found upon cylinders and seals of Assyria and Babylon. Amongst them are men struggling with animals, winged horses, griffins, the sacred tree, and the king himself engaged in the performance of religious ceremonies. All these are represented in the embroidery of the robes. They are lightly cut, and it is not improbable that they were originally colored. The bracelets, armlets, and other ornaments are equally elegant and elaborate in design. In front of the king stands an eunuch, holding in one hand and above the cup, a fly-flapper; and in the other the cover or the case of the cup which is in the hand of the king. A piece of embroidered linen, or a towel, thrown over his shoulder, is ready to be presented to the king, as is the custom to this day in the East, after drinking or performing ablutions. Behind the eunuch is a winged figure wearing the horned cap,

* From slab No. 1 to 8.

and bearing the fir cone and basket. At the back of the throne are two eunuchs, carrying the arms of the king, followed by a second winged human figure. The garments and ornaments of all these persons are as richly embroidered, and adorned, as those of the monarch. The colors still adhere to the sandals, brows, hair, and eyes. The sculptures are in the best state of preservation; the most delicate carvings are still distinct, and the outline of the figures retains its original sharpness. Across the slabs runs the customary inscription.*

The Arabs marvelled at these strange figures. As each head was uncovered they showed their amazement by extravagant gestures, or exclamations of surprise. If it was a bearded man, they concluded at once that it was an idol or a Jin, and cursed or spat upon it. If an eunuch, they declared that it was the likeness of a beautiful female, and kissed or patted the cheek. They soon felt as much interest as I did in the objects discovered, and worked with renewed ardor when their curiosity was excited by the appearance of a fresh sculpture. On such occasions they would strip themselves almost naked, throw the handkerchief from their heads, and letting their matted hair stream in the wind, rush like madmen into the trenches, and carry off the baskets of earth, shouting, at the same time, the war-cry of the tribe.

On the other uncovered slabs of chamber G were groups composed of the king, raising the cup, and attended by two eunuchs, or holding a bow in one hand, and two arrows in the other, preceded and followed by a winged human figure similar to those on Nos. 2 and 4. These groups were alternate, and were all equally remarkable for the richness and elegance of the embroidery and ornaments. They furnished me not only with a collection of beautiful designs, but also with many new and highly interesting symbolical and mythic signs, and figures. I shall hereafter describe these more in detail, and show the important insight they afford us into the religious system of the Assyrians, and the origin of the mythology of some other countries

* The three slabs with these bas-reliefs are on their way to England.

I did not, for the time, follow the eastern wall of this chamber, but turned into the entrance *e*, which led me into another chamber (H). This entrance was formed by two winged figures (Nos. 1 and 2), and two plain slabs (Nos. 3 and 4), crossed in the centre by the usual inscription. Upon the first slab beyond it, was a winged human figure with a fillet round the temples, carrying the fir cone and basket; upon the following slabs, the king holding a cup, between two similar winged figures.

I quitted this chamber, after uncovering the upper part of four or five bas-reliefs; and returning to the entrance *a* (chamber G), traced to the south of it two slabs upon which were groups similar to those on the opposite wall, except that the right hand of the king rested on the hilt of his sword, and not on the bow. On No. 27 was an eagle-headed figure, and beyond it was discovered another pair of human-headed lions, smaller than those forming entrance *a* of chamber B, but excelling them in the preservation of the details. The slabs on which they were carved were slightly cracked; but otherwise they appeared to have issued but the day before, from the hand of the sculptor. The accumulation of earth and rubbish above this part of the ruins was very considerable, and it is not improbable that it was owing to this fact that the sculptures had been so completely guarded from injury.

Beyond this entrance were continued groups, similar to those already described as occurring on the previous slabs.

I was now anxious to embark and forward to Baghdad, or Busrah, for transport to Bombay, such sculptures as I could move with the means at my disposal. Major Rawlinson had obligingly proposed that, for this purpose, the small steamer navigating the lower part of the Tigris should be sent up to Nimroud, and I expected the most valuable assistance, both in removing the slabs and in plans for future excavations, from her able commander, Lieutenant Jones. The Euphrates, one of the two vessels originally launched on the rivers of Mesopotamia, had some years previously succeeded in reaching the

tomb of Sultan Abdallah, a few miles below Nimroud. Here impediments, not more serious than those she had already surmounted, occurring in the bed of the stream, she returned to Baghdad. A vessel even of her construction, and with her engines, could have reached, I have little doubt, the bund or dam of the Awai, which would probably have been a barrier to a further ascent of the Tigris. It was found, however, that the machinery of the Nitocris was either too much out of repair, or not sufficiently powerful to impel the vessel over the rapids, which occur in some parts of the river. After ascending some miles above Tekrit the attempt was given up, and she returned to her station.

Without proper materials it was impossible to move either the gigantic lions, or even the large sculptures of chamber G. The few ropes to be obtained in the country were so ill-made that they could not support any considerable weight. I determined, therefore, to displace the slabs (in chamber B) divided into two compartments; then to saw off the sculptures, and to reduce them as much as possible by cutting from the back. The inscriptions being mere repetitions, I did not consider it necessary to preserve them, as they added to the weight. With the help of levers of wood, and by digging away the wall of sun-dried bricks from behind the slabs, I was enabled to turn them into the centre of the trench, where they were sawn by marble-cutters from Mosul. When the bas-reliefs were thus prepared, there was no difficulty in dragging them out of the trenches. The upper part of a slab in chamber G, containing the heads of a king and his attendant eunuch, having been discovered broken off from the lower, it was included amongst the sculptures to be embarked. One of the winged figures from entrance *e* of the same chamber, and an eagle-headed divinity, were also successfully moved. These, with the head and the hoof of the bull in yellow limestone from entrance *b*, chamber B, form the collection first sent to England, and now deposited in the British Museum. As they have been long before the public, and have been more than

once accurately described, I need not trouble the reader with any further account of them.

After having been removed from the trenches, the sculptures were packed in felts and matting, and screwed down in roughly made cases. They were transported from the mound to the river upon rude buffalo carts belonging to the Pasha, and then placed upon a raft formed of inflated skins and beams of poplar wood. They floated down the Tigris as far as Baghdad, were there placed on board boats of the country, and reached Busrah in the month of August.

Whilst I was moving these sculptures Tahyar Pasha visited me. He was accompanied, for his better security, by a large body of regular and irregular troops, and three guns. His Diwan Effendesi, seal-bearer, and all the dignitaries of the household, were also with him. I entertained this large company for two days. The Pasha's tents were pitched on an island in the river, near my shed. He visited the ruins, and expressed no less wonder at the sculptures than the Arabs; nor were his conjectures as to their origin and the nature of the subjects represented, much more rational than those of the sons of the desert. The gigantic human-headed lions terrified, as well as amazed, his Osmanli followers. "La Illahi il Allah (there is no God but God)," was echoed from all sides. "These are the idols of the infidels," said one more knowing than the rest. "I saw many such when I was in Italia with Reshid Pasha, the ambassador. Wallah, they have them in all the churches, and the Papas (priests) kneel and burn candles before them." "No, my lamb," exclaimed a more aged and experienced Turk. "I have seen the images of the infidels in the churches of Beyoglu; they are dressed in many colors; and although some of them have wings, none have a dog's body and a tail; these are the works of the Jin, whom the holy Solomon, peace be upon him! reduced to obedience and imprisoned under his seal." "I have seen something like them in your apothecaries' and barbers' shops," said I, alluding to the well-

known figure, half woman and half lion, which is met with so frequently in the bazars of Constantinople. "Istafer Allah (God forbid)," piously ejaculated the Pasha; "that is the sacred emblem of which true believers speak with reverence, and not the handiwork of infidels." "There is no infidel living," exclaimed the engineer, who was looked up to as an authority on these subjects, "either in Frangistan or in Yenghi Dunia (America), who could make any thing like that; they are the work of the Majus (Magi), and are to be sent to England to form the gateway to the palace of the Queen." "May God curse all infidels and their works!" observed the cadi's deputy, who accompanied the Pasha; "what comes from their hands is of Satan: it has pleased the Almighty to let them be more powerful and ingenious than the true believers in this world, that their punishment and the reward of the faithful may be greater in the next."

The heat had now become so intense that my health began to suffer from continual exposure to the sun, and from the labor of superintending the excavations, drawing the sculptures, and copying the inscriptions. In the trenches, where I daily passed many hours, the thermometer generally ranged from 112° to 115° in the shade, and on one or two occasions even reached 117°. The hot winds swept over the desert; they were as blasts from a furnace during the day, and even at night they drove away sleep. I resolved, therefore, to take refuge for a week in the sardaubs or cellars of Mosul; and, in order not to lose time, to try further excavations in the Mound of Kouyunjik. Leaving a superintendent, and a few guards to watch over the uncovered sculptures, I rode to the town.

The houses of Baghdad and Mosul are provided with underground apartments, in which the inhabitants pass the day during the summer months. They are generally ill-lighted, and the air is close and oppressive. Many are damp and unwholesome; still they offered a welcome retreat during the hot weather, when it was almost impossible to sit in a room.

At sunset the people emerge from these subterraneous chambers and congregate on the roofs, where they spread their carpets, eat their evening meal, and pass the night.

After endeavoring in vain for some time to find any one who had seen the bas-relief, described by Rich* as having been found in one of the mounds forming the large quadrangle in which are included Nebbi Yunus and Kouyunjik, an aged stone-cutter presented himself, and declared that he had not only been present when the sculpture was discovered, but that he had been employed to break it up. He offered to show me the spot, and I opened a trench at once into a high mound which he pointed out in the northern line of ruins. The workmen were not long in coming upon fragments of sculptured alabaster, and after two or three days' labor an entrance was discovered, formed by two winged figures, which had been purposely destroyed. The legs and the lower part of the tunic were alone preserved. The proportions were gigantic, and the relief higher than that of any sculpture hitherto discovered in Assyria. This entrance led into a chamber, of which slabs about five feet high and three broad alone remained standing. There were marks of the chisel over them all; but from their size, it appeared doubtful whether figures had ever been sculptured upon them. As no slabs of alabaster or fragments of the same material were found, it is probable that the upper part of the walls was constructed of kiln-burnt bricks, with which the whole chamber was filled up, and which indeed formed the greater part of the mound. On the sides of many of them was an inscription, containing the name of the king who built the edifices of which Kouyunjik and Nebbi Yunus are the remains. The pavement was of limestone. After tracing the walls of one chamber, I renounced a farther examination, as no traces of sculpture were to be found, and the accumulation of rubbish was very considerable.

This building appears to have been either a guard-house at

* Residence in Kurdistan and Nineveh, vol. ii. p. 39.

one of the entrances into the quadrangle, or a tower defending the walls. From the height of the mound it would seem that there were two or more stories.

The comparative rest obtained in Mosul so far restored my strength, that I returned to Nimroud in the middle of August, and again attempted to renew the excavations. I uncovered the top of the slabs of chamber H from entrance *e* to entrance *b*, and discovered the chambers I and R.* Upon most of them were similar sculptures; the king standing between two winged figures, and holding in one hand a cup, and in the other a bow. The only new feature in this chamber was a recess cut out of the upper part of slab No. 3. I am at a loss to account for its use; from its position it might have been taken for a window, opening into chamber G; but there was no corresponding aperture in the slab, which formed the facing of the wall at its back in that chamber. It may have been used as a place of deposit for sacred vessels and instruments, or as an altar for sacrifice; a conjecture which may be strengthened by the fact of a large square stone, slightly hollowed in the centre, and probably meant to contain a fluid, being generally found in front of the slabs in which such recesses occur.

The slabs in chamber R were unsculptured, having the usual inscription across them. The pavement was formed by alabaster slabs. Entrance *b* led me into a further chamber, narrow and long in its proportions. I only uncovered the upper part of a few of the slabs. Upon them were two bas-reliefs, separated by the usual inscription; the upper (similar on all the slabs) represented two winged human figures with the horned cap, kneeling on one knee before the mystic tree; their hands are stretched out, one towards the top, and the other towards the bottom of the emblem before them. In the lower compartments were eagle-headed figures facing each other in pairs, and separated by the same symbol.

* Plan 3

The state of my health again compelled me to renounce for the time my labors at Nimroud. As I required a cooler climate, I determined to visit the Tiyari mountains, inhabited by the Chaldæan Christians, and to return to Mosul in September, when the violence of the heat had abated.

CHAPTER VI.

The preparations for my departure for the Tiyari mountains were completed by the 28th August, and on that day I started from Mosul. My party consisted of Mr. Hormuzd Rassam, Ibrahim Agha, two Albanian irregulars, who were to accompany me as far as Amadia, a servant, a groom, and one Ionan, or Ionunco, as he was familiarly called, a half-witted Nestorian, whose drunken frolics were reserved for the entertainment of the patriarch, and who was enlisted into our caravan for the amusement of the company. We rode our own horses. As Ionunco pretended to know all the mountain roads, and volunteered to conduct us, we placed ourselves under his guidance. I was provided with Bouyourouldis, or orders, from the Pasha to the authorities as far as Amadiyah, and with a letter to Abd-ul-Summet Bey, the Kurdish chief of Berwari, through whose territories we had to pass. Mar Shamoun, the patriarch, furnished me with a very strong letter of recommendation to the meleks and priests of the Nestorian districts.

As I was anxious to visit the French excavations at Khorsabad on my way to the mountains, I left Mosul early in the afternoon, notwithstanding the great heat of the sun. It was the sixth day of Ramazan, and the Mahommedans were still endeavoring to sleep away their hunger when I passed through the gates, and crossed the bridge of boats. Leaving my baggage and servants to follow leisurely, I galloped on with the Albanians, and reached Khorsabad in about two hours.

The mound is about fourteen miles N.N.E. of Mosul. A village formerly stood on its summit, but the houses were pur-

chased and removed by M. Botta, when the excavations were undertaken by the French Government. It has been rebuilt in the plain at the foot of the mound. The Khausser, a small stream issuing from the hills of Makloub, is divided into numerous branches as it approaches the village, and irrigates extensive rice grounds. The place is consequently very unhealthy, and the few squalid inhabitants who appeared, were almost speechless from ague. During M. Botta's excavations, the workmen suffered greatly from fever, and many fell victims to it.

The mode of carrying on the excavations resembled that which I adopted at Nimroud; and the general plan of construction is the same as in the Assyrian edifices already described. There are, however, more narrow passages in this building than at Nimroud, and the chambers are inferior in size. At the same time the slabs used in their construction are in general higher, though narrower. The relief in the larger figures is more bold, in the smaller there is little difference. The human-headed bulls differ principally in the head-dress from those of the earliest buildings at Nimroud; the three-horned cap is higher, and is not rounded off, the top being richly ornamented. The head-dress, in fact, is like that of similar winged animals at Persepolis. The faces of several of the bulls were turned inwards, which gave them an awkward and unsightly appearance.

Since M. Botta's departure the chambers had been partly filled up by the falling in of the trenches; the sculptures were rapidly perishing; and, shortly, little will remain of this remarkable monument. Scarcely any part of the building had escaped the fire which destroyed it, and consequently very few sculptures could be removed. Of exterior architecture I could find no trace except a flight of steps, flanked by solid masonry, which appears to have led up to a small temple of black stone or basalt, a few traces of which still remain. At the foot of the mound lies an altar or tripod,

similar to that now in the Louvre, and part of a shaft of a column, which probably did not belong to the building.

The subjects of the sculptures, and the characters used in the inscriptions, have a general resemblance to those of Nimroud. I shall point out hereafter in what manner they differ.

Khorsabad, or Khishtabad, is mentioned by the early Arab geographers. It is described as a village occupying the site of an ancient Assyrian city called "Saraoun," or "Saraghoun;" and Yakuti declares, that soon after the Arab conquest considerable treasures were found amongst the ruins. It was generally believed at Mosul, where a copy of Yakuti's work exists, that it was in consequence of this notice, and in the hopes of further riches, M. Botta excavated in the mound—hence much of the opposition encountered from the authorities.

I had finished my examination of the ruins by the time the baggage reached the village. The sun had set, but being unwilling to expose my party to fever by passing the night on this unhealthy spot, I rode on to a small hamlet about two miles distant. It was dark when we reached it, and we found ourselves in the midst of a marsh, even more extensive than that of Khorsabad. As there was no village beyond, I was obliged to stop here; and clambering up to a platform, formed of branches of trees and elevated upon poles, I passed the night free from the attacks of the swarms of gnats which infested the stagnant water below.

We left the hamlet long before sunrise, and soon reached some of the springs of the Khausser, a small stream which rises at the northern extremity of the Jebel Maklub, irrigates the lands of numerous villages on its course towards Mosul, and falls into the Tigris near Kouyunjik, after traversing the large quadrangle, of which that mound forms a part.

Our road crossed the northern spur of Jebel Maklub, and then stretched over an extensive level to the first range of the Kurdish hills. The heat soon became intense, the plain was parched and barren; a few mud-built walls marked here and

there the ruins of a village, and the silence and solitude were only broken by parties of Kurds, who were lazily driving before them, towards Mosul, donkeys heavily laden with rich clusters of grapes from the mountains.

A weary ride brought us to the Yezidi village of Ain Sifni. Its white houses and conical tombs had long been visible on the declivity of a low hill; its cleanliness was a relief after the filth of Mussulman and Christian habitations. I had expected to find here Sheikh Naser, the religious chief of the Yezidis. As he was absent I continued my journey, after partaking of the hospitality of the chief of the village, to the tomb of Sheikh Adi. A ride of two hours through a pleasant valley, watered by a mountain torrent, whose banks were concealed by flowering oleanders, brought us to a well-wooded basin, in the centre of which rose the white spire of the tomb of the great Yezidi saint.

I was soon stretched by a fountain in the cool shade, flung over the tomb by a cluster of lofty trees, and gave myself up to a full flow of gratitude, at this sudden change from the sultry heat and salt streams of the plains, to the verdure and sweet springs of the Kurdish hills. There were "pleasure-places" enough for all my party, and each eagerly seized his tree, and his fountain. The guardians of the tomb, and a few wanderers from a neighboring village, gathered round me, and satisfied my curiosity as far as their caution and prejudices would allow. But I will defer until I relate my second visit to this place, a fuller description of the spot, and such information as I could collect relative to the singular rites and traditions of the disciples of Sheikh Adi.

We passed the night on the roof of one of the buildings within the precincts of the sacred edifice, and continued our journey at dawn on the following morning.

Quitting the Yezidi district, we entered the mountains inhabited by the large Kurdish tribe of Missouri. The valleys were well wooded; many-shaped rocks towered above our

heads, or hung over the streams of the Gomel,* which almost cut off our passage through the narrow defiles. A few villages were scattered on the declivities, but their innabitants had deserted them for rude huts, built of branches of trees, their summer habitations

In four hours we reached the large village of Kaloni, or Kalah-oni, built amongst vineyards, and hanging over the bed of the Gomel. The houses, well constructed of stone, were empty. Huge horns of the ibex ornamented the lintels of the gateways, and the corners of the buildings. The inhabitants were at some distance, on the banks of the stream, living under the trees in their temporary sheds.

These Kurds were of the Badinan branch of the Missouri tribe. Their chief, whose hut was in the midst of this group of simple dwellings, was absent; but his wife received me with hospitality. Carpets, the work of her own women, were spread under a mulberry tree; and large bowls of milk and cream, wooden platters filled with boiled rice, slices of honeycomb, and baskets of new-gathered fruit, were speedily placed before us. The men sat at a respectful distance, and readily gave me such information as I asked for. The women, unembarrassed by the veil, brought straw to our horses, or ran to and fro with their pitchers. Their hair fell in long tresses down their backs, and their foreheads were adorned with rows of coins and beads; many were not unworthy of the reputation for beauty which the women of Missouri enjoy.

The spot was rich in natural beauty. The valley, shut in by lofty rocks, was well wooded with fruit trees—the mulberry, the peach, the fig, the walnut, the olive, and the pomegranate; beneath them sprang the vine, or were laid out plots of Indian corn, sesame, and cotton. The sheds were built of boughs; and the property of the owners, carpets, horse-cloths, and domestic utensils, were spread out before them. From almost every door, mingling with the grass and flowers, stretched the

* Or Gomer; this stream forms the principal branch of the Ghazir or Bumadus.

many-colored threads of the loom, at which usually sat one female of the family. There was a cleanliness, and even richness, in the dresses of both women and men, an appearance of comfort and industry, which contrasted strikingly with the miserable state of the people of the plain; and proved that these Kurds had been sufficiently fortunate to escape the notice of the last governor of Mosul, and were reserved for some more scrutinizing Pasha.

I acknowledged the hospitality of the Kurdish lady by a present to her son, and rode up to the small Chaldæan village of Bebozi, standing on the summit of a high mountain. The ascent was most precipitous, and the horses could with difficulty reach the place. We found a group of ten houses, built on the edge of a cliff overhanging the valley, at so great a height, that the stream below was scarcely visible. The inhabitants were poor, but received us with unaffected hospitality. I had left the usual road to Amadiyah for the purpose of visiting an inscription, said to exist near this village. A guide was soon found to conduct me to the spot of which I had heard; but after toiling up a most precipitous pathway, I was shown a rock upon which were only a few rude marks, bearing no resemblance to any writing that had ever been invented. I was accustomed to such disappointments, and always prepared for them. I returned to the village and visited the small church. The people of Bebozi are amongst those Chaldæans who have very recently become Catholics, and are but a too common instance of the mode in which such proselytes are made. In the church I saw a few miserable prints, dressed up in all the horrors of red, yellow, and blue, miracles of saints and of the blessed Virgin, and a hideous infant in swaddling clothes, under which was written "l'Iddio, bambino." They had recently been stuck up against the bare walls. "Can you understand these pictures?" I asked. "No," was the reply; "we did not place them here; when our priest (a Nestorian) died a short time ago, Mutran Yusuf, the Catholic bishop, came to us. He put up these pictures, and told us that we were to adore them

We pulled them down again; but for doing so our Kiayhas (heads of the village) were bastinadoed by Mahmoud Agha, the chief of Missouri, and we got our heads broken. We now, therefore, leave them where they are. And as the Kurds have been bribed not to allow a Nestorian priest to come to the village, we are compelled to hear the Catholic priest, whom Mutran Yusuf occasionally sends us." On the altar and reading-desk, were a few books—forms of prayer, rituals, and the Scriptures used by the Chaldæans. They had not been changed, only the name of Nestorius had been carefully blotted out with a pen, and the Sunday worship of the new proselytes, with the exception of a few prostrations to the pictures, remained as it was before their conversion.

I returned to the house at which I had alighted, and endeavored to sleep. Ionunco, however, had engaged in a controversy on the merits of their respective creeds with some Chaldæans, strangers from a neighboring village, whose conversion was of a more ancient date, and more complete, than that of the people of Bebozi. I was fain to cover my face with my cloak, and to lie and listen. The dispute waxed warm. Ionunco brought to bear all the texts he had gathered during a prolonged residence with the patriarch, and other dignitaries of his Church. The converts quoted the arguments which had turned them from their errors. Those of Bebozi listened in admiration to a learned discussion on the distinction of the persons. The strangers then insisted on the advantage of recognizing and being under the Pope. "The Pope," exclaimed the irritated Ionunco, "may be very useful; but as far as I am concerned, I would not change him against my donkey!" This irreverent sally would have been the signal for a general commencement of hostilities, had I not interfered. Ionunco was ordered to saddle his mare, and we resumed our journey.

After crossing a range of hills, covered by a forest of dwarf oak, we descended into the valley of Cheloki, and reached about sunset the large Kurdish village of Spandareh, so called from its poplar trees, "spandar." The inhabitants, alarmed

at the formidable appearance of our party, were inclined to shirk the duties of hospitality; and it required a few stringent measures before we could convince them that ours was a friendly, not a hostile, invasion.

We were now separated from the valley of Amadiyah by a range of high and well-wooded mountains called Ghara. This we crossed by a road little frequented, and of so precipitous a nature that our horses could scarcely keep their footing —one, indeed, carrying part of our baggage, suddenly disappeared over the edge of a rock, and was found some hundred feet below, on his back, firmly wedged between two rocks; how he got there with nothing but the bone of his tail broken, was a mystery beyond the comprehension of our party. The valley of Amadiyah, chiefly a sandstone deposit, is cut up into innumerable ravines by the torrents, which rush down the mountains and force their way to the river Zab. It is, however, well wooded with oaks, producing in abundance the galls for which this district is celebrated. The peasants were picking them at the time of our journey; and as this year the crop was abundant, I had an opportunity of distinguishing between the trees which produce them, and those which do not.

The town and fort of Amadiyah had been visible from the crest of the Ghara range; but we had a long ride before us, and it was nearly mid-day ere we reached the foot of the lofty isolated rock on which they are built. We rested in the small Chaldæan village of Bebadi, one of the few in the Amadiyah district which had not gone over to the Catholic party. The inhabitants were miserably poor, and I had to listen to a long tale of wretchedness and oppression. The church was hung with a few tattered cotton handkerchiefs, and the priest's garments were to match. I gave him two or three pieces of common print, out of which he made a turban for himself, and beautified the altar.

The plain of Amadiyah contains many Chaldæan villages, which were formerly very flourishing Most of them have

now been deserted, and the inhabitants have taken refuge in the higher mountains from the violence and tyranny of Kurds and Turkish governors, and from the no less galling oppression of proselytizing bishops.

A few half-clothed, fever-stricken Albanians were slumbering on the stone benches as we entered the gates of the fort, which certainly during the season of Ramazan, if not at all others, might be taken by surprise by a few resolute Kurds. We found ourselves in the midst of a heap of ruins—porches, bazars, baths, habitations, all laid open to their inmost recesses. Falling walls would have threatened passers-by, had there been any; but the place was a desert. We had some difficulty in finding our way to a crumbling ruin, honored with the name of Serai—the Palace. Here the same general sleep prevailed. Neither guards nor servants were visible, and we wandered through the building until we reached the room of the governor. His hangers-on were indulging in comfort and sleep upon the divans, and we had some trouble in rousing them. We were at length taken to a large room, in a tower built on the very edge of the rock, and overlooking the whole valley—the only remnant of the state of the old hereditary Pashas of Amadiyah. A refreshing breeze came down from the mountain, the view was extensive and beautiful, and I forgot the desolation and misery which reigned around.

A few miserable Nestorian Chaldæans, and one or two half-starved Jews, came to me with the usual melancholy tale of distress; and shortly after Kasha Mendi, a worthy ecclesiastic, who ministered to the spiritual wants of half the villages in the valley, hearing of my arrival, joined the party. The priest was, of course, better informed than the rest; and from him I obtained the information I required as to the state of the Chaldæans in the district, and as to the means of reaching Tiyari. The Albanian irregulars were to leave me here, as the authority of the Pasha of Mosul did not extend beyond. We were now to enter the territories of Kurdish chiefs, who scarcely admitted any dependence upon the Porte. I deter-

mined upon sending all my horses, except one, with the Albanians to Dohuk, there to await my return, and to hire mules for the rest of my journey.

It was the hour of afternoon prayer before Selim Agha, the Mutesellim or governor, emerged from his harem; which, however, as far as the fair sex were concerned, was empty.

The old gentleman, who was hungry, half asleep, and in the third stage of the ague, hurried through the ordinary salutations, and asked at once for quinine. His attendants exhibited illustrations of every variety of the fever; some shivered, others glowed, and the rest sweated. He entreated me to go with him into the harem; his two sons were buried beneath piles of cloaks, carpets, and grain-sacks, but the whole mass trembled with the violence of their shaking. I dealt out emetics and quinine with a liberal hand, and returned to the Salamlik, to hear from Selim Agha a most doleful history of fever, diminished revenues, arrears of pay, and rebellious Kurds. He was a native of Zillah, in Asia Minor, where he had been Nefous Emini, a kind of public registrar and tax-gatherer, and had followed in the train of the late Pasha to seek his fortunes in the south. He sighed as he talked of his native place, a flourishing, healthy market town; and the tears ran down his cheeks as he recapitulated his manifold misfortunes, and entreated me to intercede with the governor of Mosul for his advancement or recall. I left him with his watch in his hand, anxiously looking for sunset, that he might console himself with a dose of tartar emetic.

Amadiyah was formerly a place of considerable importance and strength, and contained a very large and flourishing population. It was governed by hereditary Pashas—feudal chiefs, who traced their descent from the Abbaside Caliphs, and were always looked up to, on that account, with religious respect by the Kurds. The ladies of this family were no less venerated, and enjoyed the very peculiar title, for a woman, of "Khan." The last of these hereditary chiefs was Ismail Pasha; who long defied, in his almost inaccessible castle, the attempts of

Injeh Bairakdar Mohammed Pasha to reduce him. A mine was at length sprung under a part of the wall, which, from its position, the Kurds had believed safe from attack, and the place was taken by assault. Ismail Pasha was sent a prisoner to Baghdad, where he still remains; and his family, amongst whom was his beautiful wife, Esma Khan, not unknown to the Europeans of Mosul, together with Mohammed Seyyid Pasha of Akra,* a member of the same race, long lived upon the bounty of Mr. Rassam. Amadiyah is frequently mentioned by the early Arab geographers and historians, and its foundation dates, most probably, from a very early epoch. Kasha Mendi casually confirmed to me the assertion of Rich, that the town was once called Ecbatana, by saying that he had seen a very early Chaldæan MS. in which Amadiyah was so named. The only remains that I could discover about the town were a defaced bas-relief on the rock near the northern gate, of which sufficient alone was distinguishable to enable me to assign to it an approximate date—the time of the Arsacian kings; and some excavations in the rock within the walls, which appear to have been used at an early period as a Christian church. Amadiyah is proverbially unhealthy, notwithstanding its lofty and exposed position. At this time of the year the inhabitants leave the town for the neighboring mountains, in the valleys of which they construct "ozailis," or sheds, with boughs. The population has greatly diminished since the reduction of the place by the Turks, and the salian, or property-tax, now yields only 20,000 piasters (less than 200*l.*) a year. The castle is considered of great importance as a key to Kurdistan, and is defended by 300 Albanians and a small party of artillerymen with three guns.

I made my way through the deserted streets to a small inclosure, in which were the quarters of the Albanians. The disposable force may have consisted of three men; the rest were stretched out on all sides, suffering under every stage of fever, amidst heaps of filth and skins of watermelons, show-

* A district to the east of Amadiyah.

ing the nature and extent of their commissariat. One of their chiefs boasted that he had braved the fever, and insisted upon my drinking coffee, and smoking a narguileh of no very prepossessing appearance with him. He even indulged so far in mirth and revelry, that he disturbed a shivering youth basking in the last rays of the sun, and brought him to play upon a santour, which had lost the greater number of its strings. An air of his native mountains brought back his melancholy, and he dwelt upon the miseries of an irregular's life, when there was neither war nor plunder. The evening gun announced sunset whilst I was sitting with the chief; and I left the garrison as they were breaking their fast on donkey-loads of unripe watermelons.

On my return to the Serai, I found the governor recovering from the effects of his emetic, and anxious for his dinner. As it was a season of festivity and open house, one Ismail Agha from Tepelin (the Albanian chief in command of the garrison), the Cadi, the collector of the revenue, a Kurdish chief, and one or two others came as guests. Our meal gave undoubted proofs either of the smallness of the means of Selim Agha, or of the limited resources of the country. When the dinner was over, I introduced a theological subject as becoming the season, and the Cadi entered deeply into the subject of predestination and free will. The reckless way in which the Albanian threw himself into the argument astonished the company, and shocked the feelings of the expounder of the law. His views of the destinies of man were bold and original; he appealed to me for a confirmation of his opinions, and assuming that I fully concurred with him, and that he had silenced the Cadi, who was ejaculating a pious "Istaffer Allah" (may God forgive him), he finished by asking me to breakfast.

Next morning I left my guards and the attendants of the Governor collecting mules for my journey from the peasants who had brought provisions to the town, and after some difficulty found my way to the quarters of Ismail Agha. They

were in a small house, the only habitable spot in the midst of a heap of ruins. His room was hung round with guns, swords, and yataghans, and a few dirty Albanians, armed to the teeth, were lounging at the door. The chief had adorned himself most elaborately. His velvet jacket was covered with a maze of gold embroidery, his arms were of the most costly description, and ample fur cloaks were spread over the dingy divans. It was a strange display of finery in the midst of misery. He received me with great cordiality; and when he found that I had been to his old haunts in his native land, and had known his friends and kindred, his friendship exceeded all reasonable bounds. "We are all brothers, the English and the Tosques;" exclaimed he, endeavoring to embrace me; "we are all Framasouns;* I know nothing of these Turks and their Ramazan, thank God! Our stomachs were given us to be filled, and our mouths to take in good things." He accompanied these words with a very significant signal to one of his followers, who was at no loss to understand its meaning, and set about forming a pyramid of cushions, on the top of which he mounted at the imminent risk of his neck, and reached down from a shelf a huge bottle of wine, and a corresponding pitcher of raki. Ismail Agha then dived into the recesses of a very capacious but ill-looking purse, out of which he pulled twenty paras,† its sole contents; and dispatched without delay one of his attendants to the stall of a grocer, who was apparently the only commercial survivor in the wreck around him. The boy soon returned with a small parcel of parched peas, a few dates, and three lumps of sugar, which were duly spread on a tray and placed before us as zests to the wine and brandy. It was evident that Ismail Agha had fully made up his mind to a morning's debauch, and my position was an uncomfortable one. After drinking a few glasses of raki in soli-

* The term Framasoun (or Freemason), as well as Protestant, are in the East, I am sorry to say, equivalent to infidel. The Roman Catholic missionaries have very industriously spread the calumny.

† About one penny.

tary dignity, he invited his followers to join him. Messengers were dispatched in all directions for music; a Jew with the ague, the band of the regiment, consisting of two cracked dwarf kettledrums and a fife, and two Kurds with a fiddle and a santour, were collected together. I took an opportunity of slipping out of the room unseen, amidst the din of Albanian songs and the dust of Palicari dances.

On my return to the Serai I found the mules ready, the owners having been at length brought to understand that it was my intention to pay for their hire. Every thing being settled, and the animals loaded, I wished the Mutesellim good day, and promised to bring his miserable condition to the notice of the Pasha. A Kurdish chief was to accompany me as far as Abd-ul-Summit Bey's, to whom I was strongly recommended.

We left Amadiyah by the opposite gate to that by which we had entered. We were obliged to descend on foot the steep pathway leading to the valley below. Crossing some well-cultivated gardens, we commenced the ascent of the mountains through a wooded ravine, and came suddenly upon the Yillaks, or summer quarters of the population of Amadiyah. The spot was well chosen. The torrent was divided into a thousand streams, which broke over the rocks, falling in cascades into the valley below. Fruit and forest trees concealed the sheds and tents, and creepers of many hues almost covered the sides of the ravine. All our party enjoyed the delicious coolness and fragrance of the place; and we did not wonder that the people of Amadiyah had left the baneful air of the town for these pleasant haunts. An hour's ride brought us to the summit of the pass, from which a magnificent view of the Tiyari mountains opened upon us. Ionunco became eloquent when he saw his native Alps before him. He named one by one the lofty peaks which sprang out of the confused heap of hills; that of Asheetha and several others were covered with snow. Below us was the extensive valley of Berwari, which separates the range of Amadiyah from the Nestorian country

At a short distance from the crest of the mountain we found a small barren plain, called Nevdasht, in which stands the Kurdish village of Maglana. We reached Hayis, a Nestorian hamlet, about sunset. There were only four families in the place, so poor that we could only procure a little boiled meal, and some dried mulberries for our supper. The poor creatures, however, did all they could to make us comfortable, and gave us what they had.

The valley of Berwari is well wooded with the gall-bearing oak; and the villages, which are numerous, are surrounded by gardens and orchards. The present chief of the district is a fanatic, and has almost ruined the Christian population. In all the villages through which we passed, we saw the same scene and heard the same tale of wretchedness. Yet the land is fruitful, water plentiful, and the means of cultivation easy. Fruit trees of many descriptions abound; and tobacco, rice, and grain of various kinds could be raised to any extent. Even the galls afford but a scanty gain to the villagers, as Abd-ul-Summit Bey has monopolized them, and those who pick are compelled to deliver them to the chief at a very small price. The villages are partly inhabited by Kurds and partly by Nestorian Chaldæans; there are no Catholics amongst them. Many of the Christian villages have been reduced to no more than five or six houses, and some have only two or three. We stopped at several during our day's journey. The men, with the priests, were generally absent picking galls; the women were seated in circles under the trees, clipping the grapes and immersing them in boiling water previous to drying them for raisins. We were every where received with the same hospitality, and every where found the same poverty. Even Ibrahim Agha, who had been inured to the miseries of misgovernment, grew violent in his expressions of indignation against Abd-ul-Summit Bey, and indulged in a variety of threats against all the male and female members of his family.

The waters of the mountain torrents collected in the valley, form a branch of the Khabour, and the river is sufficiently

deep, during the rainy season and spring, to admit of rafts being floated from Berwari to the Tigris. At that time of the year poplars, oaks, and other trees, are thus sent to Mosul. The most important produce of the valley is the gall-nut, which abounds. Were agriculture encouraged, the inhabitants might carry on a lucrative trade with Mosul in many useful articles; but at present the Christians are too much exposed to the rapacity of the Kurds, and the Mohammedans are too idle, to cultivate the land to any extent. The district is very insecure; and Abd-ul-Summit Bey loses no opportunity of shedding the blood of the Christians of the mountains. During the massacre in Tiyari, many of those who succeeded in making their escape were put to death by his orders, when passing through his territories. Zeinel Bey, the blood-thirsty agent of Beder Khan Bey, is a cousin of this chief.

The castle of Kumri or Gumri, the residence of Abd-ul-Summit Bey, stands on the pinnacle of a lofty isolated rock, and may be seen from most parts of the valley of Berwari. It is a small mud fort, but is looked upon as an impregnable place by the Kurds. The chief had evidently received notice of my approach, and probably suspected that the object of my visit was an inspection, for no friendly purposes, of his stronghold; for as we came near to the foot of the hill, we saw him hastening down a precipitous pathway on the opposite side, as fast as his horse could carry him. A mullah, one of his hangers-on, having been sent to meet us on the road, informed us that his master had left the castle early in the morning, for a distant village, whither we could follow him. Not having any particular wish to make a closer inspection of Kalah Kumri, I struck into the hills, and took the pathway pointed out by the mullah.

We rode through several Kurdish villages, surrounded by gardens, and well watered by mountain streams. A pass of some elevation had to be crossed before we could reach the village of Mia, our quarters for the night. Near its summit we found a barren plain, on which several Kurdish horsemen,

who had joined us, engaged with my own party in the Jerid. The mimic fight soon caused general excitement, and old habits getting the better of my dignity, I joined the *mêlée*. A severe kick in the leg from a horse soon put an end to my manœuvres, and the party was detained until I was sufficiently recovered from the effects of the blow to continue our journey. It was sunset consequently before we reached Mia. There are two villages of this name; the upper, inhabited by Mohammedans, the lower by Nestorian Chaldæans. A Kurd met us as we were entering the former, with a message from Abd-ul-Summit Bey, to the effect that, having guests, he could not receive us there, but had provided a house in the Christian village, where he would join us after his dinner. I rode on to the lower Mia, and found a party of Kurds belaboring the inhabitants, and collecting old carpets and household furniture. Finding that these proceedings were partly meant as preparations for our reception, though the greater share of the objects collected was intended for the comfort of the Bey's Mussulman guests, I at once put a stop to the pillaging, and released the sufferers. We found a spacious and cleanly roof; and with the assistance of the people of the house, who were ready enough to assist when they learnt we were Christians, established ourselves for the night.

Soon after dark another messenger came from Abd-ul-Summit to say that, as the Cadi and other illustrious guests were with the Bey, he could not visit me before the morning. I had at first suspected that these delays and excuses had an object, and that the chief wished to give a proof of his dignity to the Kurds, by treating me in as unceremonious a manner as possible; so, calling the Kurd and addressing him in a loud voice, that the people who had gathered round the house might hear, I requested him to be the bearer of a somewhat uncivil answer to his master, and took care that he should fully understand its terms. Ionunco's hair stood on end at the audacity of this speech, and the Nestorians trembled at the results. Ibrahim Agha tittered with delight; and pushing the Kurd

away by the shoulders, told him to be particular in delivering his answer. The message had the effect I had anticipated; an hour afterwards, shuffling over the house-tops at the great risk of his shins, and with a good chance of disappearing down a chimney, came the Bey He was enveloped in a variety of cloaks; he wore, after the manner of the Bohtan chiefs, a turban of huge dimensions, about four feet in diameter, made up of numberless handkerchiefs and rags of every hue, of red, yellow, and black; his jacket and wide trowsers were richly embroidered; and in his girdle were all manner of weapons. In person he was tall and handsome; his eyes were dark, his nose aquiline, and his beard black; but the expression of his face was far from prepossessing. I left him to open the conversation, which he did by a multiplicity of excuses and apologies for what had passed, not having, by the Prophet, been aware, he said, of the rank of the guest by whose presence he had been honored. I pointed out to him one or two fallacies in his assertions; and we came to a distinct understanding on the subject, before we proceeded to general topics. He sat with me till midnight, and entered, amongst other things, into a long justification of his conduct towards Christians, which proved that his authority was not established as well as he could desire. In dealing with a Kurd, you are generally safe as long as you can make him believe that you are his superior, or his equal.

In the morning the Bey sent me a breakfast and a party of Kurdish horsemen to accompany us as far as the Tiyari frontier, which was not far distant. Beyond Mia we passed through Bedou, the largest and most populous Kurdish village I had seen. The valley was generally well cultivated; the chief produce appeared to be tobacco and rice, with "garas" and "uthra," two kinds of grain, of the English names of which I am ignorant. The garas is, I think, millet.

Our guards would not venture into the territories of the Tiyari, between whom and the Kurds there are continual hostilities, and quitted us in a narrow desolate valley, up which

our road to Asheetha now led. I lectured my party on the necessity of caution during our future wanderings; and reminded my Cawass and Mohammedan servants that they had no longer the quiet Christians of the plains to deal with. Resigning ourselves to the guidance of Ionunco, who now felt that he was on his own soil, we made our way with difficulty over the rocks and stones with which the valley is blocked up, and struck into what our guide represented to be a short cut to Asheetha. The pathway might certainly, on some occasions, have been used by the mountain goats; but the passage of horses and mules was a miracle. After a most tedious walk, we reached the top of the pass and looked down on the village. From this spot the eye rested upon a scene of great beauty. In front rose the lofty peak, with its snows and glaciers, visible even from Mosul. At our feet the village spread over the whole valley; and detached houses, surrounded by gardens and orchards, were scattered over the sides of the mountains. To the right ran the valley which leads to the Zab. We had little difficulty in descending through the loose stones and detritus which cover the face of the mountain, although both our mules and ourselves had frequent falls. On reaching the entrance of the valley, we rode at once to the house of Yakoub, the rais or chief of Asheetha, who received us with grateful hospitality

CHAPTER VII.

WE had no sooner reached the house of Yakoub Rais, than a cry of "The Bey is come," spread rapidly through the village, and I was surrounded by a crowd of men, women, and boys. My hand was kissed by all, and I had to submit for some time to this tedious process. As for my companion, he was almost smothered in the embraces of the girls, nearly all of whom had been liberated from slavery after the great massacre, or had been supported by his brother for some months in Mosul.* Amongst the men were many of my old workmen, who were distinguished from the rest of the inhabitants of Asheetha by their gay dresses and arms, the fruits of their industry during the winter. They were anxious to show their gratitude, and their zeal in my service. The priests came too; Kasha Ghioorghis, Kasha Hormuzd, and others. As they entered the room, the whole assembly rose; and lifting their turbans and

* It may be remembered, that Beder Khan Bey, in 1843, invaded the Tiyari districts, massacred in cold blood nearly 10,000 of their inhabitants, and carried away as slaves a large number of girls and children. But it is perhaps not generally known, that the release of the greater part of the captives was obtained through the humane interference and generosity of Sir Stratford Canning, who prevailed upon the Porte to send a commissioner into Kurdistan, for the purpose of inducing Beder Khan Bey and other Kurdish chiefs, to give up the slaves they had taken, and advanced, himself, a considerable sum towards their liberation. Mr. Rassam also obtained the release of many slaves, and maintained and clothed at his own expense, and for several months, not only the Nestorian Patriarch, who had taken refuge in Mosul, but many hundred Chaldæans who had escaped from the mountains.

caps reverentially from their heads, kissed the hand extended to them. In the mean while the girls had disappeared; but soon returned, each bearing a platter of fruit, which they placed before me. My workmen also brought large dishes of boiled garas swimming in butter. There were provisions enough for the whole company.

The first inquiries were after Mar Shamoun, the Patriarch. I produced his letter, which the priests first kissed and placed to their foreheads. They afterwards passed it to the principal men, who went through the same ceremony. Kasha Ghioorghis then read the letter aloud, and at its close, those present uttered a pious ejaculation for the welfare of their Patriarch, and renewed their expressions of welcome to us.

These preliminaries having been concluded, we had to satisfy all present as to the object, extent, and probable duration of our journey. The village was in the greatest alarm at a threatened invasion from Beder Khan Bey. The district of Tkhoma, which had escaped the former massacre, was now the object of his fanatical vengeance. He was to march through Asheetha, and orders had already been sent to the inhabitants to collect provisions for his men. As his expedition was not to be undertaken before the close of Ramazan, there was full time to see the proscribed districts before the Kurds entered them. I determined, however, to remain a day in Asheetha, to rest our mules.

On the morning following our arrival, I went with Yakoub Rais to visit the village. The trees and luxuriant crops had concealed the desolation of the place, and had given to Asheetha, from without, a flourishing appearance. As I wandered, however, through the lanes, I found little but ruins. A few houses were rising from the charred heaps; the greater part of the sites, however, were without owners, the whole family having perished. Yakoub pointed out, as we went along, the former dwellings of wealthy inhabitants, and told me how and where they had been murdered. A solitary church had been built since the massacre, the foundations of others were seen

A NESTORIAN HOUSE IN THE DISTRICT OF TIYARI. p. 55.

WICKER BRIDGE ACROSS THE ZAB, NEAR LIZAN. p. 166.

amongst the ruins. The pathways were still blocked up by the trunks of trees cut down by the Kurds. Water-courses, once carrying fertility to many gardens, were now empty and dry; and the lands which they had irrigated were left naked and unsown. I was surprised at the proofs of the industry and activity of the few surviving families, who had returned to the village, and had already brought a large portion of the land into cultivation.

The houses of Asheetha, like those of the Tiyari districts,* are not built in a group, but are scattered over the valley. Each dwelling stands in the centre of the land belonging to its owner; consequently, the village occupies a much larger space than would otherwise be required, but has a cheerful and pleasing appearance. The houses are simple, and constructed so as to afford protection and comfort, during winter and summer. The lower part is of stone, and contains two or three rooms inhabited by the family and their cattle during the cold months. Light is admitted by the door, and by small holes in the wall. There are no windows, as in the absence of glass, a luxury as yet unknown in Kurdistan, the cold would be very great during the winter, when the inhabitants are frequently snowed up for many days together. The upper floor is constructed partly of stone, and partly of wood, the whole side facing the south being open. Enormous beams, resting on wooden pillars and on the walls, support the roof. This is the summer habitation, and here all the members of the family reside. During July and August, they usually sleep on the roof, upon which they erect stages of boughs and grass resting on high poles. By thus raising themselves as much above the ground as possible, they avoid the vermin which swarm in the rooms, and catch the night wind which carries away the gnats. Sometimes they build these stages in the

* Asheetha and Zaweetha were formerly looked upon as half-independent districts, each having its own Rais or head. They were neither within the territories nor under the authority of the Meleks of Tiyari.

branches of high trees around the houses. The winter provision of dried grass and straw for the cattle is stacked near the dwelling, or is heaped on the roof.

As this was the first year that the surviving inhabitants of Asheetha, about 200 families, had returned to the village and had cultivated the soil, they were almost without provisions of any kind. We were obliged to send to Zaweetha for meat and rice; and even milk was scarce, the flocks having been carried away by the Kurds. Garas was all we could find to eat. They had no corn, and very little barley. Their bread was made of this garas, and upon it alone they lived, except when on holidays they boiled the grain, and soaked it in melted butter.

The men were now busy in irrigating the land; and seemed to be rewarded by the promise of ample crops of their favorite grain, and of wheat, barley, rice, and tobacco. The boys kept up a continued shrill shriek or whistle to frighten away the small birds, which had been attracted in shoals by the ripe corn. When tired of this exercise, they busied themselves with their partridges. Almost every youth in the country carries one of these birds at his back, in a round wicker cage. Indeed, whilst the mountains and the valleys swarm with wild partridges, the houses are as much infested by the tame. The women, too, were not idle. The greater part of them, even the girls, were beating out the corn, or employed in the fields. A few were at the doors of the houses working at the loom, or spinning wool for the clothes of the men. I never saw more general or cheerful industry; even the priests took part in the labors of their congregation.

I walked to the ruins of the school and dwelling-house, built by the American missionaries during their short sojourn in the mountains. These buildings had been the cause of much jealousy and suspicion to the Kurds. They stand upon the summit of an isolated hill, commanding the whole valley. A position less ostentatious and proportions more modest might certainly have been chosen; and it is surprising that persons,

so well acquainted with the character of the tribes amongst whom they had come to reside, should have been thus indiscreet. They were, however, most zealous and worthy men; and had their plans succeeded, I have little doubt that they would have conferred signal benefits on the Nestorian Chaldæans. I never heard their names mentioned by the Tiyari, and most particularly that of Dr. Grant, without expressions of profound respect, amounting almost to veneration.* There are circumstances connected with the massacre of the Nestorians most painful to contemplate, and which I willingly forbear to dwell on.

During the occupation of Asheetha by the Kurds, Zeinel Bey fortified himself with a few men in the house constructed by the Americans; and the position was so strong, that, holding it against all the attempts of the Tiyari to dislodge him, he kept the whole of the valley in subjection.

Yakoub Rais, who was naturally of a lively and jovial disposition, could not restrain his tears as he related to me the particulars of the massacre. He had been amongst the first seized by Beder Khan Bey; and having been kept by the chief as a kind of hostage, he had been continually with him, during the attack on the Tiyari, and had witnessed all the scenes of bloodshed which he so graphically described. The descent upon Asheetha was sudden and unexpected. The greater part of the inhabitants fell victims to the fury of the Kurds, who endeavored to destroy every trace of the village. We walked to the church, which had been newly constructed by the united exertions and labor of the people. The door was so low, that a person, on entering, had to perform the

* Dr. Grant, who published an account of his visit to the mountains, fell a victim to his humane zeal for the Chaldæans in 1844. After the massacre, his house in Mosul was filled with fugitives, whom he supported and clothed. Their sufferings, and the want of common necessaries before they reached the town, had brought on a malignant typhus fever, of which many died, and which Dr. Grant caught whilst attending the sick in his house. Mosul holds the remains of most of those who were engaged in the American missions to the Chaldæans.

feat of bringing his back to the level of his knees. The entrances to Christian churches in the East, are generally so constructed that horses and beasts of burden may not be lodged there by the Mohammedans. A few rituals, a book of prayer, and the Scriptures all in manuscript were lying upon the rude altar; but the greater part of the leaves were wanting, and those which remained were either torn into shreds, or disfigured by damp and water. The manuscripts of the churches were hid in the mountains, or buried in some secure place, at the time of the massacre; but as the priests, who had concealed them, were mostly killed, the books have not been recovered. A few English prints and handkerchiefs from Manchester were hung about the walls; a bottle and a glass, with a tin plate for the sacrament, stood upon a table; a curtain of coarse cloth hung before the inner recess, the Holy of Holies; and these were all the ornaments and furniture of the place.

I visited my former workmen, the priests, and those whom I had seen at Mosul; and as it was expected that I should partake of the hospitality of each, and eat of the dishes they had prepared for me—generally garas floating in melted rancid butter, with a layer of sour milk above—by the time I reached Yakoub's mansion, my appetite was abundantly satisfied. At the door, however, stood Sarah, and a bevy of young damsels with baskets of fruit mingled with ice, fetched from the glacier; nor would they leave me until I had tasted of every thing.

We lived in a patriarchal way with the Rais. My bed was made in one corner of the room. The opposite corner was occupied by Yakoub, his wife, and unmarried daughters; a third was appropriated to his son and daughter-in-law, and all the members of his son's family; the fourth was assigned to my companion; and various individuals, whose position in our household could not be very accurately determined, took possession of the centre. We slept well nevertheless, and no one troubled himself about his neighbor. Even Ibrahim Agha,

whose paradise was Chanak Kalassi, the Dardanelles, to which he always disadvantageously compared every thing, confessed that the Tiyari Mountains were not an unpleasant portion of the Sultan's dominions.

Yakoub volunteered to accompany me in the rest of my journey through the mountains; and as he was generally known, was well acquainted with the by-ways and passes, and a very merry companion withal, I eagerly accepted his offer. We left part of our baggage at his house, and it was agreed that he should occasionally ride one of the mules. He was a very portly person, gayly dressed in an embroidered jacket and striped trowsers, and carrying a variety of arms in his girdle.

The country through which we passed, after leaving Asheetha, can scarcely be surpassed in the beauty and sublimity of its scenery. The patches of land on the declivities of the mountains were cultivated with extraordinary skill and care. I never saw greater proofs of industry. Our mules, however, were dragged over places almost inacessible to men on foot; but we forgot the toils and dangers of the way in gazing upon the magnificent prospect before us. Zaweetha is in the same valley as Asheetha. The stream formed by the eternal snows above the latter village, forces its way to the Zab. On the sides of the mountains is the most populous and best cultivated district in Tiyari. The ravine below Asheetha is too narrow to admit of the road being carried along the banks of the torrent; and we were compelled to climb over an immense mass of rocks, rising to a considerable height above it. Frequently the footing was so insecure that it required the united force of several men to carry the mules along by their ears and tails. We, who were unaccustomed to mountain paths, were obliged to have recourse to the aid of our hands and knees.

I had been expected at Zaweetha; and before we entered the first gardens of the village, a party of girls, bearing baskets

of fruit, advanced to meet me. Their hair, neatly platted and adorned with flowers, fell down their backs. On their heads they wore colored handkerchiefs loosely tied, or an embroidered cap. Many were pretty, and the prettiest was Aslani, a liberated slave, who had been for some time under the protection of Mrs. Rassam; she led the party, and welcomed me to Zaweetha. My hand having been kissed by all, they simultaneously threw themselves upon my companion, and saluted him vehemently upon both cheeks; such a mode of salutation, in the case of a person of my rank and distinction, not being, unfortunately, considered either respectful or decorous. The girls were followed by the Rais and the principal inhabitants, and I was led by them into the village.

The Rais of Zaweetha had fortunately rendered some service to Beder Khan Bey, and on the invasion of Tiyari his village was spared. It had not even been deserted by its inhabitants, nor had its trees and gardens been injured. It was consequently, at the time of my visit, one of the most flourishing villages in the mountains. The houses, neat and clean, were still overshadowed by the wide-spreading walnut tree: every foot of ground which could receive seed, or nourish a plant, was cultivated. Soil had been brought from elsewhere, and built up in terraces on the precipitous sides of the mountains. A small pathway amongst the gardens led us to the house of the Rais.

We were received by Kasha Kana of Lizan, and Kasha Yusuf of Siatha; the first, one of the very few learned priests left among the Nestorian Chaldæans. Our welcome was as unaffected and sincere as it had been at Asheetha. Preparations had been made for our reception, and the women of the family of the chief were congregated around huge caldrons at the door of the house, cooking an entire sheep, rice, and garas. The liver, heart, and other portions of the entrails, were immediately cut into pieces, roasted on ramrods, and brought on these skewers into the room. The fruit too, melons, pome-

granates, and grapes, all of excellent quality, spread on the floor before us, served to allay our appetites until the breakfast was ready.

Mar Shamoun's letter was read with the usual solemnities by Kasha Kana, and we had to satisfy the numerous inquiries of the company. Their Patriarch was regarded as a prisoner in Mosul, and his return to the mountains was looked forward to with deep anxiety. Every where, except in Zaweetha, the churches had been destroyed to their foundations, and the priests put to death. Some of the holy edifices had been rudely rebuilt; but the people were unwilling to use them until they had been consecrated by the Patriarch. There were not priests enough indeed to officiate, nor could others be ordained until Mar Shamoun himself performed the ceremony. These wants had been the cause of great irregularities and confusion in Tiyari; and the Nestorian Chaldæans, who are naturally a religious people, and greatly attached to their churches and ministers, were more alive to them than to any of their misfortunes.

Kasha Kana was making his weekly rounds to the villages which had lost their priests. He carried under his arm a bag full of manuscripts, consisting chiefly of rituals and copies of the Scriptures; but he had also one or two volumes on profane subjects which he prized highly; amongst them was a Grammar by Rabba Iohannan bar Zoabee, to which he was chiefly indebted for his learning. He read to us—holding as usual the book upside down—a part of the introduction treating of the philosophy and nature of languages, and illustrated the text by various attempts at the delineation of most marvellous alphabets. A taste for the fine arts seemed to prevail generally in the village, and the walls of the Rais's house were covered with sketches of wild goats and snakes in every variety of posture. The young men were eloquent on the subject of the chase, and related their exploits with the wild animals of the mountains. A cousin of the chief, a handsome youth very gayly dressed, had shot a bear a few days before, after a haz-

ardous encounter, and he brought me the skin, which measured seven feet in length. The two great subjects of complaint I found to be the Kurds and the bears, both equally mischievous; the latter carrying off the fruit both when on the trees and when laid out to dry; and the former, the provisions stored for the winter. In some villages in Berwari the inhabitants pretended to be in so much dread of the bears, that they would not venture out alone after dark.

The Rais, finding that I would not accept his hospitality for the night, accompanied us, followed by all the inhabitants, to the outskirts of the village. His frank and manly bearing, and simple kindness, had made a most favorable impression upon me, and I left him with regret. Kasha Kana, too, fully merited the praise which he received from all who knew him. His appearance was mild and venerable; his beard, white as snow, fell low upon his breast; but his garments were in a very advanced stage of rags. I gave him a few handkerchiefs, some of which were at once gratefully applied to the bettering of his raiment; the remainder being reserved for the embellishment of his parish church. The Kasha is looked up to as the physician, philosopher, and sage of Tiyari, and is treated with great veneration by the people. As we walked through the village, the women left their thresholds and the boys their sports to kiss his hand—a mark of respect, however, which is invariably shown to the priesthood.

We had been joined by Mirza, a confidential servant of Mar Shamoun, and our party was further increased by several men returning to villages on our road. Yakoub Rais kept every one in good humor by his anecdotes, and the absurdity of his gesticulations. Ionunco too, dragging his mare over the projecting rocks, down which he generally contrived to tumble, added to the general mirth, and we went laughing through the valley.

From Zaweetha to the Zab, there is almost an unbroken line of cultivation on both sides of the valley. The two villages of Miniyanish and Murghi are almost buried in groves

of walnut-trees, and their peaceful and flourishing appearance deceived me until I wandered amongst the dwellings, and found the same scenes of misery and desolation that I had witnessed at Asheetha. But nature was so beautiful that we almost forgot the havoc of man, and envied the repose of these secluded habitations. In Miniyanish, out of seventy houses, only twelve had risen from their ruins; the families to which the rest belonged having been totally destroyed. Yakoub pointed out a spot where above three hundred persons had been murdered in cold blood, and all our party had some tale of horror to relate. Murghi was not less desolate than Miniyanish, and eight houses alone had been resought by their owners. We found an old priest, blind and gray, bowed down by age and grief, the solitary survivor of six or eight of his order. He was seated under the shade of a walnut-tree, near a small stream. Some children of the village were feeding him with grapes, and on our approach his daughter ran into the half-ruined cottage, and brought out a basket of fruit and a loaf of garas bread. I endeavored to glean some information from the old man as to the state of his flock; but his mind wandered to the cruelties of the Kurds, or dwelt upon the misfortunes of his Patriarch, over whose fate he shed many tears. None of our party being able to console the Kasha, I gave some handkerchiefs to his daughter, and we resumed our journey.

Our road lay through the gardens of the villages, or through the forest of gall-bearing oaks which clothe the mountains above the line of cultivation. But it was every where equally difficult and precipitous, and we tore our way through the matted boughs of overhanging trees, or the thick foliage of creepers which hung from every branch. Innumerable rills. led from the mountain streams into the terraced fields, crossed our path, and rendered our progress still more tedious. We reached Lizan, however, early in the afternoon, descending to the village through scenery of extraordinary beauty and grandeur.

Lizan stands on the river Zab, which is crossed by a rude

bridge. I need not weary or distress the reader with a description of desolation and misery, hardly concealed by the most luxuriant vegetation. We rode to the graveyard of a roofless church slowly rising from its ruins—the first edifice in the village to be rebuilt. We spread our carpets amongst the tombs; for as yet there were no inhabitable houses. The Melek, with the few who had survived the massacre, was living during the day under the trees, and sleeping at night on stages of grass and boughs, raised on high poles, fixed in the very bed of the Zab. By this latter contrivance they succeeded in catching any breeze that might be carried down the narrow ravine of the river, and in freeing themselves from the gnats and sandflies abounding in the valley.

It was near Lizan that occurred one of the most terrible incidents of the massacre; and an active mountaineer offering to lead me to the spot, I followed him up the mountain. Emerging from the gardens we found ourselves at the foot of an almost perpendicular detritus of loose stones, terminated, about one thousand feet above us, by a wall of lofty rocks. Up this ascent we toiled for above an hour, sometimes clinging to small shrubs, whose roots scarcely reached the scanty soil below; at others crawling on our hands and knees; crossing the gullies to secure a footing, or carried down by the stones which we put in motion as we advanced. We soon saw evidences of the slaughter. At first a solitary skull rolling down with the rubbish; then heaps of blanched bones; further up fragments of rotting garments. As we advanced, these remains became more frequent—skeletons, almost entire, still hung to the dwarf shrubs. I was soon compelled to renounce an attempt to count them. As we approached the wall of rock, the declivity became covered with bones, mingled with the long platted tresses of the women, shreds of discolored linen, and well-worn shoes. There were skulls of all ages, from the child unborn to the toothless old man. We could not avoid treading on the bones as we advanced, and rolling them with the loose stones into the valley below "This is nothing,"

exclaimed my guide, who observed me gazing with wonder on these miserable heaps; "they are but the remains of those who were thrown from above, or sought to escape the sword by jumping from the rock. Follow me!" He sprang upon a ledge running along the precipice that rose before us, and clambered along the face of the mountain overhanging the Zab, now scarcely visible at our feet. I followed him as well as I was able to some distance; but when the ledge became scarcely broader than my hand, and frequently disappeared for three or four feet altogether, I could no longer advance. The Tiyari, who had easily surmounted these difficulties, returned to assist me, but in vain. I was still suffering severely from the kick received in my leg four days before; and was compelled to return, after catching a glimpse of an open recess or platform covered with human remains.

When the fugitives who had escaped from Asheetha, spread the news of the massacre through the valley of Lizan, the inhabitants of the villages around collected such part of their property as they could carry, and took refuge on the platform I have just described and on the rock above; hoping thus to escape the notice of the Kurds, or to be able to defend, against any numbers, a place almost inaccessible. Women and young children, as well as men, concealed themselves in a spot which the mountain goat could scarcely reach.* Beder Khan Bey was not long in discovering their retreat; but being unable to force it, he surrounded the place with his men, and waited until they should be compelled to yield. The weather was hot and sultry; the Christians had brought but small supplies of

* When amongst the Bakhtiyari I saw a curious instance of the agility of the women of the mountains. I occupied an upper room in a tower, forming one of the corners in the yard of the chief's harem. I was accustomed to lock my door on the outside with a padlock. The wife of the chief advised me to secure the window also. As I laughed at the idea of any one being able to enter it, she ordered one of her handmaidens to convince me, which she did at once, dragging herself up in the most marvellous way by the mere irregularities of the bricks. After witnessing this feat, I could believe any thing of the activity of the Kurdish women.

water and provisions; after three days the first began to fail them, and they offered to capitulate. The terms proposed by Beder Khan Bey, and ratified by an oath on the Koran, were the surrender of their arms and property. The Kurds were then admitted to the platform. After they had taken the arms from their prisoners, they commenced an indiscriminate slaughter; until weary of using their weapons, they hurled the few survivors from the rocks into the Zab below. Out of nearly one thousand souls, who are said to have congregated here, only one escaped.

We had little difficulty in descending to the village; a moving mass of stones, skulls, and rubbish carried us rapidly down the declivity. The Melek, who had but recently been raised to that rank, his predecessor having been killed by the Kurds, prepared a simple meal of garas and butter—the only provisions that could be procured. The few stragglers who had returned to their former dwellings collected round us, and made the usual inquiries after their Patriarch, or related their misfortunes. As I expressed surprise at the extent of land already cultivated, they told me that the Kurds of some neighboring villages had taken possession of the deserted property, and had sown grain and tobacco in the spring, which the Tiyari were now compelled to irrigate and look after.

The sun had scarcely set, when I was driven by swarms of insects to one of the platforms in the river. A slight breeze came from the ravine, and I was able to sleep undisturbed.

The bridge across the Zab at Lizan is of basket-work. Stakes are firmly fastened together with twigs, forming a long hurdle, reaching from one side of the river to the other. The two ends are laid upon beams, resting upon piers on the opposite banks. Both the beams and the basket-work are kept in their places by heavy stones heaped upon them. Animals, as well as men, are able to cross over this frail structure, which swings to and fro, and seems ready to give way at every step. These bridges are of frequent occurrence in the Tiyari mountains.

As some of the beams had been broken, the bridge of Lizan formed an acute angle with the stream below, and was scarcely to be crossed by a man on foot. We had consequently to swim the mules and horses, a labor of no slight trouble and difficulty, as the current was rapid, and the bed of the river choked with rocks. More than an hour was wasted in finding a spot sufficiently clear of stones, and in devising means to induce the animals to enter the water. We resumed our journey on the opposite side of the valley. But before leaving Lizan I must mention the heroic devotion of ten Tiyari girls, from the village of Serspeetho, who, as they were led across the bridge by the Kurds, on their return from the great massacre,—preferring death to captivity and conversion,—threw themselves simultaneously into the Zab, and were drowned in its waters.

We now entered a valley formed by a torrent which joins the Zab below Lizan. On the opposite side, but far in the distance, were the Kurdish villages of the district of Chal,* surrounded by trees and gardens. We passed through the small Chaldæan village of Shoordh, now a heap of ruins, inhabited by a few wretched families, whose priest had been recently put to death by Nur-Ullah Bey, the chief of the Hakkiari tribes. From Shoordh we descended into a wild and rocky ravine, leading to the once rich and populous valley of Raola. We soon found ourselves on the outskirts of cultivation. A few feet of soil were rescued from the bed of the torrent, and sown with tobacco or garas. These straggling plots led us into a series of orchards and gardens, extending to the district of Tkhoma.

We were nearly two hours in reaching the house of the Melek.† My party having gradually increased as we rode

* Their names are Chal, Sershkioutha, Behedri, Beshoukha, Shuraisi, Beea, and Dalasha. The district is under an hereditary chief, Tatar Bey, who pays tribute to the Governor of Amadiyah, and is consequently within the territories of the Pasha of Mosul.

† Literally, King, the title given to the chiefs of Tiyari.

among the scattered cottages, I was followed by a large company. Melek Khoshaba* had been apprized of my intended visit; for he met us with the priests and principal inhabitants at some distance from his dwelling. I was much struck by his noble carriage and handsome features. He wore, like the other chiefs, a dress of very gay colors, and a conical cap of felt, slightly embroidered at the edges, in which was stuck an eagle's feather. The men who accompanied him were mostly tall and well made, and were more showily dressed than the inhabitants of other villages through which we had passed. Their heads were shaved, as is customary amongst the Tiyari tribes, a small knot of hair being left uncut on the crown, and allowed to fall in a plat down the back. This tail, with the conical cap, gives them the appearance of Chinese. The boys, in addition to their inseparable partridges, carried cross-bows, with which they molested every small bird that appeared, and almost every one had an eagle's feather in his cap.

We followed the Melek to his house, which stood high above the torrent on the declivity of the mountain. The upper or summer room was large enough to contain all the party. The Melek and priests sat on my carpets; the rest ranged themselves on the bare floor against the walls. The girls brought me, as usual, baskets of fruit, and then stood at the entrance of the room. Many of them were very pretty; but the daughter of the chief, a girl of fourteen, excelled them all. I have seldom seen a more lovely form. Her complexion was fair; her features regular; her eyes and hair as black as jet; a continual smile played upon her mouth; and an expression of mingled surprise and curiosity stole over her face, as she examined my dress, or followed my movements. Her tresses, unconfined by the colored handkerchief bound loosely round her head, fell in disorder down her back, reaching to her waist. Her dress was more gay, and neater, than that of the other

* A corruption of Khath Shaba, Sunday.

women, who evidently confessed her beauty and her rank. I motioned to her to sit down; but that was an honor only reserved for the mother of the Melek, who occupied a corner of the room. At length she approached timidly to examine more closely a pocket compass, which had excited the wonder of the men.

The threatened invasion of Tkhoma by Beder Khan Bey was the chief subject of conversation, and caused great excitement amongst the inhabitants of Raola. They calculated the means of defence possessed by the villagers of the proscribed district; but whilst wishing them success against the Kurds, they declared their inability to afford them assistance; for they still trembled at the recollection of the former massacre, and the very name of the Bohtan chief struck terror into the hearts of the Tiyari. They entreated me to devise some mode of delivering them from the danger. "It is true," said the Melek, "that when Nur-Ullah Bey joined Bedar Khan Bey in the great massacre, the people of Tkhoma marched with the Kurds against us; but could they do otherwise?—for they feared the chief of Hakkiari. They are our brothers, and we should forgive them; for the Scriptures tell us to forgive even our enemies." This pious sentiment was re-echoed by all the company.

Several men, whose wives and daughters were still in slavery, came to me, thinking that I could relieve them in their misfortune; and there was scarcely any one present who had not some tale of grief to relate. Several members of the family of Melek Khoshaba, including his cousin, to whom he had succeeded in the chiefship, had been killed in the massacre. The villages in the valley of Rac'a having, however, suffered less than those we had previously visited, were fast returning to their former prosperity.

Whilst we were discussing these matters the women left the room, and I observed them, shortly after, performing their ablutions by a rill in a garden below. They stripped themselves without restraint of all their garments, and loosed their

hair over their shoulders. Some stood in the stream, and poured water over one another out of wooden bowls; others combed and platted the long tresses of their companions, who crouched on the grass at their feet. The younger girls and children played in the brook, or ran over the meadow. They remained thus for above an hour, unnoticed by the men, and as unmindful of their presence as if they bathed in some secluded spot, far distant from any human habitation.

The Melek insisted upon accompanying us, with the priests and principal inhabitants, to the end of the valley. As we passed through the village we saw the women bathing at almost every door; nor did they appear at all conscious that we were near them. This simple and primitive mode of washing is thus publicly practised among all the Chaldæan tribes, particularly on the Saturday. The men neither heed nor interfere, and their wives and daughters are not the less virtuous or modest.

Although all this district is known as Raola, yet its length has rendered distinct names for various parts of the village necessary. The houses are scattered over the sides of the mountains, and surrounded by gardens and vineyards. A torrent, rising at the head of the valley, is divided into innumerable water-courses, carried along the sides of the hills to the most distant plots of cultivation. Its waters are consequently entirely absorbed, except during the period of winter rains, when they seek an outlet in the Zab. The gardens are built up in terraces, and are sown with tobacco, rice, and such vegetables and grains as are peculiar to the mountains. The valley is well wooded with fruit trees, amongst which are the walnut, fig, pomegranate, apple, and mulberry.

Melek Khoshaba accompanied me to a rude monument raised over the bodies of fifty prisoners, who had been murdered at the time of the invasion, and left me at the entrance of the village. We had to pass through a narrow and barren ravine, and a rocky gorge, before entering the district of Tkhoma. Our path lay in the bed of the torrent; and the

mountains, rising precipitously on either side, shut in a scene of extraordinary wildness and solitude. This was the only road by which we could reach Tkhoma, without crossing the lofty ranges of rock surrounding it on all other sides. A resolute body of men might have held the ravine against any numbers. This was one of the most dangerous tracts we had to traverse during our journey. On the heights above are one or two villages, inhabited by the Apenshai* Kurds, who are always engaged in hostilities with the Tiyari, and fall upon such as are crossing the frontiers of Tkhoma. My party was numerous and well armed, and keeping close together we travelled on without apprehension.

We emerged suddenly from this wilderness, and saw a richly cultivated valley before us. Flocks of sheep and goats were browsing on the hill sides, and herds of cattle wandered in the meadows below. These were the first domestic animals we had seen in the Chaldæan country, and they showed that hitherto Tkhoma had escaped the hand of the spoiler. Two villages occupied opposite sides of the valley; on the right, Ghissa, on the left, Birijai. We rode to the latter. The houses are built in a cluster, and not scattered amongst the gardens, as in Tiyari. We were surrounded by the inhabitants as soon as we entered the streets, and they vied with one another in expressions of welcome and offers of hospitality. Kasha Hormuzd, the principal priest, prevailed upon me to accompany him to a house he had provided, and on the roof of which carpets were speedily spread. The people were in great agitation at the report of Beder Khan Bey's projected march upon Tkhoma. They immediately flocked round us, seeking for news. The men were better dressed than any Nestorian Chaldæans I had yet seen. The felt cap was replaced by turbans of red and black linen, and these two favorite colors of the Kurds were conspicuous in their ample trowsers, and embroidered jackets. As they carried pistols and daggers in their girdles, and long

* By the Kurds they are called Pinianshi.

guns in their hands, they could scarcely be distinguished from the Mussulman inhabitants of the mountains. The women wore small embroidered skull-caps, from beneath which their hair fell loose or in plaits. Their shirts were richly embroidered, and round their necks and bosoms hung coins and beads. They were happy in having escaped so long the fanaticism and rapacity of the Kurds. But they foresaw their fate. All was bustle and anxiety; the women were burying their ornaments and domestic utensils in secure places; the men preparing their arms, or making gunpowder. I walked to the church, where the priests were collecting their books, and the holy vessels, to be hid in the monasteries. Amongst the manuscripts I saw many ancient rituals, forms of prayer, and versions of the Scripture; the Acts of the Apostles, and the Epistles on vellum, the first and last leaves wanting, and without date, but evidently of a very early period; and a fine copy of the Gospels, Acts, and Epistles also on vellum, entire, with numerous illuminations, written in the year of the Seleucidæ 1552,* in the time of "Mar Audishio, Patriarch of the East, and of the Chaldæans."

I was much touched by the unaffected hospitality and simple manners of the two priests, Kasha Hormuzd and Khoshaba, who entertained me; a third was absent. Their dress, torn and soiled, showed that they were poorer than their congregation. They had just returned from the vineyards, where they had been toiling during the day; yet they were treated with reverence and respect; the upper places were given to them, they were consulted on all occasions, and no one drew nigh without kissing the hand, scarred by the plough and the implements of the field.

Almost every house furnished something towards our even-

* The era of the Seleucidæ (the Greek or Alexandrian year, or the era of contracts, as it is sometimes called,) was once in general use amongst both the Christians, Jews, and Mussulmans of the East, and is to this day always employed by the Chaldæans. It commences in October B. C. 312; according to the Chaldæans one year later.

ing repast; and a long train of girls and young men brought us in messes of meat, fowls, boiled rice, garas and fruit. The priests and the principal inhabitants feasted with us, and there remained enough for my servants, and for the poor who were collected on the roof of a neighboring house. After our meal many of the women came to me, and joined with the men in debating on their critical position, and in forming schemes for the security of their families, and the defence of their village. It was past midnight before the assembly separated.

The following day being Sunday, we were roused at dawn to attend the service of the church. The two priests officiated in white surplices. The ceremonies were short and simple; a portion of Scripture was read, and then interpreted by Kasha Hormuzd in the dialect in use in the mountains—few understanding the Chaldæan of the books. His companion chanted the prayers—the congregation kneeling or standing, and joining in the responses. There were no idle forms or salutations; the people used the sign of the cross when entering, and bowed when the name of Christ occurred in the prayers. The Sacrament was administered to all present—men, women, and children partaking of the bread and wine, and my companion receiving it amongst the rest. They were inclined to feel hurt at my declining to join them, until I explained that I did not refuse from any religious prejudice. When the service was ended the congregation embraced one another as a symbol of brotherly love and concord,* and left the church. I could not but contrast these simple and primitive rites with the senseless mummery and degrading forms adopted by the converted Chaldæans of the plains—the unadorned and imageless walls, with the hideous pictures, and monstrous deformities which encumber the churches of Mosul.

The vestibule of the church was occupied by a misshapen and decrepit nun. Her bed was a mat in the corner of the

* This custom, it will be remembered, prevailed generally amongst the primitive Christians. The Roman Catholic church has retained the remembrance of it in the "Pax."

building, and she was cooking her garas on a small fire near the door. She inquired, with many tears, after Mar Shamoun, and hung round the neck of my companion when she learnt that he had been living with him. Vows of chastity are very rarely taken amongst the Nestorian Chaldæans; and this woman, whose deformity might have precluded the hope of marriage, was the sole instance we met with in the mountains. Convents for either sex are unknown.

Birijai contained, at the time of my visit, nearly one hundred houses, and Ghissa forty. The inhabitants were comparatively rich, possessing numerous flocks, and cultivating a large extent of land. There were priests, schools, and churches in both villages.

One of the Meleks of the tribe came early from Tkhoma Gowaia,* the principal village in the district, to welcome me to his mountains, and to conduct me to his house. He explained that as it was Sunday the Chaldæans did not travel, and consequently the other Meleks, and the principal inhabitants had not been able to meet me. We took leave of the good people of Birijai, who had treated us with great hospitality, and followed Melek Putros up the valley.

To our left was the small Kurdish hamlet of Hayshat, high up in a sheltered ravine. An uninterrupted line of gardens brought us to the church of Tkhoma Gowaia, standing in the midst of scattered houses, this village being built like those of Tiyari. Here we found almost the whole tribe assembled, and in deep consultation on the state of affairs. We sat in a loft above the church during the greater part of the day, engaged in discussion on the course to be pursued to avoid the present difficulties, and to defend the valley against the expected attack of Beder Khan Bey. The men, who were all well armed, declared that they were ready to die in the defence of their villages; and that, unless they were overcome by numbers, they would hold the passes against the forces of the

* i. e. middle or centre Tkhoma.

Kurdish chief. The Kurds, who inhabited two or three hamlets in Tkhoma, had also assembled. They expressed sympathy for the Christians, and offered to arm in their behalf. After much debate it was resolved to send at once a deputation to the Pasha of Mosul, to beseech his protection and assistance. Two priests, two persons from the families of the Meleks, and two of the principal inhabitants, were chosen; and a letter was written by Kasha Bodaca, one of the most learned and respectable priests in the Mountains. It was a touching appeal, setting forth that they were faithful subjects of the Sultan, had been guilty of no offence, and were ready to pay any money, or submit to any terms that the Pasha might think fit to exact. The letter, after having been approved by all present, and sealed with the seals of the chiefs, was delivered to the six deputies, who started at once on foot for Mosul. At the same time no precaution was to be omitted to place the valley in a state of defence, and to prepare for the approach of the Kurds.

There were in Tkhoma three Meleks, each chosen from a different family by the tribe. The principal was Melek Putros, —a stout, jovial fellow, gayly dressed, and well armed. His colleagues were of a more sober and more warlike appearance. There were no signs of poverty among the people; most of the men had serviceable weapons, and the women wore gold and silver ornaments. All the young men carried cross-bows; in the use of which they were very skilful, killing the small birds as they rested on the trees. A well-armed and formidable body of men might have been collected from the villages; which, properly directed, could, I have little doubt, have effectually resisted the invasion of Beder Khan Bey.

There are five Chaldæan villages in the district of Tkhoma, Ghissa, Birijai, Tkhoma Gowaia, Muzra, and Gunduktha; and four Kurdish, Apenshai, Hayshat, Zaweetha, and Guzeresh. The largest is Tkhoma Gowaia, containing 160 houses, and the residence of the Meleks. By the Kurds, Tkhoma is cor-

rupted into Tkhobi; and the greater part of the Chaldæan names undergo similar changes.

We passed the night on the roof of the church, and rose early to continue our journey to Baz. The valley and pass, separating Tkhoma from this district, being at this time of the year uninhabited, is considered insecure, and we were accompanied by a party of armed men, furnished by the Meleks. The chiefs themselves walked with us to the village of Mezrai, whose gardens adjoin those of Tkhoma Gowaia. The whole valley, indeed, up to the rocky barrier, closing it towards the east, is an uninterrupted line of cultivation. Above the level of the artificial water-courses, derived from the torrent near its source, and irrigating all the lands of the district, are forests of oaks, clothing the mountains to within a short distance of their summits. Galls are not so plentiful here as in Tiyari; they form, however, an article of commerce with Persia, where they find a better market than in Mosul. Rice and flax are very generally cultivated, and fruit-trees abound.

We stopped for a few minutes at Gunduktha, the last village in Tkhoma, to see Kasha Bodaka, whom we found preparing, at the request of his congregation, to join the deputation to the Pasha of Mosul. We took leave of him, and he started on his journey. He was an amiable, and, for the mountains, a learned man, much esteemed by the Chaldæan tribes. Being one of the most skilful penmen of the day, his manuscripts were much sought after for the churches. He was mild and simple in his manners; and his appearance was marked by that gentleness, and unassuming dignity, which I had found in more than one of the Nestorian Chaldæan priests.*

The torrent enters the valley of Tkhoma by a very narrow gorge, through which a road, partly constructed of rough stones piled up in the bed of the stream, is with difficulty carried. In the winter, when the rain has swollen the waters, this en-

* Mr. Ainsworth, writing of Kasha Kana of Lizan, observes that he resembled in his manners and appearance an English clergyman.

trance must be impracticable; and even at this time, we could scarcely drag our mules and horses over the rocks, and through the deep pools in which the torrent abounds. All signs of cultivation now ceased. Mountains rose on all sides, barren and treeless. Huge rocks hung over the road, or towered above us. On their pinnacles, or in their crevices, a few goats sought a scanty herbage. The savage nature of the place was heightened by its solitude.

Soon after entering the ravine, we met a shepherd-boy, dragging after him a sheep killed by the bears; and a little beyond we found the reeking carcass of a bullock, which had also fallen a victim to these formidable animals, of whose depredations we heard continual complaints. I observed on the mountain-sides several flocks of ibex, and some of our party endeavored to get within gun-shot; but after sunrise their watchfulness cannot be deceived, and they bounded off to the highest peaks, long before the most wary of our marksmen could approach them.

We were steadily making our way over the loose stones and slippery rocks, when a party of horsemen were seen coming towards us. They were Kurds, and I ordered my party to keep close together, that we might be ready to meet them in case of necessity. As they were picking their way over the rough ground like ourselves, to the evident risk of their horses' necks as well as of their own, I had time to examine them fully as they drew near. In front, on a small, lean, and jaded horse, rode a tall gaunt figure, dressed in all the tawdry garments sanctioned by Kurdish taste. A turban of wonderful capacity, and almost taking within its dimensions horse and rider, buried his head, which seemed to escape by a miracle being driven in between his shoulders by the enormous pressure. From the centre of this mass of many-colored rags rose a high conical cap of white felt. This load appeared to give an unsteady rolling gait to the thin carcass below, which could with difficulty support it. A most capacious pair of claret-colored trowsers bulged out from the sides of the horse, and

well nigh stretched from side to side of the ravine. Every shade of red and yellow was displayed in his embroidered jacket and cloak; and in his girdle were weapons of extraordinary size, and most fanciful workmanship. His eyes were dark and piercing, and overshadowed by shaggy eyebrows; his nose aquiline, his cheeks hollow, his face long, and his beard black and bushy. Notwithstanding the ferocity of his countenance, and its unmistakable expression of villany, it would have been difficult to repress a smile at the absurdity of the figure, and the disparity between it and the miserable animal concealed beneath. This was a Kurdish dignitary of the first rank; a man well known for deeds of oppression and blood; the Mutesellim, or Lieutenant-Governor under Nur-Ullah Bey, the chief of Hakkiari. He was followed by a small body of well-armed men, resembling their master in the motley character of their dress; which, however, was somewhat reduced in the proportions, as became an inferiority of rank. The cavalcade was brought up by an individual differing considerably from those who had preceded. His smooth and shining chin, and the rich glow of raki* upon his cheeks, were undoubted evidences of Christianity. He had the accumulated obesity of all his companions; and rode, as became him, upon a diminutive donkey, which he urged over the loose stones with the point of a clasp-knife. His dress did not differ much from that of the Kurds, except that, instead of warlike weapons, he carried an ink-horn in his girdle. This was Bircham, the "goulama d'Mira,"† as he was commonly called,—a half-renegade Christian, who was the steward, banker, and secretary of the Hakkiari chief.

I saluted the Mutesellim, as we elbowed each other in the narrow pass; but he did not seem inclined to return my salutation, otherwise than by a curl of the lip, and an indistinct grunt, which he left me to interpret in any way I thought

* Ardent spirits, extracted from raisins or dates.

† The servant of the Mir or Prince.

proper. It was no use quarrelling with him, so I passed on. We had not proceeded far, when one of his horsemen returned to us, and called away Yakoub Rais, Ionunco, and one of the men of Tkhoma. Looking back, I observed them all in deep consultation with the Kurdish chief, who had dismounted to wait for them. I rode on, and it was nearly an hour before the three Chaldæans rejoined us. Ionunco's eyes were starting out of his head with fright, and the expression of his face was one of amusing horror. Even Yakoub's usual grin had given way to a look of alarm. The man of Tkhoma was less disturbed. Yakoub began by entreating me to return at once to Tkhoma and Tiyari. The Mutesellim, he said, had used violent threats; declaring that as Nur-Ullah Bey had served one infidel who had come to spy out the country, and teach the Turks its mines, alluding to Schultz,* so he would serve me; and had sent off a man to the Hakkiari chief to apprize him of my presence in the mountains. "We must turn back at once," exclaimed Yakoub, seizing the bridle of my horse, "or, Wallah! that Kurdish dog will murder us all." I had formed a different plan; and calming the fears of my party as well as I was able, I continued my journey toward Baz. Ionunco, however, raked his brain for every murder that had been attributed to Nur-Ullah Bey; and at each new tale of horror Yakoub turned his mule, and vowed he would go back to Asheetha.

We rode for nearly four hours through this wild, solitary valley. My people were almost afraid to speak, and huddled together as if the Kurds were coming down upon us. Two or three of the armed men scaled the rocks, or ran on before us as scouts; but the solitude was only broken by an eagle soaring above our heads, or by a wild goat which occasionally dashed across our path. In the spring, and early summer, these now desolate tracts are covered with the tents of the

* It will be remembered that this traveller was murdered by Nur-Ullah Bey.

people of Tkhoma, and of the Kurds, who find on the slopes a rich pasture for their flocks.

It was mid-day before we reached the foot of the mountain dividing us from the district of Baz. The pass we had to cross is one of the highest in the Chaldæan country, and at this season there was snow upon it. The ascent was long, steep, and toilsome. We were compelled to walk, and even without our weight, the mules could scarcely climb the acclivity. But we were well rewarded for our labor when we gained the summit. A scene of extraordinary grandeur opened upon us. At our feet stretched the valley of Baz,—its villages and gardens but specks in the distance. Beyond the valley, and on all sides of us, was a sea of mountains—peaks of every form and height, some snow-capped, others bleak and naked; the furthermost rising in the distant regions of Persia. I counted nine distinct mountain ranges. Two vast rocks formed a kind of gateway on the crest of the pass, and I sat between them for some minutes, gazing upon the sublime prospect before us.

The descent was rapid and dangerous, and so precipitous that a stone might almost have been dropped on the church of Ergub, first visible like a white spot underneath us. We passed a rock, called the "Rock of Butter," from a custom, perhaps of pagan origin, existing among the Chaldæan shepherds, of placing upon it, as an offering, a piece of the first butter made in the early spring. As we approached the village, we found several of the inhabitants laboring in the fields. They left their work, and followed us. The church stands at some distance from the houses; and when we reached it, the villagers compelled all my servants to dismount, including Ibrahim Agha, who muttered a curse upon the infidels as he took his foot out of the stirrup. The Christians raised their turbans,—a mark of reverence always shown on these occasions.

The houses of Ergub are built in a group. We stopped in a small open space in the centre of them, and I ordered my

carpet to be spread near a fountain, shaded by a cluster of trees. We were soon surrounded by the inhabitants of the village. The Melek and the priest seated themselves with me; the rest stood round in a circle. The men were well dressed and armed; and, like those of Tkhoma, they could scarcely be distinguished from the Kurds. Many of the women were pretty enough to be entitled to the front places they had taken in the crowd. They wore silver ornaments and beads on their foreheads, and were dressed in jackets and trowsers of gay colors.

After the letter of the Patriarch had been read, and the inquiries after him fully satisfied, the conversation turned upon the expected expedition of Beder Khan Bey against Tkhoma, and the movements of Nur-Ullah Bey, events causing great anxiety to the people of Baz. Although this district had been long under the chief of Hakkiari, paying an annual tribute to him, and having been even subjected to many vexatious exactions, and to acts of oppression and violence, yet it had never been disarmed, nor exposed to a massacre such as had taken place in Tiyari. There was, however, cause to fear that the fanatical fury of Beder Khan Bey might be turned upon them, as well as upon Tkhoma; and their only hope was the friendly interference of Nur-Ullah Bey, whose subjects they now professed themselves to be. They had begun to conceal their church-books and property, in anticipation of a disaster.

Both the Melek and the priest pressed me to accept their hospitality. I preferred the house of the latter, to which we moved in the afternoon. My host was suffering much from the ague, and was moreover old and infirm. I gave him a few medicines to stop his fever, for which he was very grateful. He accompanied me to the church; but the bare walls alone were standing; the books and furniture had been partly carried away by the Kurds, and partly removed for security by the people of the village.

After the events of the morning I had made up my mind to proceed at once to Nur-Ullah Bey, whose residence was

only a short day's journey distant; but on communicating my intention to Mr. Hormuzd Rassam, he became so alarmed, and so resolutely declared that he would return alone rather than trust himself in the hands of the Mir of Hakkiari, that I was forced to give up my plan. In the present state of the mountains there were only two courses open to me; either to visit the chief, who would probably, after learning the object of my journey, receive and assist me as he had done Dr. Grant; or to retrace my steps without delay. I decided upon the latter with regret, as I was thus unable to visit Jelu and Diz, the two remaining districts of the Nestorian Chaldæans. I did not, however, communicate my plans to any one; but learning that there were two of Nur-Ullah Bey's attendants in the village, I sent for them, and induced them, by a small present, to take a note to their master. I instructed them to report that it was my intention to visit him on the following day, and sent a Christian to see that they took the road to Julamerik. The treachery and daring of Nur-Ullah Bey were so well known, that I thought it most prudent to deceive him, in case he might wish to waylay me on my return to Tkhoma. I started therefore before daybreak without any one in the village being aware of my departure, and took the road by which we had reached Baz the day before.

The district of Baz contains five large villages; Ergub, Makhtayah, Shoaoutha, Orwantiz, and Besanna, which follow in this order down the valley. It is well cultivated and well watered, producing tobacco, flax, rice, and grain of various kinds.

We crossed the pass as quickly as we were able, hurried through the long barren valley, and reached Gunduktha, without meeting any one during our journey; to the no small comfort of my companions, who could not conceal their alarm during the whole of our morning's ride.

We stopped to breakfast at Gunduktha, and saw the Meleks at Tkhoma Gowaia. The people of this village had felt much anxiety on our account, as the Mutesellim had passed the night

there, and had used violent threats against us. I learnt that he was going to Chal to settle some differences which had arisen between the Kurds of that district and of Hakkiari, and that Bircham had been sent to Tkhoma by Nur-Ullah Bey to withdraw his family and friends; "for, this time," said the chief, "Beder Khan Bey intends to finish with the Christians, and will not make slaves for consuls and Turks to liberate."

As I was desirous of leaving Tkhoma as soon as possible, I refused the proffered hospitality of Melek Putros, and rode on to Birijai.

Being unwilling to return to Asheetha by Raola and the villages I had already visited, I determined—notwithstanding the account given by the people of Tkhoma of the great difficulty of the passes between us and the Zab—to cross the mountain of Khouara, which rises at the back of Birijai. I found that their descriptions had not been exaggerated. We were two hours dragging ourselves over the loose stones, and along the narrow ledges, and reached the summit weary and breathless. From the crest we overlooked the whole valley of Tkhoma, with its smiling villages, bounded to the east by the lofty range of Kareetha; to the west I recognized the peaks of Asheetha, the valley of the Zab, Chal, and the heights inhabited by the Apenshai Kurds.

The mountain of Khouara is the Zoma—or summer pasture-grounds—of the inhabitants of Ghissa and Birijai. As we ascended we passed many rude sheds and caverns, half-blocked up at the entrance with loose stones,—places in which the flocks are kept during the night, to preserve them from wild animals. There is a fountain at a short distance from the top of the pass, and a few trees near it; but the mountain is otherwise naked, and, at this time of the year, without verdure.

My companions amused themselves by rolling large stones down the declivity, and watching them as they bounded over the rocks, till they disappeared in the ravines beneath; setting in motion an avalanche of rubbish, which swept down the

sides of the mountain, and threatened to overwhelm the stragglers, who still toiled up the ascent, or a solitary shepherd keeping his flock in the valley.

An hour's rapid descent brought us to the Tiyari village of Be-Alatha,—a heap of ruins on the opposite sides of a valley. The few surviving inhabitants were in extreme poverty, and the small-pox was raging amongst them. The water-courses destroyed by the Kurds had not been repaired, and the fields were mostly uncultivated. Even the church had not yet been rebuilt; and as the trees which had been cut down were still lying across the road, and the charred timber still encumbered the gardens, the place had a most desolate appearance. We were hospitably received by a Shamasha, or deacon; whose children, suffering from the prevailing disease, and covered with discolored blains, crowded into the only small room of the wretched cottage. Women and children, disfigured by the malignant fever, came to me for medicines; but it was beyond my power to relieve them. Our host, as well as the rest of the inhabitants, was in extreme poverty. Even a little garas, and rancid butter, could with difficulty be collected by contribution from all the houses, and I was at a loss to discover how the people of Be-Alatha live. Yet the deacon was cheerful and contented, dwelling with resignation upon the misfortunes that had befallen his village, and the misery of his family.

On leaving the village, now containing only ten families, I was accosted by an old priest, who had been waiting until we passed, and who entreated me to eat bread under his roof. As his cottage was distant I was compelled to decline his hospitality, though much touched by his simple kindness, and mild and gentle manners. Finding that I would not go with him, he insisted upon accompanying us to the next village, and took with him three or four sturdy mountaineers, to assist us on our journey; for the roads, he said, were nearly impassable.

Without the assistance of the good priest our attempt to reach Marth d' Kasra would certainly have been hopeless.

More than once we turned back in despair, before the slippery rocks and precipitous ascents. Ibrahim Agha, embarrassed by his capacious boots, which, made after the fashion of the Turks, could have contained the extremities of a whole family, was more beset with difficulties than all the party. When he attempted to ride a mule, unused to a pack-saddle, he invariably slid over the tail of the animal, and lay sprawling on the ground, to the great amusement of Yakoub Rais, with whom his adventures were a never-failing source of anecdote in the village assemblies. If he walked, either his boots became wedged into the crevices of the rocks, or filled with gravel, to his no small discomfort. At length, in attempting to cross a bed of loose stones, he lost all presence of mind, and remained fixed in the middle, fearful to advance or retreat. The rubbish yielded to his grasp, and he looked down into a black abyss, towards which he found himself gradually sinking with the avalanche he had put in motion. There was certainly enough to frighten any Turk, and Ibrahim Agha clung to the face of the declivity—the picture of despair. "What's the Kurd doing?" cried a Tiyari, with whom all Mussulmans were Kurds, and who was waiting to pass on; "Is there anything here to turn a man's face pale? This is dashta, dashta" (a plain, a plain). Ibrahim Agha, who guessed from the words Kurd and dashta, the meaning of which he had learnt, the purport of the Christian's address, almost forgot his danger in his rage and indignation. "Gehannem with your dashta!" cried he, still clinging to the moving stones, "and dishonor upon your wife and mother. Oh! that I could only get one way or the other to show this Infidel what it is to laugh at the beard of an Osmanli, and to call him a Kurd in the bargain!" With the assistance of the mountaineers he was at length rescued from his perilous position, but not restored to good humor. By main force the mules were dragged over this and similar places; the Tiyari seizing them by the halter and tail, and throwing them on their sides.

We were two hours struggling through these difficulties

before reaching Marth d' Kasra, formerly a large village, but now containing only forty houses.* Its appearance, however, was more flourishing than that of Be-Alatha; and the vineyards, and gardens surrounding it, had been carefully trimmed and irrigated. Above Marth d' Kasra, on a lofty overhanging rock, is the village of Lagippa, reduced to ten houses. It is not accessible to beasts of burden. I rode to the house of a priest, and sat there whilst the mules were resting.

As we were engaged in conversation, Ibrahim Agha, who had not yet recovered his composure, entered the room laboring under symptoms of great indignation. The cause of his anger were some women who had commenced their ablutions, in the manner I have already described, near the spot where he had been sitting. "When I told them to go to a greater distance," said he, "they replied, that if I did not wish to see them, I might turn my head the other way. If these infidels have no modesty," continued he, "let them at least know that we Mussulmans have. Mohammed Pasha, upon whom God has had mercy! declared of the Arabs, that the men were without religion, the women without drawers, and the horses without bridles; but these unbelievers eat more dirt than all the Arabs, and are verily little better than the beasts of the field." Having calmed the wrath of the Cawass, I reasoned with the priest on the impropriety of this habit; but he did not appear at all sensible of it, only observing that the custom was general in the mountains.

The road between Marth d' Kasra and Chonba was no less difficult and dangerous than that we had taken in the morning. The gardens of the former village extend to the Zab, and we might have followed the valley; but the men who were with us preferred the shorter road over the mountain, that we might reach Chonba before nightfall. On approaching the Zab, I observed a most singular mass of conglomerate, the deposits of the river, but raised about 500 feet above its bed by a sub-

* The village contains two churches and two priests.

stratum of schists; and apparently upheaved from its original site by a comparatively recent convulsion of nature.

The villages in the valley of the Zab had suffered more from the Kurds than any other part of Tiyari. Chonba was almost deserted; its houses and churches a mass of ruins, and its gardens and orchards uncultivated and neglected. There was no roof, under which we could pass the night; and we were obliged to spread our carpets under a cluster of walnut trees, near a clear and most abundant spring. Under these trees was pitched the tent of Beder Khan Bey, after the great massacre; and here he received Melek Ismail, when delivered a prisoner into his hands. Yakoub, who had been present at the murder of the unfortunate chief of Tiyari, thus described the event. After performing prodigies of valor, and heading his people in their defence of the pass which led into the upper districts, Melek Ismail, his thigh broken by a musket-ball, was carried by a few followers to a cavern in a secluded ravine; where he might have escaped the search of his enemies, had not a woman, to save her life, betrayed his retreat. He was dragged down the mountain with savage exultation, and brought before Beder Khan Bey. Here he fell upon the ground. "Wherefore does the infidel sit before me?" exclaimed the ferocious chief, who had seen his broken limb, "and what dog is this that has dared to shed the blood of true believers?" "O Mir," replied Melek Ismail, still undaunted, and partly raising himself, "this arm has taken the lives of nearly twenty Kurds; and, had God spared me, as many more would have fallen by it." Beder Khan Bey rose and walked to the Zab, making a sign to his attendants that they should bring the Melek to him. By his directions they held the Christian chief over the river, and severing his head from his body with a dagger, cast them into the stream.

All the family of the Melek had distinguished themselves, at the time of the invasion, by their courage. His sister, standing by his side, slew four men before she fell mortally wounded.

Over the spring, where we had alighted, formerly grew a cluster of gigantic walnut trees, celebrated in Tiyari for their size and beauty. They had been cut down by the Kurds, and their massive trunks were still stretched on the ground. A few smaller trees had been left standing, and afforded us shelter. The water, gushing from the foot of an overhanging rock, was pure and refreshing; but the conduits, which had once carried it into the fields, having been destroyed, a small marsh had been formed around the spring. The place consequently abounded in musquitoes, and we were compelled to keep up large fires to escape their attacks.

On the following morning we ascended the valley of the Zab, for about three miles, to cross over the river. The road led into upper Tiyari, its villages being visible from the valley, perched on the summits of isolated rocks, or half concealed in sheltered ravines. The scenery is sublime. The river forces itself through a deep and narrow gorge, the mountains rising one above the other in wild confusion, naked and barren; except where the mountaineers have collected the scanty soil, and surrounded their cottages with gardens and vineyards.

The bridge of wicker work was in better repair than that of Lizan, and we crossed our mules without difficulty. Descending along the banks of the Zab for a short distance, we struck into the mountains; and passing through Kona Zavvi and Bitti, two Kurdish villages buried in orchards, reached Serspeetho about mid-day. We sat for two hours in the house of the priest, who received us very hospitably. Out of eighty families thirty have alone survived; the rest were utterly destroyed. The two churches were still in ruins, and but a few cottages had as yet been rebuilt.

In the afternoon we resumed our journey, and crossing a high and barren mountain descended into the valley of Asheetha.

I spent a day in the village, to give rest to our mules; for they stood in great need of it, after crossing the mountains of Tiyari. As I was desirous of visiting some copper mines,

described to me by the people of the district, I engaged Kasha Hormuzd, and one Daoud, who had been a workman at Nimroud, to accompany me. We left Asheetha, followed by Yakoub, and the priests and principal inhabitants, who took leave of us at some distance from the village. We chose a different road from that we had followed on entering the mountain, and thus avoided a most precipitous ascent. Descending into the valley, leading from Berwari to Asheetha, we came upon a large party of travellers, whom we at first took for Kurds. As they discharged their guns, and stopped in the middle of a thicket of rushes growing in the bed of the torrent, we approached them. They proved to be Nestorian Chaldæans returning from Mosul to the mountains. Amongst them, to my surprise, I found Kasha Oraho.* This very amiable, learned, and worthy priest, had fled from Asheetha at the time of the massacre; and from his erudition, and intimate knowledge of the political condition of the tribes, and of the tenets and ceremonies of the Chaldæan church, had acted as the secretary of Mar Shamoun during his exile. Nearly three years had elapsed since he had quitted his mountains, and he pined for his native air. Against the advice of his friends he had determined to leave the plains, and he was now on his return, with his wife and son, to Tiyari. I sat with him for a few minutes, and we parted never to meet again. A few days after our meeting Beder Khan Bey and his hordes descended into Asheetha. Fresh deeds of violence recalled the scenes of bloodshed to which the poor priest had formerly been a witness; and he died of grief, bewailing the miserable condition of the Christian tribes.

We no longer followed the same valley we had ascended on our approach to Tiyari; but entered the mountains to the right, and after a rapid ascent, found ourselves in a forest of oaks. Our guides were some time in finding the mouth of the mine, which was onl known to a few of the

* A corruption of Auraham, Abraham.

mountaineers. At a distance from the entrance, copper ores were scattered in abundance amongst the loose stones. I descended with some difficulty, and found many passages running in various directions, all more or less blocked up with rubbish and earth, much of which we had to remove before I could explore the interior of the mine. The copper runs in veins of bright blue; either in small crystals, compact masses, or in powder, which I could scrape out of the cracks of the rocks with a knife. I recognized at once in the latter the material used to color the bricks and ornaments in the Assyrian palaces. After following several ramifications, as far as the accumulated rubbish would permit, I returned into the open air. The mine had evidently been opened, and worked at a very remote period; and its entrance was so well concealed by rocks and stones, that it was difficult to account for its discovery. In the Tiyari mountains, particularly in the heights above Lizan, and in the valley of Berwari, mines of iron, lead, copper, and other minerals abound. Both the Kurds and the Chaldæans make their own weapons and implements of agriculture; and cast bullets for their rifles, collecting the ores which are scattered on the declivities, or brought down by the torrents.

Leaving the district of Holamoun and Geramoun* to our right, we entered a deep valley, and rode for five hours through a thick forest of oak, beech, and other mountain trees. We passed a few encampments of Kurds, who had chosen some lawn in a secluded dell to pitch their black tents; but we saw no villages until we reached Challek. By the roadside, as we descended to this place, I observed an extensive ruin, of substantial masonry of square stones. I was unable to learn that any tradition attached to the remains; nor could I ascertain

* Two large villages so called, inhabited by Nestorian Chaldæans; but forming a separate district, and paying tribute directly to the Pasha of Mosul. They were formerly very flourishing; but having recently been much harassed by Beder Khan Bey, the inhabitants have mostly fled to the higher mountains. The district produces very fine galls.

their name, or conjecture the nature and use of the building. It was evidently a very ancient work, and may have been an Assyrian fort to command the entrance into the mountains. The pass is called Kesta, from a Kurdish village of that name.

Challek is a large village, inhabited partly by Chaldæans and partly by Kurds. There are about fifteen families of Christians, who have a church and a priest. The gardens are very extensive, and well irrigated, and the houses are almost concealed in a forest of fruit-trees. We passed the night in the residence of the Kiayah, and were hospitably entertained.

In the morning we rode for some time along the banks of the Khabour, and about five hours and a half from Challek forded the Supna, one of its confluents. The valley of Berwari is here broken up into numberless ravines, and is thickly wooded with the gall-bearing oak. The mountain-range separating us, at this point, from the valley of Amadiyah, is considerably lower than where we had previously crossed it. Scattered over the hills are numerous Kurdish villages, and the turreted castle of a chief may occasionally be seen, in the distance, crowning the summit of some isolated rock. Kalah Gumri, the residence of Abd-ul-Summit Bey, is visible from all parts of Berwari.

We stopped at the Kurdish village of Ourmeli during the middle of the day, and found there a Su-bashi—a kind of superintendent tax-gatherer—from Mosul, who received me in a manner worthy the dignity of both. He was dressed in an extraordinary assortment of Osmanlu and Kurdish garments, the greater part of which had been, of course, robbed from the inhabitants of the district placed under his care. He treated me with sumptuous hospitality, at the expense of the Kurds, to whom he proclaimed me a particular friend of the Vizir, and a person of very exalted worth. He brought, himself, the first dish of pillau, which was followed by soups, chicken-kibaubs, honey, yaghourt, cream, fruit, and a variety of Kurdish luxuries. He refused to be seated, and waited upon me during the repast. It was evident that all this respectful

attention, on the part of so great a personage, was not intended to be thrown away; and when he retired I collected a few of the Kurds, and, obtaining their confidence by paying for my breakfast, soon learnt from them that my host had dealt so hardly with the villages in his jurisdiction, that the inhabitants, driven to despair, had sent a deputation to lay their grievances before the Pasha. This might explain the fashion of my reception, which I could scarcely attribute to my own merits. As I anticipated, he came to me before I left, and commenced a discourse on the character of Kurds in general, and on the way of governing them. "Wallah, Billah, O Bey!" said he, "these Kurds are no Mussulmans; they are worse than unbelievers; they are nothing but thieves and murderers; they will cut a man's throat for a para. You will know what to tell His Highness when he asks you about them. They are beasts that must be driven by the bit and the spur; give them too much barley," continuing the simile, "and they will get fat, and vicious, and dangerous. No, no, you must take away the barley, and leave them only the straw." "You have, no doubt," I observed, eyeing his many-colored Kurdish cloak, "taken care that as little be left them to fatten upon as possible." "I am the lowest of His Highness's servants," he replied, scarcely repressing a broad grin; "but nevertheless, God knows that I am not the least zealous in his service." It was at any rate satisfactory to find that, in the Su-bashi's system of government, Kurds and Christians were placed on an equal footing, and that the Mussulmans themselves now tasted of the miseries they had so long inflicted with impunity upon others.

We soon crossed the valley of Amadiyah, and meeting the high road between Daoudeeya* and Mosul, entered some low hills thickly set with Kurdish villages. In Kuremi, through which we passed, there dwells a very holy Sheikh, who enjoys a great reputation for sanctity and miracles throughout Kur-

* The principal place of a district of the same name, which has a governor appointed from, and accounting directly with, Mosul.

distan. He was seated in the Iwan, or open chamber of a very neat house; built, kept in repair, and continually white-washed by the inhabitants of the place. A beard, white as snow, fell almost to his waist; and he wore a turban and a long gown of spotless white linen. He is almost blind, and sat rocking himself to and fro, fingering his rosary. He keeps a perpetual Ramazan, never eating between dawn and sunset. On a slab near him, was a row of water-jugs of every form, ready for use when the sun went down. Ibrahim Agha, who was not more friendly to the Kurds than the Su-bashi, treated the Sheikh to a most undignified epithet as he passed; which, had it been overheard by the people of the village, might have led to hostilities. Although I might not have expressed myself so forcibly as the Cawass, I could not but concur generally in his opinion when reflecting that this man, and some others of the same class, had been the chief cause of the massacre of the unfortunate Christians; and that, at that moment, his son, Shiekh Tahar,* was urging Beder Khan Bey to prove his religious zeal by shedding anew the blood of the Chaldæans.

We stopped for the night in the large Catholic Chaldæan village of Mungayshi, containing above forty Christian houses, a new church, and two priests. The inhabitants carry on a considerable trade with Mosul in raisins, and their vineyards are extensive and well cultivated. They complained bitterly of the governor of Daoudeeya, who had plundered them, they said, of every thing; and they also had sent a deputation to the Pasha.

A pass, over a richly wooded range of hills, leads from Mungayshi into a fertile plain, watered by several streams, and occupied by many Kurdish villages. Beyond, the mountains are naked and most barren. We wandered for some hours

* This fanatic, who was one of Beder Khan Bey's principal advisers, when entering Mosul, was accustomed to throw a veil over his face that his sight might not be polluted by Christians, and other impurities in the place. He exercises an immense influence over the Kurdish population, who look upon him as a saint and worker of miracles.

amongst pinnacles, through narrow ravines, and over broken rocks of sandstone, all scattered about in the wildest confusion. Not a blade of vegetation was to be seen; the ground was parched by the sun, and was here and there blackened by volcanic action. We came to several large pools of hot, sulphurous springs, bubbling up in many parts of the valley. In the spring, both the Kurds and the people of the surrounding villages congregate near these reservoirs, and pitch their tents for nearly a month; whilst they bathe continually in the waters, which have a great reputation for their medicinal qualities.

A long defile brought us to the town of Dohuk, formerly a place of some importance, but now nearly in ruins. It is built on an island formed by a small stream, and probably occupies an ancient site. Its castle, a mud building with turrets, was held for some time, by the hereditary Kurdish chief of the place, against Injeh Bairakdar Mohammed Pasha; but was reduced, and has since been inhabited by a Turkish governor. Ismail Bey, the Mutesellim, received me very civilly, and I breakfasted with him. The son of a Kurdish chief, of some importance in the neighborhood, was visiting the Bey. He was dressed in a most elaborately embroidered suit, had ponderous jewelled rings in his ears, carried enormous weapons in his girdle, and had stuck in his turban a profusion of marigolds and other flowers. He was a handsome, intelligent boy; but, young as he might be, he was already a precocious pupil of Sheikh Tahar; and when I put him upon a religious topic, he entered most gravely into an argument to prove the obligation imposed upon Mussulmans to exterminate the unbelievers, supporting his theological views by very apt quotations from the Koran.

My horses, which had been sent from Amadiyah, were waiting for me here; and leaving our jaded mules we rode on to the Christian village of Malthayiah, about one hour beyond, and in the same valley as Dohuk. Being anxious to visit the rock-sculptures near this place, I took a peasant with me and

rode to the foot of a neigboring hill. A short walk up a very difficult ascent brought me to the monuments.

Four tablets have been cut in the rock. On each tablet are nine figures. The sculpture is Assyrian, and evidently of the later period, contemporary with the kings of Khorsabad and Kouyunjik. The subject represented in the four bas-reliefs is the same, and appears to be an adoration of the gods. Two figures, the first and the last, are those of kings; the remainder those of divinities, standing upon animals. The first god wears the horned cap, square, not rounded at the top, and surmounted by a point, or by a fleur-de-lys; the ornament being so much defaced that I was unable to distinguish clearly which. He holds a ring in one hand, and a thong or snake in the other, and stands on two animals, a bull and a kind of griffin or lion, with the head of an eagle, but without wings. The second divinity is beardless, holds a ring in one hand, and is seated on a chair, the arms and lower part of which are supported by human figures with tails (somewhat resembling those on the vase discovered at Nimroud*), and by birds with human heads. The whole rests upon two animals, a lion and a bull.

The third divinity resembles the first, and stands on a winged bull. The four following have stars with six rays, resting on the top of the horned cap. The first of them has a ring in one hand, and stands on a griffin without wings; the second also holds the ring, and is raised on a horse, caparisoned after the fashion of the horses represented on the sculptures of Khorsabad; the third wields an object precisely similar to the conventional thunderbolt of the statues and pictures of the Greek Jove, and is supported by a winged lion; and the fourth is beardless, carries a ring, and stands on a lion without wings.

The two kings, who are facing the divinities, have one hand elevated, and bear a mace, or some instrument resembling it, in the other.

All the tablets have suffered much from long exposure to

* See ante, p. 119.

the atmosphere, and one has been almost destroyed by the entrance into a chamber, which probably at one time served for a tomb, cut in the rock behind it. As the sculpture has been sacrificed to this excavation, it would appear to owe its origin to a people differing from those who buried their dead there, and occupying the country at an earlier period. It is possible, however, that the door of the tomb was closed by a slab, upon which the bas-relief was continued, and that the whole was carefully united to conceal the entrance. Similar excavations occur among the rock-sculptures of Bavian, which belong to the same period as those of Malthayiah.

The details in these bas-reliefs are, as far as they can be distinguished, precisely similar to those in the later Assyrian monuments. In the head-dress of the kings, in the form of the chair of the sitting divinity, and in the mode of treatment, the sculptures of Malthayiah closely resemble those of Khorsabad.

I returned to the village after sunset. My Cawass and servants had established themselves for the night on the roof of the church; and the Kiayah had prepared a very substantial repast. The inhabitants of Malthayiah are Catholic Chaldæans; their conversion not dating many years. The greater part joined us in the evening; and my companion, who was always ready to plunge into a religious controversy, and delighted in the subtle distinctions between the Nestorian and Roman Catholic creeds, engaged them at once on these subjects; and brought about a noisy theological combat, which lasted till past midnight, without any one being convinced of his errors.

Next morning we rode over a dreary plain to Alkosh. In a defile, through the hills behind the village, I observed several rock-tombs,—excavations similar to those of Malthayiah; some having rude ornaments above the entrance, and the doorways of others being simply square holes in the rock.

On reaching Alkosh I proceeded at once to the house of the Kiayah, but found his apartments occupied by a Su-bashi, a

pompous, ill-favored Turk; who, putting his head out of the window, asked, in a very impertinent way, who I was, whence I came, where I was going, and what I wanted,—questions which were not otherwise answered than by his being speedily dislodged from his corner, and pushed by the shoulders into the street, to his no small surprise, and to the great satisfaction and delight of a crowd of bystanders, who had been all more or less the victims of his extortions. "What dog are you," exclaimed Ibrahim Agha, as he gave him the last push into the gutter, and made many very offensive and unwarrantable allusions to the female members of his family, "to establish a makiamah* up there, and cross-question people like his Reverence the Cadi? O you offspring of a bad breed! you shall have the Dahiak-parasi;† but it shall be on the soles of your feet."

Alkosh is a very considerable Christian village. The inhabitants, who were formerly pure Chaldæans, have been converted to Roman Catholicism. It contains, according to a very general tradition, the tomb of Nahum, the prophet—the Alkoshite, as he is called in the introduction to his prophecies. It is a place held in great reverence by Mahommedans and Christians, but especially by Jews, who keep the building in repair, and flock here in great numbers at certain seasons of the year. The tomb is a simple plaster box, covered with green cloth, and standing at the upper end of a large chamber. On the walls of the room are slips of paper, upon which are written, in distorted Hebrew characters, religious exhortations, and the dates and particulars of the visits of various Jewish families. The house containing the tomb is a modern building. There are no inscriptions, nor fragments of any antiquity about the place; and I am not aware in what the tradition originated, or how long it has attached to the village of Alkosh.‡

* Court of justice.

† The tax on suits paid to the Cadi.

‡ According to St. Jerome, El Kosh or El Kosha, the birth-place of the prophet, was a village in Galilee, and his tomb was shown at Bethogabra near Emmaus.

After visiting the tomb I rode to the convent of Rabban Hormuzd, built on the almost perpendicular sides of lofty rocks, inclosing a small recess or basin, out of which there is only one outlet,—a narrow and precipitous ravine, leading abruptly into the plains. The spot is well suited to solitude and devotion. Half buried in barren crags, the building can scarcely be distinguished from the natural pinnacles by which it is surrounded. There is scarcely a blade of vegetation to be seen, except a few olive trees, encouraged, by the tender solicitude of the monks, to struggle with the barren soil. Around the convent, in almost every accessible part of the mountains, are a multitude of caves or chambers in the rock, said to have once served as retreats for a legion of hermits, and from which most probably were ejected the dead, to make room for the living; for they appear to have been, for the most part, at a very remote period, places of burial—a few having been purposely constructed for dwelling-places, whilst others may have been enlarged to meet the increased wants of the new tenants. The number of these recesses must at one time have been very great. They are now rapidly disappearing, and have been so doing for centuries.* Still the sides of the ravine are in some places honey-combed by them.

The hermits, who may once have inhabited the place, have left no successors. A lonely monk from the convent may occasionally be seen clambering over the rocks; but otherwise the solitude is seldom disturbed by the presence of a human being.

The ascent to the convent, from the entrance of the ra-

As his prophecies were written after the captivity of the ten tribes, and apply exclusively to Nineveh, the tradition, which points to the village in Assyria as the place of his death, is not without weight.

* When Mr. Rich visited the convent, in the early part of this century, the number of the caves was daily diminishing The rock in which they had been cut was rapidly crumbling away, filling up with rubbish many of these recesses, and carrying away others altogether. The monks too had destroyed many, when hewing stone for the repair of the building. (Rich's Narrative of a Residence in Koordistan, &c. vol. ii. p. 94.)

vine, is partly up a flight of steps rudely constructed of loose stones, and partly by a narrow pathway cut in the rock. We were, therefore, obliged to dismount, and to leave our horses in a cavern at the foot of the mountain.

Rabban Hormuzd was formerly in the possession of the Nestorian Chaldæans; but has been appropriated by the Catholics since the conversion of the inhabitants of Alkosh, Tel Kef, and other large villages of the plain. It is said to have been founded by one of the early Chaldæan patriarchs, in the latter part of the fourth century. The saint, after whom the convent is called, is much venerated by the Nestorians. He was, according to some traditions, the son of a king of Persia, and a Christian martyr. The convent is an extensive building, partly excavated in the rocks, and partly constructed of stones well cut and fitted together. Since it was plundered by the Kurds, under the Bey of Rowandiz, no attempt has been made to restore the rich ornaments which once decorated the chapel, and principal halls. The walls are now naked and bare, except where hung with a few hideous pictures of saints and holy families, presented or stuck up by the Italian monks who occasionally visit the place. In the chapel are the tombs of several Patriarchs of the Chaldæan church, buried here long before its divisions, and whose titles, carved upon the monuments, are always "Patriarch of the Chaldæans of the East."* Six or eight half famished monks reside in the convent. They

* The seal used by Mar Shamoun bears the same title, and the Patriarch so styles himself in all public documents. It is only lately that he has been induced, on some occasions, *when addressing Europeans*, to call himself "Patriarch of the Nestorians;" the name never having been used by the Chaldæans themselves. The distinction becomes important, inasmuch as the see of Rome and the Catholics have endeavored, with considerable success, to fix the title of Chaldæans upon the converted alone, using that of Nestorian as one of contempt and reproach, in speaking of those who have retained their ancient faith. So much odium attaches to the name, that many have joined the Catholic party to avoid it. I have termed the Nestorians "Chaldæans," or Nestorian Chaldæans," and the new sect "Catholic Chaldæans."

depend for supplies, which are scanty enough, upon the faithful of the surrounding country.

It was night before we reached the large Catholic village of Tel Kef. I had sent on a horseman in the morning, to apprize the people of my intended visit; and Gouriel, the Kiayah, with several of the principal inhabitants, had assembled to receive me. As we approached they emerged from a dark recess, where they had probably been waiting for some time. They carried a few wax lights, which served as an illumination. The motion of these lights, as the bearers advanced, was so unsteady, that there could be no doubt of the condition of the deputation.

Gouriel and his friends reeled forward towards my Cawass, who chanced to be the first of the party, and believing him to be me they fell upon him, kissing his hands and feet, and clinging to his dress. Ibrahim Agha struggled hard to extricate himself, but in vain. "The Bey's behind," roared he. "Allah! Allah! will no one deliver me from these drunken infidels?" Rejoicing in the mistake, I concealed myself among the horsemen. Gouriel, seizing the bridle of Ibrahim Agha's horse, and unmindful of the blows which the Cawass dealt about him, led him in triumph to his residence. It was not before the wife of the Kiayah and some women, who had assembled to cook our dinner, brought torches, that the deputation discovered their error. I had alighted in the meanwhile unseen, and had found my way to the roof of the house, where all the cushions that could be found in the village were piled up in front of a small table covered with bottles of raki and an assortment of raisins and parched peas, all prepared in my honor. I hid myself among the pillows, and it was some time before the Kiayah discovered my retreat. He hickuped out excuses till he was breathless, and endeavoring to kiss my feet, asked forgiveness for the unfortunate blunder. "Wallah! O Bey," exclaimed Ibrahim Agha, who had been searching for a stable, "the whole village is drunk. It is always thus with these unbelievers.

They have now a good Pasha, who neither takes jerums nor extra salian,* nor quarters Hytas upon them. What dirt do they then eat? Instead of repairing their houses, and sowing their fields, they spend every para in raki, and sit eating and drinking, like hogs, night and day." I was forced to agree with Ibrahim Agha in his conclusions, and would have remonstrated with my hosts; but there was no one in a fit state to hear advice; and I was not sorry to see them at midnight scattered over the roof, buried in profound sleep. I ordered the horses to be loaded, and reached Mosul as the gates opened at daybreak.

The reader may desire to learn the fate of Tkhoma. A few days after my return to Mosul, notwithstanding the attempts of Tahyar Pasha to avert the calamity, Beder Khan Bey marched through the Tiyari mountains, levying contributions on the tribes, and plundering the villages, on his way to the unfortunate district. The inhabitants of Tkhoma, headed by their Meleks, made some resistance, but were soon overpowered by numbers. An indiscriminate massacre took place. The women were brought before the chief, and murdered in cold blood. Those who attempted to escape were cut off. Three hundred women and children, who were flying into Baz, were killed in the pass I have described. The principal villages with their gardens were destroyed, and the churches pulled down. Nearly half the population fell victims to the fanatical fury of the Kurdish chief; amongst these were one of the Meleks, and Kasha Bodaca. With this good priest, and Kasha Auraham, perished the most learned of the Nestorian clergy; and Kasha Kana is the last who has inherited any part of the knowledge, and zeal, which once so eminently distinguished the Chaldæan priesthood.

The Porte was prevailed upon to punish this atrocious massacre, and to crush a rebellious subject who had long re-

* At Mosul Jerums mean fines; salian, the property tax, or taxes levied on corporations under the old system.

sisted its authority. An expedition was fitted out under Osman Pasha; and after two engagements, in which the Kurds were signally defeated by the Turkish troops headed by Omar Pasha, Beder Khan Bey took refuge in a mountain-castle. The position had been nearly carried, when the chief finding defence hopeless, succeeded in obtaining from the Turkish commander, Osman Pasha, the same terms which had been offered to him before the commencement of hostilities. He was to be banished from Kurdistan; but his family and attendants were to accompany him, and he was guaranteed the enjoyment of his property. Although the Turkish ministers more than suspected that Osman Pasha had reasons of his own for granting these terms, they honorably fulfilled the conditions upon which the chief, although a rebel, had surrendered. He was brought to Constantinople, and subsequently sent to the Island of Candia, —a punishment totally inadequate to his numerous crimes.

After Beder Khan Bey had retired from Tkhoma, a few of the surviving inhabitants returned to their ruined villages; but Nur-Ullah Bey, suspecting that they knew of concealed property, fell suddenly upon them. Many died under the tortures to which they were exposed; and the rest, as soon as they were released, fled into Persia. This flourishing district was thus destroyed; and it will be long ere its cottages again rise from their ruins, and the fruits of patient toil again clothe the sides of its valleys.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE account given in the preceding chapter, of the Chaldæan or Nestorian tribes, will probably have made the reader desirous of knowing something of their condition, and of the events which led to the isolation of a small Christian community in the midst of the mountains of Kurdistan. Indeed the origin of the race, as well as the important position which the Chaldæan church once held in Asia, renders the subject one of considerable historical interest. To Protestants, the doctrines and rites of a primitive sect of Christians, who have ever remained untainted by the superstitions of Rome, must be of high importance; and it is a matter of astonishment, that more curiosity has not been excited by them, and more sympathy felt for their sufferings.

In the first centuries of the Christian æra, the plains of Assyria Proper were still the battle-ground of the nations of the East and the West. From the fall of the Assyrian empire, whose capital was Nineveh, the rich districts watered by the Tigris and Euphrates had been continually exposed to foreign invasion. Their cities had been levelled with the ground, the canals which gave fertility to the soil had been destroyed, and a great part of the ancient population had either been exterminated or carried away captive to distant regions. Still there lingered, in the villages and around the site of the ruined cities, the descendants of those who had formerly possessed the land. They had escaped the devastating sword of the Persians, of the Greeks, and of the Romans. They still spoke the language of their ancestors, and still retained the name of their race.

The doctrines of Christianity had early penetrated into the Assyrian provinces; they may even have been carried there by those who had imbibed them at their source. When, in the first part of the fifth century, the church was agitated by the dissensions of St. Cyril and Nestorius, the Patriarch of Constantinople, the Chaldæans were already recognized as one of the most extensive of the Eastern sects.

Nestorius himself was never in Assyria; but it will be remembered that, in the struggle at Ephesus between him and his rival St. Cyril, his chief supporters were the Eastern Bishops, who accompanied John of Antioch to the third œcumenical Council.* Although the peculiar doctrines held by Nestorius, had been previously promulgated on the borders of Assyria by Diodorus of Tarsus, and Theodorus the Bishop of Mopsuestia, and had been recognized by the celebrated school of Edessa, the Ur of the Chaldees, and the last seat of their learning; yet until the persecution of the Patriarch of Constantinople, the schism had not attracted much attention. It was to the rank and sufferings of Nestorius, that the doctrines which he had maintained owed their notoriety, and those who professed them, their name.

These doctrines were alternately taught and condemned in the school of Edessa, to the time of its close, by an order of the Emperor Zeno. Those who professed them were known as the Persian party. When the Emperor called upon all Christian sects to forget their dissensions, and to subscribe the Henoticon, or articles of Faith, Barsumas, the recusant Bishop of Nisibis, placed himself under the protection of the Persian King Firouz. Acacius, who on the murder of Babuæus was elected to the archbishopric of Seleucia or Ctesiphon,† secretly professed the Nestorian doctrines. Babæus, his successor, openly declared himself in favor of the new sect; and from

* A. D. 431.

† The names of Seleucia and Ctesiphon are very frequently confounded by the early Christian writers; but the cities stood on opposite sides of the river Tigris, and were built at different periods.

his accession may be dated the first recognized establishment of the Nestorian church in the East, and the promulgation of its doctrines amongst the nations of central Asia.

Until the fall of the Sassanian dynasty, and the establishment of the Arab supremacy in the provinces to the East of the Tigris, the Chaldæans were alternately protected and persecuted; their condition mainly depending upon the relative strength of the Persian and Byzantine Empires. Still their tenets were recognized as those of the Eastern Church, and their chief, at an early period, received the title of "Patriarch of the East." They labored assiduously to disseminate their doctrines over the continent of Asia; and it is even asserted that one of the Persian kings was amongst their converts. From Persia, where the Chaldæan Bishoprics were early established, they spread eastwards; and Cosmas Indicopleustes, who visited Asia in the early part of the sixth century, declares that they had bishops, martyrs, and priests in India, Arabia Felix, and Socotra, amongst the Bactrians, the Huns, the Persarmenians, the Medes, and the Elamites; and that their metropolitans even penetrated into China as early as the fifth century.*

The celebrated inscription of Se-gan-foo, which was seen by the Jesuit missionaries in the year 1625, gives many particulars regarding the state of the Chaldæan Church in China, from A. D. 620 to 781. The Chaldæans had enjoyed, during that period, with only two exceptions, the imperial favor; and their doctrines had been preached before the court, and throughout the empire. This inscription, the authenticity of which—so long contested—seems at length to be generally admitted, contains an exposition of the creed of the sect, and of their peculiar tenets and ceremonies, a short history of the progress of Christianity in China, and the names of the missionaries who preached the Gospel in that country. The date of the erec-

* Cosmas Indicopleustes in Topographiâ Christianâ, Assemani, vol. iv. p. 92; Gibbon, ch. 47, note 116. Mosheim, Hist. Tart. Eccles. pp. 8, 9.

tion of the monument is given in these words: "In the empire of the family of the great Tang, in the second year of the reign of Keen-Kung, on Sunday the seventh day of the month of Autumn, was erected this stone, the Bishop Hing-Kiu administering to the church of China; a Mandarin, whose name was Lieu-sie-ki-yen, and whose title was Keao-y-kuu, whose predecessor was Tae-kiew-sie-su-kan-keun, wrote this inscription with his own hand." In the margin is written, in Syriac: "In the days of the Father of Fathers, Mar Ananjesus, the Patriarch." Below are these words, also in Syriac: "In the Greek year 1092, Mar Jezedbuzd, a Presbyter and Chorepiscopus of the royal city of Chumdan, the son of Millesius of happy memory, a Presbyter of Balkh in Tochuristan, erected this tablet of stone, in which are described the precepts of our Saviour, and the preaching of our fathers to the Emperor of the Chinese." These notices fix the date of the monument to A. D. 781. The Patriarch Ananjesus died about 778; but it is highly probable that the intelligence of his death had not yet reached the far distant regions of China.*

* For a full account of this remarkable monument, which is so peculiarly interesting, as affording irrefragable proof of the spread of Christianity in Asia during the early centuries of the Christian era, the reader is referred to Assemani, who published a transcript of the inscription. D'Herbelot has also given a description and analysis of the inscription in the supplement to his Bibliothèque Orientale, and its genuineness has been canvassed by numerous controversial writers. Mr. Milman, in an able note in his edition of Gibbon's Decline and Fall (chap. xlvii.), has pointed out upon what evidence its authenticity can be established. It was discovered in the foundations of the walls of the city of Se-gan-foo. Above the Chinese inscription is the figure of a cross; the title then follows, written in three characters. The inscription itself contains sixty-two lines, counting the lines from right to left, or twenty-eight if read from top to bottom, after the manner of the Chinese. It begins by stating that it was written by King-Sing, a priest of the kingdom of Taëtsin. That which follows may be divided into twenty-one sections, containing a profession of Christian faith, an exposition of church ceremonies and observances in accordance with Nestorian doctrines, and a general history of the introduction and progress of Christianity in the Empire. The inscription is followed by seven lists of missionaries, who preached the gospel in China from the year 636, written in the ancient Syriac (Estranghelo) character. The names are Syriac, Persian (or Pehlevi), and Chinese.

The 5th section contains an account of the arrival in China of Olopuen, or Ja-

We find, in the earliest annals of the Chaldæan Church, frequent accounts of missionaries sent by the Patriarchs of the East into Tartary and China, and notices of their success and of their fate.

When the Arabs invaded the territories of the Persian Kings, and spread their new faith over Asia, they found the Chaldæan Church already powerful in the East. Even in Arabia its missionaries had gained extensive influence, and Mohammed himself may have owed the traditions and learning which he embodied in the Koran to the instruction of a Chaldæan monk.* At any rate the Arabian prophet appears to have been well disposed towards the Nestorians; for one of his first acts, after he had established his power, was to enter into a treaty with them. By this document (which, however, it is right to state, has been rejected as a forgery by several European critics, whilst its authenticity is admitted by early Mohammedan and Eastern Christian writers) not only protection, but various privileges were secured to the sect. They were freed from military service; their customs and laws were to be respected; their clergy were to be exempted from the payment of tribute; the taxes imposed on the rich were limited to twelve pieces of money, those to be paid by the poor to four; and it was expressly declared that when a Christian woman entered into the service of a Mussulman, she should not be compelled to change her religion, to abstain from her fasts, or to neglect her customary prayers, or the ceremonies enjoined by her church.† The prosperity of the Chaldæans and the

ballah, a preacher of the Gospel of Christ, from Tacin, when Tai-kung, the second Emperor of the 13th dynasty, called Tang, was upon the throne. That monarch, by an edict published in the twelfth year of his reign, approved of the Christian religion, and commanded the Mandarins to build a church, upon the walls of which the portrait of the Emperor was painted as an ornament.

* The tradition of his connection with Sergius, a Nestorian monk, is well known.

† The substance of this treaty is given by three Syriac authors—Bar Hebræus, Maris, and Amrus. (Assemani, vol. iv. p. 59.) It was first published in Arabic and Latin by Gabriel Sionita, Paris, 1630, and is usually called the "Testamentum Mahometi."

toleration of the Arab conquerors are evidenced by a letter from the Patriarch Jesujabus to Simon the metropolitan of a Persian city. "Even the Arabs," he writes, "on whom the Almighty has in these days bestowed the dominion of the earth, are amongst us, as thou knowest. Yet they do not persecute the Christian religion; but, on the contrary, they commend our faith, and honor the priests and saints of the Lord, conferring benefits upon His churches and His convents."*

At the time of the Arab invasion, the learning of the East was still chiefly to be found amongst the Chaldæans. Their knowledge and skill gained them favor in the eyes of the Caliphs, and they became their treasurers, their scribes, and their physicians. Whilst filling such high stations, and enjoying the confidence of the Sovereign, they could protect and encourage their fellow-Christians. A Bishopric was established in the new Mussulman settlement of Cufa, and shortly afterwards the seat of the Patriarchate was transferred from Seleucia and Ctesiphon, now falling into decay, to Baghdad, the new and flourishing capital of the Commanders of the Faithful.

We are indebted to the Chaldæans for the preservation of numerous precious fragments of Greek learning; as the Greeks were, many centuries before, to the ancestors of the Chaldæans for the records of astronomy and the elements of Eastern science. In the celebrated schools of Edessa, Nisibis, Seleucia, or Mahuza—as it is frequently called by the Syrian chroniclers,—and of Dorkena, the early languages of the country, the Chaldee and Syriac, as well as Greek, were publicly taught; and there were masters of the sciences of grammar, rhetoric, poetry, dialectics, arithmetic, geometry, music, astronomy, and medicine, whose treatises were preserved in public libraries.† The works of Greek physicians and philosophers had at an early period been translated into Chaldee. They excited the curiosity of the Caliphs, who were then the encouragers and patrons of learning; and by their orders they were translated

* Assemani, vol. iii. p 131 † Ibid, vol. iv. p. 943.

by Nestorian Chaldæans into Arabic. Amongst the works confided by the Caliph Al Mamoun to his Chaldæan subjects, we find recorded those of Aristotle and Galen; and others in the Greek, Persian, Chaldæan, and Egyptian languages. He also sent learned Nestorians into Syria, Armenia, and Egypt, to collect manuscripts, and to obtain the assistance of the most learned men. When asked by a rigid Mussulman how he could trust the translation of any book to a Christian, he is said to have replied: "If I confide to him the care of my body, in which dwell my soul and my spirit, wherefore should I not intrust him with the words of a person whom I know not, especially when they relate to matters which have no reference to our faith or to his faith?" Assemani, who wrote the history of the Nestorian and Monophysite Churches, gives a long list of the translators of, and commentators upon, the treatises of Aristotle; and a Syriac writer has left an extensive catalogue of the works of Chaldee authors.

The Chaldæan Patriarchs were not insensible to the growing power of the Tartar kings, whose descendants afterwards overturned the throne of the Caliphs, and overran nearly the whole of Asia. At an early period their missionaries had penetrated into Tartary, and from the sixth century, up to the time of the conquest of Baghdad by Hulaku Khan, in the middle of the thirteenth, they had possessed great influence over the Tribes of Turkistan. They even boasted of the conversion to Christianity of more than one Tartar king, amongst whom was the celebrated Prester, or Presbyter, John. Of this strange personage, who plays so conspicuous a part in the early annals of the Church, and of whom so many fables have been related that his very existence has been doubted, there remains a curious letter. It may have been composed for him by the Chaldæan missionaries who accompanied him in his wanderings, or it may be a forgery, after their return to Europe, by some ecclesiastics who had visited his court. It contains, however, a singular and amusing description of the power and state of these Tartar kings, and shows the exaggerated

ideas which prevailed regarding them. Many particulars contained in this letter are confirmed by Marco Polo, Sir John Mandeville, and other travellers; and as this circumstance goes far to prove, that it was at least written by one who had seen the country and people he describes, I have made some extracts from it. It is addressed to Alexius Comnenus, the Greek Emperor.

"Prester John, by the grace of God, and of our Lord Jesus Christ, the king of kings, to Alexius Comnenus, the governor of Constantinople, health and a happy end. Our Majesty has been informed that thou hast learnt our excellence, and that mention has been made to thee of our greatness. That which we desire to know is, whether thou holdest with us the true faith, and whether in all things thou believest in our Lord Jesus Christ?

"If thou desirest to know our greatness, and the excellence of our might, and over what lands our power extendeth, know and believe, without doubting, that we are Prester John, the servant of God: hat we excel in all riches under Heaven, and in virtue and in power all the kings of the earth. Seventy kings are our tributaries. We are a devout Christian, and we every where protect, and nourish with alms, such poor Christians as are within the empire of our clemency. We have made a vow to visit the sepulchre of our Lord with a great army, as it becometh the glory of our Majesty, to wage war against and humiliate the enemies of the cross of Christ, and to exalt His holy name.* Our magnificence ruleth over the three Indias; and our territories stretch beyond the furthermost India, in which resteth the body of the blessed Apostle, Thomas; thence through the wilderness they extend towards the rising of the sun, and, returning towards the going-down thereof, to Babylon, the Deserted, even to the Tower of Babel.

* A similar vow was exacted by Haiton, the Christian King of Armenia, from Mango Cham, the fourth Emperor of the Tartars in 1253. (Histoire Orientale, ou des Tartares, par Haiton, parent du Roi d'Arménie. Bergeron, Collect. de Voyages, vol. ii.)

Seventy-two provinces obey us, a few of which are Christian provinces; and each hath its own king. And all their kings are our tributaries. In our territories are found elephants, dromedaries, and camels, and almost every kind of beast that is under Heaven. Our dominions flow with milk and honey. In one portion of our territories no poisons can harm; in another grow all kinds of pepper; and a third is so thick with groves that it resembleth a forest, and is full of serpents in every part. There is also a sandy sea without water. Three days' journey from this sea there are mountains from which descend rivers of stones. Near these mountains is a desert between inhospitable hills. Under ground there floweth a rivulet, to which there appeareth to be no access; and this rivulet falleth into a river of greater size, wherein men of our dominions enter, and obtain therefrom precious stones in great abundance. Beyond this river are ten tribes of Jews, who, although they pretend to have their own kings, are nevertheless our servants and tributaries.* In another of our provinces, near the torrid zone, are worms, which in our tongue are called Salamanders. These worms can only live in fire, and make a skin around them as the silk-worm. This skin is carefully spun by the ladies of our palace, and from it we have cloth for our common use. This cloth can only be washed in a bright fire.† Our army is preceded by thirteen great crosses of gold and precious stones;‡ but when we ride out without state, a cross unadorned with figures, gold, or jewels, that we may be ever mindful of our Lord Jesus Christ, and a silver

* In Marco Polo's Travels (lib. ii. c 2) Jews are described as being in the army of the Emperor Cublai. It seems, therefore, that it was not in this century alone that the lost tribes were traced to Tartary.

† The Salamander is also described by Marco Polo (lib. i. ch. 47). The cloth is mentioned in the inscription on the celebrated stone of Se-gan-foo (D'Herbelot, vol. iv. p. 380). This fable, or exaggeration, which was probably of very early date, appears therefore to have been current amongst the Tartars or amongst the Chaldæans.

‡ The army of Naiam, when he rebelled against Cublai, was preceded by a cross. (Marco Polo, lib. ii. ch. 6.)

vase filled with gold, that all men may know that we are the king of kings, are carried before us. We visit yearly the body of the holy prophet Daniel, which is in Babylon, the Desert.* Our palace is of ebony and shittim wood, and cannot be injured by fire. On its roof, at each end, are two golden apples, and in each apple are two carbuncles, that the gold may shine by day and the carbuncles give light by night. The greater gates are of sardonyx, mingled with horn, so that none may enter with poison; the lesser gates are of ebony. The windows are of crystal. The tables are of gold and amethyst, and the columns, which sustain them, are of ivory. The chamber in which we sleep is a wonderful work of gold and silver, and every manner of precious stones. Within it incense is ever burning. Our bed is of sapphire. We have the most beautiful wives. We feed daily 30,000 men, besides casual guests; and all these receive daily sums from our chamber, to nourish their horses, and to be otherwise employed. During each month we are served by seven kings (by each one in his turn), by sixty-five dukes, and by three hundred and sixty-five counts. In our hall there dine daily, on our right hand, twelve archbishops, on our left twenty bishops, besides the Patriarch of St. Thomas and the Protopapas of Salmas, and the Archiprotopapas of Susa, in which city is the throne of our glory and our imperial palace. Abbots, according to the number of the days in the year, minister to us in our chapel. Our butler is a primate and a king; our steward is an archbishop and a king; our chamberlain is a bishop and a king; our mareschal is an archimandrite and a king; and our head cook is a king and an abbot; but we assume an inferior rank, and a more humble name, that we may prove our great humility."

The Chaldæan missionaries do not appear to have had the same success with other Tartar monarchs as with Prester

* According to tradition the tomb of Daniel was preserved amongst the ruins of Susa, or in a valley of the Bakhtiyari mountains. We have no other mention of its existence at Babylon.

John. If they refused to embrace the Christian religion, there is, nevertheless, evidence to prove that their wives and children, in many instances, were amongst the converts. Their influence secured to the Christians the toleration of their religion, although it may not have been sufficient to enable them to extend it. Amongst those who married a Christian wife may be mentioned the celebrated Ginghis Khan, whose four children were probably brought up in the faith of their mother. The Metropolitan of the Tartar branch of the Chaldæan church resided at Meru, or Merv. This city, built upon the ruins of the Margiana Alexandria of the Macedonian conqueror, stood on the southwestern borders of those vast steppes which stretch eastwards to the frontiers of China; and formed, in the days of its prosperity, the principal station in the great caravan route between Persia and Bokhara, Balkh, Samarcand, and the cities of Transoxiana. These plains were subsequently occupied by roving Tartar tribes; the most numerous of which were known to the early Christian historians, as the Keraites. The chief of this tribe was looked upon as the sovereign of that great region. He resided in the city of Karakorum, at the foot of the mountains of Altai, the burial place of the kings of his race. It is singular that a Chaldæan Patriarch first announced, in the hall of the Caliphs, the progress from the north of these innumerable hordes, which were destined, ere long, to sweep away the dynasty of the prophet, and to defile the palaces of Baghdad. The incident, as described by Eastern writers,* is highly interesting; and it so strikingly illustrates the manners of the people who now inhabit the city where the scene occurred, that it is worth recording.

The Chaldæan Patriarch had received a letter from his Metropolitan at Samarcand, giving him an account of the new race which had appeared. He hastened to communicate the news to the Caliph, and read the letter before the divan, or

* Abulfaraj in Chronico Syriaco ad an. Hegiræ 438. Assemani, vol. iv. p. 487.

assembly of councillors and chiefs. A people, numerous as the locust-cloud, had burst from the mountains between Thibet and Kotan, and were pouring down upon the fertile plains of Kashgar. They were commanded by seven kings, each at the head of 70,000 horsemen. The warriors were as swarthy as Indians. They used no water in their ablutions; nor did they cut their hair. They were most skilful archers, and were content with simple and frugal fare. Their horses were fed upon meat. The Arabs listened with wonder and incredulity to these strange reports. The mode of feeding the horses chiefly astonished them; and they refused to credit the assertion, until one of their number declared that he himself had seen horses in Arabia which were not only fed upon raw meat, but even upon fried fish.*

I will not trouble the reader with a detailed account of the alternate reverses and successes of the Chaldæan missionaries in the interior of Asia, although the history of their labors in that region is one of high interest; but I cannot refrain from adding a list of the twenty-five Metropolitan bishops, who at the time of the capture of Baghdad by Hulaku Khan, recognized the Chaldæan Patriarch as the head of the Eastern church. This list will serve to show the success of the Chaldæan missions, and the influence which they possessed at this time in Asia. The sees of these Metropolitans were scattered over the continent, from the shores of the Caspian to the Chinese seas, and from the most northern boundaries of Scythia to the southern extremity of the Indian peninsula. They included, 1, Elam and Jundishapoor (Susiana, or the modern Persian province of Khuzistan); 2, Nisibis; 3, Mesena, or Busrah; 4, Assyria, or Adiabene, including the cities of Mosul and Arbela; 5, Beth-Garma, or Beth-Seleucia, and Carcha (in Assyria); 6, Halavan, or Halacha (the modern Zohab, on the confines of Assyria and Media); 7, Persia, comprising the

* The practice of occasionally giving raw meat to horses still exists in some parts of Arabia.

cities of Ormuz, Salmas, and Van; 8, Meru (Merv in Khorassan); 9, Hara (Herat); 10, The Razichitæ, or Arabia, and Cotroba; 11, China; 12, India; 13, Armenia; 14, Syria, or Damascus; 15, Bardaa, or Aderbijan (the Persian province of Azerbijan); 16, Raia and Tabrestan (Ray, Rha, or Rhagæ, perhaps the Rhages of Tobit, near the modern city of Teheran, —Tabrestan comprised a part of Ghilan and Mazanderan, the ancient Hyrcania); 17, The Dailamites (to the south of the Caspian Sea); 18, Samarcand and Mavaralnahr (Transoxiana); 19, Cashgar and Turkistan (Independent Tartary); 20, Balkh and Tocharestan (Bactria); 21, Segestan (Seistan); 22, Hamadan (Media); 23, Chanbalek (Cambalu, or Pekin in China); 24, Tanchet (Tanguth in Tartary); 25, Chasemgara and Nuacheta (districts of Tartary).

All these Metropolitans were in direct communication with the Nestorian Patriarch; and those whose sees were too distant to admit of their frequently tendering in person their obedience to him, as the head of the Eastern church, were expected to send to him every sixth year a report upon the condition of their flock, and a renewed confession of their faith.

After the fall of the Caliphs, the power of the Chaldæan Patriarch in the East rapidly declined. The sect endured persecution from the Tartar sovereigns, and had to contend against even more formidable rivals in the Catholic missionaries, who now began to spread themselves over Asia. The first great persecution of the Chaldæans appears to have taken place during the reign of Kassan, the son of Arghoun, the grandson of Hulaku. But it is to the merciless Tamerlane, that their reduction to a few wanderers in the provinces of Assyria must be attributed. He followed them with relentless fury; destroyed their churches, and put to the sword all who were unable to escape to the almost inaccessible fastnesses of the Kurdish mountains. Those who at that time sought the heights and valleys of Kurdistan, were the descendants of the

ancient Assyrians, and the remnant of one of the earliest Christian sects.

From the year 1413, the Chaldæan records contain scarcely any mention of the existence of the Nestorian church beyond the confines of Kurdistan. The seat of the Patriarchate had been removed from Baghdad to Mosul, and from thence, for greater security, to an almost inaccessible valley near the modern Kurdish castle of Julan erik, on the borders of Persia. A few Chaldæans still dwelt in the cities and villages of the plains; but they were exposed not only to the persecutions of Turkish governors, but to the machinations of Popish emissaries, and did not long retain their faith. Those alone who had found refuge in Kurdistan, and on the banks of the Lake of Oroomiah in Persia, remained faithful to the church. The former maintained a kind of semi-independence, and boasted that no conqueror had penetrated into their secluded valleys. Although they recognized the supremacy of the Sultan by the payment of an annual tribute, no governors had been sent to their districts; nor, until the invasion and massacre described in the last chapter, had any Turk, or Kurd, exercised authority in their villages.

It is only in the mountains of Kurdistan, and in the villages of the district of Oroomiah in Persia, that any remnant of this once wide-spreading sect can now be discovered; unless, indeed, the descendants of those whom they converted still preserve their faith in some remote province of the Chinese Empire. The Nestorians of India were even in the last century represented by the Christians of St. Thomas, who inhabit the coast of Malabar; but, from some unexplained cause, this community a few years ago abandoned its church and united with the Jacobites, or Monophysites.*

By a series of the most open frauds, the Roman Catholic emissaries obtained many of the documents which constituted

* There may have been from the earliest Christian period a mixture of Nestorians and Jacobites on the Malabar coast.

the title of the Chaldæan Patriarch, and gave him a claim to be protected, and to be recognized as head of the Chaldæan church by the Turkish authorities. By a system of persecution and violence which could scarcely be credited, the Chaldæans of the plain were compelled to renounce their faith, and to unite with the church of Rome. A rival Patriarch, who appropriated to himself the titles and functions of the Patriarch of the East, was elected not *by* but *for* the Seceders, and was put forward as a rival to the true head of the Eastern church. Still, as is the case in all such forced conversions, the change was more nominal than real; and to this day the people retain their old forms and ceremonies, their festivals, their chronology, and their ancient language in their prayers and holy books. They are even now engaged in a struggle with the church of Rome for the maintenance of these last relics of their race and faith.

If I have, in these volumes, sometimes called the Chaldæans "Nestorians," it is because that name has been generally given to them. It is difficult to ascertain when it was first used; probably not before the Roman Catholic missionaries, who were brought into contact with them, found it necessary and politic to treat them as schismatics, and to bestow upon them a title which conveyed the stigma of a heresy. By the Chaldæans themselves the name has ever been disavowed; and although Nestorius is frequently mentioned in their rituals, and book of prayer, as one of the fathers of their church, yet they deny that they received their doctrines from him. Ebedjesus, a Chaldæan, who wrote in the fourteenth century, asserts that "the Orientals have not changed the truth; but, as they received it from the Apostles, so have they retained it without variation. They are therefore called Nestorians without reason, and injuriously. Nestorius followed them, and not they Nestorius." And even Assemani, a member of the Romish church, who wrote their history, calls them "Chaldæans or Assyrians: whom, from that part of the globe which they inhabit, we term Orientals; and, from the heresy they profess,

Nestorians."* Paul V., in a letter to the Patriarch Elias, admits their origin. A great part of the East," says he, "was infected by this heresy (of Nestorius); especially the Chaldæans; who for this reason have been called Nestorians."† The name still used by the people themselves is, "Chaldani," except when designating any particular tribe; and the Mussulmans apply to them the common epithet of "Nasara." The Patriarch still styles himself, in his letters and in official documents, "the Patriarch of the Chaldæans, or of the Christians of the East;" using the titles which are found on the tombs of such of his predecessors as were buried in the convent of Rabban Hormuzd, before it fell into the possession of the converts to Roman Catholicism.‡

The peculiar doctrine of the Chaldæans—that which has earned for them the epithet of heretics—may be explained in a few words. With Nestorius they assert "the divisibility and separation of the two persons, as well as of the two natures, in Christ;" or, as Assemani has more fully defined it, "the attribution of two persons to Christ, the one being the Word of God, the other the man Jesus; for, according to Nestorius, the man formed in the womb of the Virgin was not the only-begotten Word of God, and the Incarnation was not the natural and hypostatic Union of the Word with the human nature, but the mere inhabiting of the Word of God in man—that is, in the human nature subsisting of itself—as it were in its Temple."§ This, of course, involves the refusal of the title of "Mother of God" to the Virgin, which the Chaldæans still reject, although they do not admit, to their full extent, the tenets on account of which they are accused of heresy by the church of Rome. The distinctions they make upon this point, however, are so subtle and so refined, that it is difficult for one who discourses with them to understand that which most probably they scarcely comprehend themselves. The profes-

* Vol. iv. p. 1.

† Assemani, vol. iv. p. 75.

‡ See previous chapter, p. 199

§ Assemani, vol. iv. p. 190.

sion of faith adopted by the Fathers of their church, and still repeated twice a day by the Chaldæans, differs in few respects from the Nicene creed. I give it entire, as it is both interesting and important. In their books it is entitled, "The Creed, which was composed by three hundred and eighteen Holy Fathers, who were assembled at Nice, a city of Bithynia, in the time of King Constantine the Pious, on account of Arius, the Infidel accursed."

"We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, Creator of all things, which are visible and invisible:

"And in our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, the only begotten of his Father before all worlds: who was not created: the true God, of the true Gods; of the same substance with his Father, by whose hands the worlds were made, and all things were created; who for us men and for our salvation descended from Heaven, and was incarnate by the Holy Ghost, and became man, and was conceived and born of the Virgin Mary, and suffered and was crucified, in the days of Pontius Pilate, and died, and was buried, and rose on the third day, according to the Scriptures, and ascended into Heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of his Father, and is again to come and judge the living and the dead.

"And we believe in one Holy Spirit, the Spirit of Truth, who proceeded from the Father—the Spirit that giveth light:

"And in one holy and universal church.

"We acknowledge one baptism for the remission of sins, and the resurrection of the body, and the life everlasting."

It will be perceived that there is nothing in this creed to authorize the violent charge of heresy made against the Chaldæans by their enemies; and it is certainly evident, not only from this document, but from the writings of Nestorius himself and the earliest Fathers of the Eastern church, that much more has been made of the matter in dispute than its importance deserves.* But however this may be, it should be re-

* See Assemani, vol. iv. p. 192. Researches in Armenia, &c., by Smith and Dwight, vol. ii. p. 225. Mosheim, Eccles. Hist. Cent. XVI. sec. iii.

membered that it is only with *this* fundamental heresy that the Roman Catholic charges the Chaldæan. It is not denied that in other respects they have retained, to a great extent and in all their purity, the doctrines and forms of the primitive church. Mosheim, whose impartiality can scarcely be doubted, thus speaks of them: "It is to the lasting honor of the Nestorian sect, that of all the Christian societies established in the East, they have preserved themselves the most free from the numberless superstitions which have found their way into the Greek and Latin churches."* It is, therefore, highly interesting to a Protestant to ascertain in what respects they differ from other Christian sects, and what their belief and observances really are.

They refuse to the Virgin those titles, and that exaggerated veneration, which were the origin of most of the superstitions and corruptions of the Romish and Eastern Churches.

They deny the doctrine of Purgatory, and are most averse, not only to the worship of images, but even to their exhibition.

The figure of the cross is found in their churches, and they are accustomed to make the sign in common with other Christians of the East; this ceremony, however, is not considered essential, but rather in the light of a badge of Christianity, and as a sign of brotherhood among themselves, scattered as they are amidst men of a hostile faith.

In the rejection of the doctrine of Transubstantiation, they agree with the Reformed church; although some of their earlier writers have so treated of the subject as to lead to the supposition that they admit the actual presence. Any such admission is, however, undoubtedly at variance with their present professions, and with the assertions that I have, on more than one occasion, heard from their Patriarch and priests.

Both the bread and wine are distributed amongst the communicants, and persons of all ages are allowed to partake of

* Mosheim, Cent. XVI sec. iii. part i.

the sacred elements. Christians of all denominations are admitted to receive the holy sacrament, whilst Chaldæans are allowed to communicate in any Christian church.

With regard to the number and nature of their sacraments, their books are full of discrepancies. Nor were the statements I received from the Patriarch, and various priests, more consistent. The number *seven* is always mentioned in the earliest Chaldæan writers, and is traditionally retained to this day; but what these seven sacraments really are, no one seems to know. Baptism is accompanied by confirmation, as in the Armenian church, when the *meiron*, or consecrated oil, is used; a drop being placed on the forehead of the child. This confirmation, or consecration, appears to have originated in the custom of giving extreme unction to an infant, in the fear that it might die soon after immersion. Through the ignorance of its origin, this distinct sacrament came to be considered an integral part of baptism: but neither extreme unction nor confirmation appears to have been recognized as a sacrament by the Chaldæans.* Auricular confession, which once was practised as a sacrament, has now fallen into disuse.†

A doubt also exists as to whether marriage is to be considered a sacrament. In the early ages of the Chaldæan church, the degrees of consanguinity and affinity, within which intermarriages were prohibited, were numerous and complicated. Ebedjesus enumerates sixty-two; but the laws on this subject, it ever very strictly observed, have been greatly relaxed. The Patriarch has the power of pronouncing a divorce, and is the sole judge of the sufficiency of the grounds.

The five lower grades of the clergy, including the Archdeacon,‡ are allowed to marry. In the early ages of the

* La Croze, Christianisme des Indes, lib. iii. p. 176. Assemani, vol. iv. p. 27. Smith and Dwight, Researches in Armenia, pp. 227, 228.

† Assemani, vol. iv. p. 285.

‡ The Chaldæan church reckons eight orders of clergy. 1. The Katoleeka, or Patriarka, the head. 2. The Mutran, or Metrapoleeta, the archbishop. 3. The Khalfa, or Episkopa, the bishop. 4. The Arkidyakono, or Archdeacon. 5. The

church, the same privilege was extended to the bishop and archbishop, and even to the Patriarch.

Ordination is a sacrament. Oil is only used in the ordination of the Patriarch. In other instances prayers are said over the candidates, with an imposition of hands, and with the tonsure of so much of the hair from the crown of the head, as when grasped in the hand rises above it. The early age at which the clergy, including bishops, priests, and deacons, are ordained, has long formed a ground of reproach against the Chaldæan church; which, in this respect, differs not only from all other Eastern churches, bu acts in direct opposition to its own statutes.

The fasts of the Chaldæans are numerous, and they are very strictly observed, even fish not being eaten. There are 152 days in the year in which abstinence from animal food is enjoined; and although, during the time I was carrying on my excavations, I frequently obtained from the Patriarch a dispensation for the workmen, they never seemed inclined to avail themselves of it. The feasts are observed with equal strictness. On the Sabbath no Chaldæan performs a journey, or does any work. Their feasts, and fast days, commence at sunset, and terminate at sunset on the following day.

The Patriarch is always chosen, if not of necessity, at least by general consent, from one family. It is necessary that the mother should abstain from meat and all animal food, some months before the birth of a child, who is destined for the high office of chief of the Chaldæan church. The Patriarch himself never tastes meat. Vegetables and milk constitute his only nourishment. He should be consecrated by three Metropolitans, and he always receives the name of Shamoun, or Simon; whilst his rival, the Patriarch of the converted Chaldæans, in like manner, always assumes that of Usuf, or Joseph.

Kasha, or Kesheesha, the priest. 6. The Shammasha, the deacon. 7. The Hoc podyakono, or subdeacon. 8. The Kanoya, or Reader.

The language of the Chaldæans is a Shemitic dialect allied to the Hebrew, the Arabic, and the Syriac, and still bears the name of Chaldee. Most of their church books are written in Syriac, which, like the Latin in the West, became the sacred language in the greater part of the East. The dialect spoken by the mountain tribes varies slightly from that used in the villages of the plains; but the differences arise chiefly from local circumstances; and it is a singular and interesting fact, that the Chaldæan spoken near Mosul, is almost identical with the language of that very remarkable tribe the Sabæans, or Christians of St. John, as they are vulgarly called, who are found in the districts near the mouths of the Euphrates, and the province of Khuzistan, or Susiana; and are probably the descendants of the ancient inhabitants of Babylonia and Chaldæa.

It will be seen, from the foregoing remarks, that there are some most striking points of resemblance between the Chaldæan Christians, and the members of the Protestant church; which are the more important, and the more deserving of attention, inasmuch as they confirm many of the doctrines of the Reformed religion, and connect them with those of the primitive church; and whilst the peculiar doctrine which has brought upon them the accusation of heresy—even admitting it to the fullest extent—can only be charged against them as an innovation; their being uncontaminated by the superstitions of the church of Rome, and their more simple observances and ceremonies, may be clearly traced to the primitive form of Christianity received by them before they were corrupted. Isolated amongst the remote valleys of Kurdistan, and cut off from all intercourse with other Christian communities, they have preserved, almost intact, their primitive faith. Corruptions may have crept in, and ignorance may have led to the neglect of doctrines and ceremonies; but, on the whole, it is a matter of wonder that, after the lapse of nearly seventeen centuries, the Chaldæans should still be what they are. There are no sects in the East, and few in the West, who can

boast of such purity in their faith, or of such simplicity in their forms of worship.

The Protestants of America have, for some time past, taken a deep interest in the Chaldæans. Their missionaries have opened schools in and around Oroomiah. A printing press has been established, and several works, including the Scriptures, have already been issued in the vernacular language of the people, and printed in a character peculiar to them. Their labors have, I believe, been successful. Although members of the Independent church, they profess to avoid any interference with the Ecclesiastical system of the Chaldæans; admitting, I am informed, that Episcopacy is the form of church government best suited to a sect circumstanced as the Chaldæans are.

It is to be hoped that the establishment of the authority of the Sultan in the mountains, and the removal of several of the most fanatical and blood-thirsty of the Kurdish chiefs, will enable the Chaldæans to profess their faith without hinderance or restraint; and that, freed from fears of fresh aggression, they may, by their activity and industry, restore fresh prosperity to their mountain districts. As the only remnant of a great nation, every one must feel an interest in their history and condition; and our sympathies cannot but be excited in favor of a long persecuted people, who have merited the title of "the Protestants of Asia."

CHAPTER IX.

A FEW days after my return to Mosul from the Tiyari mountains, a Cawal, or priest of the Yezidis, or Worshippers of the Devil, was sent by Sheikh Nasr, the religious chief of that remarkable sect, to invite Mr. Rassam and myself to their great periodical feast. The Vice-consul was unable to accept the invitation; but I seized with eagerness the opportunity of being present at ceremonies not before witnessed by a European—ceremonies which have given rise, among Mussulmans and Christians, to fables confounding the practices of the Yezidis with those of the Ansyri of Syria; and ascribing to them certain midnight orgies, which have earned them the epithet of Cheragh Sonderan, or "The Extinguishers of Lights." The prejudices of the inhabitants of the country have extended to travellers. The mysteries of the sect have been traced to the worship introduced by Semiramis, into the very mountains they now inhabit—a worship which, impure in its forms, led to every excess of debauchery and lust. The quiet and inoffensive demeanor of the Yezidis, and the cleanliness and order of their villages, do not certainly warrant these charges. Their known respect or fear for the evil principle has acquired for them the title of "Worshippers of the Devil." Many stories are current as to the emblems by which this spirit is represented. They are believed by some to adore a cock, by others a peacock; but their worship, their tenets, and their origin were alike a subject of mystery, which I felt anxious to clear up as far as I was able.

The origin of my invitation proves that the Yezidis may

lay claim to a virtue which is, unfortunately, not of frequent occurrence in the East,—I mean gratitude. When Keritli Oglu, Mohammed Pasha, first came to Mosul, this sect was amongst the objects of his cupidity and tyranny. He seized by treachery, as he supposed, their head or high priest; but Sheikh Nasr had time to escape the plot against him, and to substitute in his place the second in authority, who was carried a prisoner to the town. Such is the attachment shown by the Yezidis to their chief, that the deceit was not revealed, and the substitute bore with resignation the tortures and imprisonment inflicted upon him. Mr. Rassam having been applied to, obtained his release from the Pasha, on the advance of a considerable sum of money, which the inhabitants of the district of Sheikhan undertook to repay, in course of time, out of the produce of their fields. They punctually fulfilled the engagement thus entered into, and looked to the British Vice-consul as their protector.

Owing to the disturbed state of the country, and the misconduct of the late Pashas, some years had elapsed since the Yezidis had assembled at Sheikh Adi. The short rule of Ismail Pasha, and the conciliatory measures of the new governor, had so far restored confidence amongst persons of all sects, that the Worshippers of the Devil had determined to celebrate their great festival with more than ordinary solemnity and rejoicings. It was customary for the Yezidis, when sufficiently powerful to defend themselves against the attacks of Kurds and Arabs, to meet periodically in large numbers at the tomb of their great Saint. Men and women from the Sinjar, and from the northern districts of Kurdistan, left their tents and pastures to be present at the solemnization of their holy rites. This year, as the roads were once more free from plunderers, it was expected that the distant tribes would again repair to the tomb of the Sheikh.

I quitted Mosul, accompanied by Hodja Toma (the dragoman of the Vice-consulate), and the Cawal, or priest, sent by Sheikh Nasr. We were joined on the road by several Yezidis,

who were, like ourselves, on their way to the place of meeting. We passed the night in a small hamlet near Khorsabad, and reached Baadri early next day. This village, the residence of Sheikh Nasr, the religious, and Hussein Bey, the political chief of the Yezidis, is built at the foot of the line of hills crossed in my previcus journey to the Chaldæan Mountains, and about five miles to the north of Ain Sifni. We travelled over the same dreary plain, leaving the mound of Jerrahiyah to our right.

On approaching the village I was met by Hussein Bey, followed by the priests and principal inhabitants on foot. The chief was about eighteen years of age, and one of the handsomest young men I ever saw. His features were regular and delicate, his eye lustrous, and the long curls, which fell from under his variegated turban, of the deepest black. An ample white cloak of fine texture, was thrown over his rich jacket and robes. I dismounted as he drew near, and he endeavored to kiss my hand; but to this ceremony I decidedly objected; and we compromised matters by embracing each other after the fashion of the country. He then insisted upon leading my horse, which he wished me to remount, and it was with difficulty that I at length prevailed upon him to walk with me into the village. He led me to his salamlik, or reception room, in which carpets and cushions had been spread. Through the centre ran a stream of fresh water, derived from a neighboring spring. The people of the place stood at the lower end of the room, and listened in respectful silence to the conversation between their chief and myself.

Breakfast was brought to us from the Harem of Hussein Bey; and the crowd having retired after we had eaten, I was left during the heat of the day to enjoy the cool temperature of the salamlik.

I was awakened in the afternoon by that shrill cry of the women, which generally announces some happy event. The youthful chief entered soon afterwards, followed by a long retinue. It was evident from the smiles upon his features, that

he had joyful news to communicate. He seated himself on my carpet, and thus addressed me:—"O Bey, your presence has brought happiness on our house. At your hands we receive nothing but good. We are all your servants; and, praise be to the Highest, in this house another servant has been born to you. The child is yours; he is our first-born, and he will grow up under your shadow. Let him receive his name from you, and be hereafter under your protection." The assembly joined in the request, and protested that this event, so interesting to all the tribe, was solely to be attributed to my fortunate visit. I was not quite aware of the nature of the ceremony, if any, in which I might be expected to join on naming the new-born chief. Notwithstanding my respect and esteem for the Yezidis, I could not but admit that there were some doubts as to the propriety of their tenets and form of worship; and I was naturally anxious to ascertain the amount of responsibility which I might incur, in standing godfather to a devil-worshipping baby. However, as I was assured that no other form was necessary than the mere selection of a name (the rite of baptism being reserved for a future day, when the child could be carried to the tomb of Sheikh Adi, and could bear immersion in its sacred waters,) I thus answered Hussein Bey:—"O Bey, I rejoice in this happy event, for which we must return thanks to God. May this son be but the first of many who will preserve, as their forefathers have done, the fame and honor of your house. As you ask of me a name for this child I could give you many, which, in my language and country are well-sounding and honorable; but your tongue could not utter them, and they would moreover be without meaning. Were it usual I would call him after his father, whose virtues he will no doubt imitate; but such is not the custom. I have not forgotten the name of his grandfather, a name which is dear to the Yezidis, and still brings to their memory the days of their prosperity and happiness. Let him therefore be known as Ali Bey; and may he live to see the Yezidis as they were in the time of him after

whom he is called."—This oration, which was accompanied by a few gold coins to be sewn to the cap of the infant, was received with great applause; and the name of Ali Bey was unanimously adopted; one of the chief's relations hastening to the harem, to communicate it to the ladies. He returned with a carpet and some embroidery, as presents from the mother, and with an invitation to the harem to see the females of the family. I found there the chief's mother and his second wife; for he had already taken two. They assured me that the lady, who had just brought joy to the house, was even more thankful than her husband; and that her gratitude to me, as the author of her happiness, was unbounded. They brought me honey and strings of dried figs from the Sinjar, and entertained me with domestic histories until I thought it time to return to the salamlik.

The Yezidis were some years ago a very powerful tribe. Their principal strongholds were the district which I was now visiting, and the Jebel Sinjar, a solitary mountain rising in the centre of the Mesopotamian desert to the north of Mosul. The last independent chief of the Yezidis of Sheikhan was Ali Bey, the father of Hussein Bey. He was beloved by his tribe, and sufficiently brave and skilful in war to defend them, for many years, against the attacks of the Kurds and Mussulmans of the plain. The powerful Bey of Rowandiz, who had united most of the Kurdish tribes of the surrounding mountains under his banner, and had defied for many years the Turks and the Persians, resolved to crush the hateful sect of the Yezidis. Ali Bey's forces were greatly inferior in numbers to those of his persecutor. He was defeated, and fell into the hands of the Rowandiz chief, who put him to death. The inhabitants of Sheikhan fled to Mosul. It was in spring; the river had overflowed its banks, and the bridge of boats had been removed. A few succeeded in crossing the stream; but a vast crowd of men, women, and children were left upon the opposite side, and congregated on the great mound of Kouyunjik. The Bey of Rowandiz followed them. An indiscrim-

inate slaughter ensued; and the people of Mosul beheld from their terraces, the murder of these unfortunate fugitives, who cried to them in vain for help—for both Christians and Mussulmans rejoiced in the extermination of an odious and infidel sect, and no arm was lifted in their defence. Hussein Bey, having been carried by his mother to the mountains, escaped the general slaughter. He was carefully brought up by the Yezidis, and from his infancy had been regarded as their chief.

The inhabitants of the Sinjar were soon after subdued by Mehemet Reshid Pasha, and a second time by Hafiz Pasha On both occasions there was a massacre, and the population was reduced by three-fourths. The Yezidis took refuge in caves, where they were either suffocated by fires lighted at the mouth, or destroyed by discharges of cannon.

It will be remembered that Mohammedans, in their dealings with men of other creeds, make a distinction between such as are believers in the sacred books, and such as have no recognized inspired works. To the first category belong Christians of all denominations, as receiving the two testaments; and the Jews, as followers of the old. With Christians and Jews, therefore, they may treat, make peace, and live; but with such as are included in the second class, the good Mussulman can have no intercourse. No treaty nor oath, when they are concerned, is binding. They have the choice between conversion and the sword, and it is unlawful even to take tribute from them. The Yezidis, not being looked upon as "Masters of a Book," have been exposed for centuries to the persecution of the Mohammedans. The harems of the south of Turkey have been recruited from them. Yearly expeditions have been made by the governors of provinces into their districts; and whilst the men and women were slaughtered without mercy, the children of both sexes were carried off, and exposed for sale in the principal towns. These annual hunts were one of the sources of revenue of Beder Khan Bey; and it was the custom of the Pashas of Baghdad and

Mosul to let loose the irregular troops upon the ill-fated Yezidis, as an easy method of satisfying their demands for arrears of pay. This system was still practised to a certain extent within a very few months; and gave rise to atrocities scarcely equalled in the better known slave trade. It may be hoped that the humane and tolerant policy of the Sultan, which has already conferred such great and lasting benefits upon multitudes of his subjects, will be extended to this unfortunate sect.

It was not unnatural that the Yezidis should revenge themselves, whenever an opportunity might offer, upon their oppressors They formed themselves into bands, and were long the terror of the country. No Mussulman that fell into their hands was spared. Caravans were plundered, and merchants murdered without mercy. Christians, however, were not molested; for the Yezidis looked upon them as fellow-sufferers for religion's sake.

These acts of retaliation furnished an excuse for the invasion of the Sinjar by Mehemet Reshid and Hafiz Pashas. Since the great massacres which then took place, the Yezidis have been completely subdued, and have patiently suffered under their misfortunes. Their devotion to their religion is no less remarkable than that of the Jews; and I remember no instance of a person of full age renouncing his faith. They invariably prefer death, and submit with resignation to the tortures inflicted upon them. Even children of tender age, although educated in Turkish harems, and nominally professing the Mussulman religion, have frequently retained in secret the peculiar doctrines of the sect, and have been in communication with Yezidi priests.

Sheikh Nasr had already left Baadri, and was preparing for the religious ceremonies at the tomb of Sheikh Adi. I visited his wife, and was gratified by the unaffected hospitality of my reception, and the cleanliness of the house and of its scanty furniture. All the dwellings which I entered appeared equally neat, and we built. Some stood in small gardens

filled with flowers, and near them were streams of running water, brought from the abundant springs which issue from the hills above the village.

Late in the afternoon two horsemen arrived, as if from a long journey. Their garments were torn, and their faces bronzed and weather-beaten. They were received with general demonstrations of joy by the inhabitants of the village, who crowded round them. Throwing down their guns, they kissed my hand, and then that of the chief. They had returned from a mission to a branch of the Yezidis, who had crossed the frontiers some years before, and had taken refuge from the tyranny of the Kurds in the Russian territories. On a former occasion, the Yezidis of Sheikhan had sent a deputation to their brethren, to ask for pecuniary assistance towards the support of their clergy, and the repair of the tomb of Sheikh Adi. The deputies having, however, fallen into the hands of the chief of Bitlis, were murdered. The two horsemen, who had just arrived, were more fortunate than their predecessors, —not only escaping the many dangers of the journey, but bringing back a considerable sum of money. They described the flourishing state of those they had visited, and the wonders they had seen in Georgia. Leaving them in the midst of a large crowd of men, who were listening with eagerness to their relation, I walked to the ruins of the fort built by Ali Bey, which crowns a hill overhanging the village.

On the outskirts of the houses, I found the women performing their ablutions in the principal stream. They were preparing for the festival of the morrow; for no one can enter the valley of Sheikh Adi on this occasion without having first purified his body and his clothes. They took no notice of me; and although divested of all their garments, walked about unconcernedly. The men had been washing during the day in another part of the rivulet.

At dawn Hussein Bey issued from his harem, armed and dressed in his gayest robes, ready to proceed to the tomb of the saint. The principal people of the village were soon col-

lected, and we all started together, forming a long procession, preceded by musicians with the tambourine and pipe. The women were busily employed in loading their donkeys with carpets and domestic utensils. They were to follow leisurely. Hussein Bey and I rode together, and as long as the ground permitted, the horsemen and footmen who accompanied us, engaged in mimic fight, discharging their firearms into the air, and singing their war-cry. We soon reached the foot of a very precipitous ascent, up which ran a steep and difficult pathway. The horsemen now rode on in single file, and we were frequently compelled to dismount and drag our horses over the rocks. We gained the summit of the pass in about an hour, and looked down into the richly wooded valley of Sheikh Adi. As soon as the white spire of the tomb appeared above the trees, all our party discharged their guns. The echoes had scarcely died away, when our signal was answered by similar discharges from below. As we descended through the thick wood of oaks, we passed many pilgrims on their way, like ourselves, to the tomb; the women seated under the trees, relieving themselves awhile from their infant burdens; the men re-adjusting the loads which the rapid descent had displaced. As each new body of travellers caught sight of the object of their journey, they fired their guns, and shouted the cry of the tribe to those below.

At some distance from the tomb we were met by Sheikh Nasr and a crowd of priests and armed men. The Sheikh was dressed in the purest white linen, as were the principal members of the priesthood. His age could scarcely have exceeded forty; his manners were most mild and pleasing; he welcomed me with warmth; and it was evident that my visit had made a very favorable impression upon all present. After I had embraced the chief, and exchanged salutations with his followers, we walked together towards the sacred precincts. The outer court, as well as the avenue which led to it, was filled with people; but they made way for us as we approached, and every one eagerly endeavored to kiss my hand.

The Yezidis always enter the inner court of the tomb barefooted. I followed the custom, and left my shoes at the entrance. I seated myself, with Sheikh Nasr and Hussein Bey, upon carpets spread under an arbor, formed by a wide-spreading vine. The Sheikhs and Cawals, two of the principal orders of the priesthood, alone entered with us, and squatted around the yard against the walls. The trees which grew amongst, and around the buildings, threw an agreeable shade over the whole assembly. I entered into conversation with Sheikh Nasr and the priests, and found them more communicative than I could have expected. I deferred, however, until I could be alone with the chief, such questions as he might be unwilling to answer in the presence of others.

The tomb of Sheikh Adi is in a narrow valley, or rather ravine, which has only one outlet, as the rocks rise precipitously on all sides, except where a small stream forces its way into a larger valley beyond. It stands in a courtyard, and is surrounded by a few buildings, inhabited by the guardians and servants of the sanctuary. The interior is divided into three principal compartments; a large hall partitioned in the centre by a row of columns and arches, and having at the upper end a reservoir filled by an abundant spring issuing from the rock; and two smaller apartments, in which are tombs of the saint, and of some inferior personage. The water of the reservoir is regarded with peculiar veneration, and is believed to be derived from the holy well of Zemzem. In it children are baptized, and it is used for other sacred purposes.

The tomb of Sheikh Adi is covered, as is the custom in Mussulman sanctuaries, by a large square case, or box made of clay, and plastered; an embroidered green cloth being thrown over it. It is in the inner room, which is dimly lighted up by a small lamp. On it is written the chapter of the Koran, called the Ayat el Courci.

In the principal hall a few lamps are generally burning, and at sunset lights are placed in niches scattered over the walls.

Two white spires, rising above the building, form a pleasing contrast with the rich foliage by which they are surrounded. They are topped by gilt ornaments, and their sides are fashioned into many angles, causing an agreeable variety of light and shade. On the lintels of the doorway are rudely carved a lion, a snake, a hatchet, a man, and a comb. The snake is particularly conspicuous. Although it might be suspected that these figures were emblematic, I could obtain no other explanation from Sheikh Nasr, than that they had been cut by the Christian mason who repaired the tomb some years ago, as ornaments suggested by his mere fancy. I observed the hatchet and comb carved on many stones in the building, but was assured that they were only marks placed upon them at the request of those who had furnished money towards the restoration of the building, or had assisted in the work.

In the centre of the inner court, and under the vine, is a square plaster case, in which is a small recess filled with balls of clay taken from the tomb of the saint. These are sold or distributed to the pilgrims, and regarded as very sacred relics —useful against diseases and evil spirits. Certain members of the priesthood and their families alone inhabit the surrounding building. They are chosen to watch over the sacred precincts, and are supplied with provisions, and supported by contributions from the tribes.

The outer court is inclosed by low buildings, with recesses, similar to those in an Eastern bazar. They are intended for the accommodation of pilgrims, and for the stalls of pedlers, during the celebration of the festival. Several gigantic trees throw their shade over the open space, and streams of fresh water are led round the buildings.

Around the tomb, and beneath the trees which grow on the sides of the mountain, are numerous rudely constructed edifices, each belonging to a Yezidi district or tribe. The pilgrims, according to the place from which they come, reside in them during the time of the feast; so that each portion of the

valley is known by the name of the country, or tribe, of those who resort there.

I sat till nearly mid-day with the assembly, at the door of the tomb. Sheikh Nasr then rose, and I followed him into the outer court, which was filled by a busy crowd of pilgrims. In the recesses and on the ground were spread the stores of travelling merchants, who, on such occasions, repair to the valley. Many-colored handkerchiefs, and cotton stuffs, hung from the branches of the trees; dried figs from the Sinjar, raisins from Amadiyah, dates from Busrah, and walnuts from the mountains, were displayed in heaps upon the pavement. Around these tempting treasures were gathered groups of boys and young girls. Men and women were engaged on all sides in animated conversation, and the hum of human voices was heard through the valley. All respectfully saluted the Sheikh, and made way for us as we approached. We issued from the precincts of the principal building, and seated ourselves on the edge of a fountain built by the road side, and at the end of the avenue of trees leading into the tomb. The slabs surrounding the basin are to some extent looked upon as sacred; and at this time only Sheikh Nasr, Hussein Bey, and myself, were permitted to place ourselves upon them. Even on other occasions the Yezidis are unwilling to see them polluted by Mussulmans, who usually choose this spot, well adapted for repose, to spread their carpets. The water of the fountain is carefully preserved from impurities, and is drank by those who congregate in the valley. Women were now hastening to and fro with their pitchers, and making merry as they waited their turn to dip them into the reservoir. The principal Sheikhs and Cawals sat in a circle round the spring, and listened to the music of pipes and tambourines.

I never beheld a more picturesque or animated scene. Long lines of pilgrims toiled up the avenue. There was the swarthy inhabitant of the Sinjar, with his long black locks, his piercing eye and regular features,—his white robes floating in

the wind, and his unwieldy matchlock thrown over his shoulder. Then followed the more wealthy families of the Kochers,—the wandering tribes who live in tents in the plains, and among the hills of ancient Adiabene; the men in gay jackets and variegated turbans, with fantastic arms in their girdles; the women richly clad in silk antaris; their hair, braided in many tresses, falling down their backs, and adorned with wild flowers; their foreheads almost concealed by gold and silver coins; and huge strings of glass beads, coins, and engraved stones hanging round their necks. Next would appear a poverty-stricken family from a village of the Mosul district; the women clad in white, pale and care-worn, bending under the weight of their children; the men urging on the heavily-laden donkey. Similar groups descended from the hills. Repeated discharges of firearms, and a well-known signal, announced to those below the arrival of every new party.

All turned to the fountain before proceeding to their allotted station, and laying their arms on the ground, kissed the hands of Sheikh Nasr, Hussein Bey, and myself. After saluting the assembled priests they continued their way up the sides of the mountains, and chose some wide-spreading oak, or the roof of a building, for a resting-place during their sojourn in the valley. They then spread their carpets, and, lighting fires with dry branches and twigs, busied themselves in preparing their food. Such groups were scattered in every direction. There was scarcely a tree without its colony.

All, before entering the sacred valley, washed themselves and their clothes in the stream issuing from it. They came thus purified to the feast. I never before saw so much assembled cleanliness in the East. Their garments, generally white, were spotless.

During the afternoon, dances were performed before the Bey and myself. They resembled the Arab Debke and the Kurdish Tchopee. As many young men as could crowd into the small open space in front of the fountain joined in them. Others sang in chorus with the music. Every place, from

which a sight could be obtained of the dancers, was occupied by curious spectators. Even the branches above our heads were bending under the clusters of boys who had discovered that, from them, they could get a full view of what was going on below. The manœuvres of one of these urchins gave rise to a somewhat amusing incident, which illustrates the singular superstitions of this sect. He had forced himself to the very end of a weak bough, which was immediately above me, and threatened every moment to break under the weight. As I looked up I saw the impending danger, and made an effort by an appeal to the Chief, to avert it. "If that young Sheit——," I exclaimed, about to use an epithet, generally given in the East to such adventurous youths;* I checked myself immediately; but it was too late; half the dreaded word had escaped. The effect was instantaneous; a look of horror seized those who were near enough to overhear me; it was quickly communicated to those beyond. The pleasant smile, which usually played upon the fine features of the young Bey, gave way to a serious and angry expression. I lamented that I had thus unwillingly wounded the feelings of my hosts, and was at a loss to know how I could make atonement for my indiscretion—doubting whether an apology to the Evil principle or to the chief was expected. I endeavored, however, to make them understand, without venturing upon any observations which might have brought me into greater difficulties, that I regretted what had passed; but it was some time ere the group resumed their composure, and indulged in their previous merriment.

My carpets had been spread on the roof of a building of some size, belonging to the people of Semil. Around me, but at a convenient distance, were scattered groups of pilgrims from that district. Men, women, and children were congregated round their caldrons, preparing for their evening meal;

* The term Sheitan (equivalent to Satan) is usually applied in the East to a clever, cunning, or daring fellow.

or were stretched upon their coarse carpets, resting after the long march of the day. Near me was the chief, whose mud castle crowns the mound of the village of Semil. He was an ill-looking man, gayly dressed, and well armed. He received me with every demonstration of civility, and I sat for some time with him and his wives; one of them was young and pretty, and had been recently selected from the Kochers or wanderers. Her hair was profusely adorned with flowers and gold coin. They had sacrificed a sheep, and all (including the chief, whose arms, bare to the shoulder, were reeking with blood) gathered round the carcass; and, tearing the limbs, distributed morsels to the poor who had been collected to receive them.

At some distance from the people of Semil, were the wife and family of Sheikh Nasr, who had also slain a sheep. The Sheikh himself resided in the sacred building, and was occupied during the day in receiving the pilgrims, and performing various duties imposed upon him on the occasion. I visited his harem; his wife spread fruit and honey before me, and entertained me with a long account of her domestic employments.

Below the cluster of buildings assigned to the people of Semil is a small white spire, springing from a low edifice, neatly constructed, and, like all the sacred edifices of the Yezidi, kept as pure as repeated coats of whitewash can make it. It is called the sanctuary of Sheikh Shems, or the Sun; and is so built that the first rays of that luminary should as frequently as possible fall upon it. Near the door is carved on a slab an invocation to Sheikh Shems; and one or two votive tablets, raised by the father of Hussein Bey, and other chiefs of the Yezidi, are built in the walls. The interior, which is a very holy place, is lighted up by a few small lamps. At sunset, as I sat in the alcove in front of the entrance, a herdsman led into a pen, attached to the building, a drove of white oxen. I asked a Cawal, who was near me, to whom the beasts belonged. "They are dedicated," he said, "to Sheikh Shems, and are

never slain except on great festivals, when their flesh is distributed amongst the poor."* This unexpected answer gave rise to an agreeable musing; and I sat almost unconscious of the scene around me, until darkness stole over the valley.

As the twilight faded, the Fakirs, or lower order of priests, dressed in brown garments of coarse cloth, closely fitting to their bodies, and wearing black turbans on their heads, issued from the tomb, each bearing a light in one hand, and a pot of oil, with a bundle of cotton wicks, in the other. They filled and trimmed lamps placed in niches in the walls of the court-yard, and scattered over the buildings on the sides of the valley, and even on isolated rocks and in the hollow trunks of trees. Innumerable stars appeared to glitter on the black sides of the mountain, and in the dark recesses of the forest. As the priests made their way through the crowd, to peform their task, men and women passed their right hands through the flame; and, after rubbing the right eyebrow with the part which had been purified by the sacred element, they devoutly carried it to their lips. Some, who bore children in their arms, anointed them in like manner, whilst others held out their hands to be touched by those who, less fortunate than themselves, could not reach the flame.

The lamps are votive offerings from pilgrims, or from those who have appealed to Sheikh Adi in times of danger or disease. A yearly sum is given to the guardians of the tomb for oil, and for the support of the priests who tend the lamps. They are lighted every evening as long as the supplies last. In the day-time the smoked walls mark the places where they are placed; and I have observed the Yezidis devoutly kissing the blackened stones. A traveller,† who had merely seen these traces, has suggested that bitumen or naphtha was burnt in the valley during religious ceremonies; but both are considered some-

* The dedication of the bull to the sun, so generally recognized in the religious systems of the ancients, probably originated in Assyria, and the Yezidis may have unconsciously preserved a myth of their ancestors

† Ainsworth, "Travels in Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, &c." vol. ii. p. 185.

what impure, and the oil of Sesame and other vegetable substances are alone used.

About an hour after sunset the Fakirs, who are the servants of the tomb, appeared with platters of boiled rice, roast meat, and fruit. They had been sent to me from the kitchen of the holy edifice. The wife of Sheikh Nasr also contributed some dishes towards the repast.

As night advanced, those who had assembled—they must now have amounted to nearly five thousand persons—lighted torches, which they carried with them as they wandered through the forest. The effect was magical; the varied groups could be faintly distinguished through the darkness; men hurrying to and fro; women, with their children, seated on the house-tops; and crowds gathering round the pedlers who exposed their wares for sale in the courtyard. Thousands of lights were reflected in the fountains and streams, glimmered amongst the foliage of the trees, and danced in the distance. As I was gazing on this extraordinary scene, the hum of human voices was suddenly hushed, and a strain, solemn and melancholy, arose from the valley. It resembled some majestic chant which years before I had listened to in the cathedral of a distant land. Music so pathetic and so sweet I had neve before heard in the East. The voices of men and women were blended in harmony with the soft notes of many flutes. At measured intervals the song was broken by the loud clash of cymbals and tambourines; and those who were without the precincts of the tomb then joined in the melody.

I hastened to the sanctuary, and found Sheikh Nasr, surrounded by the priests, seated in the inner court. The place was lighted up by torches and lamps, which threw a soft light over the white walls of the tomb and green foliage of the arbor. The Sheikhs, in their white turbans and robes, all venerable men with long gray beards, were ranged on one side; on the opposite, seated on the stones, were about thirty Cawals in their motley dresses of black and white—each performing on a tambourine or a flute. Around stood the Fakirs in their

dark garments; and the women of the orders of the priesthood also arrayed in pure white. No others were admitted within the walls of the court.

The same slow and solemn strain, occasionally varied in the melody, lasted for nearly an hour; a part of it was called "Makam Azerat Esau," or the song of the Angel Jesus. It was sung by the Sheikhs, the Cawals, and the women; and occasionally by those without. I could not catch the words; nor could I prevail upon any of those present to repeat them to me. They were in Arabic; and, as few of the Yezidis can speak or pronounce that language, they were not intelligible, even to the experienced ear of Hodja Toma, who accompanied me. The tambourines, which were struck simultaneously, only interrupted at intervals the song of the priests. As the time quickened, they broke in more frequently. The chant gradually gave way to a lively melody, which, increasing in measure, was finally lost in a confusion of sounds. The tambourines were beaten with extraordinary energy; the flutes poured forth a rapid flood of notes; the voices were raised to their highest pitch; the men outside joined in the cry; whilst the women made the rocks resound with the shrill *tahlehl*. The musicians, giving way to the excitement, threw their instruments into the air, and strained their limbs into every contortion, until they fell exhausted to the ground. I never heard a more frightful yell than that which rose in the valley. It was midnight. The time and place were well suited to the occasion; and I gazed with wonder upon the extraordinary scene around me. Thus were probably celebrated ages ago the mysterious rites of the Corybantes, when they met in some consecrated grove.* I did not marvel that such wild ceremo-

* "Tympana tenta tonant palmis, et cymbala circum
Concava, raucisonoque minantur cornua cantu,
Et Phrygio stimulat numero cava tibia menteis,
Telaque præportant violenti signa furoris,
Ingratos animos, atque impia pectora volgi
Conterrere metu quæ possint numine Divæ."
(Lucret. lib. ii. v. 618, &c.)

nies had given rise to those stories of unhallowed rites, and obscene mysteries, which have rendered the name of Yezidi an abomination in the East. Notwithstanding the uncontrollable excitement which appeared to prevail amongst all present, there were no indecent gestures or unseemly ceremonies. When the musicians and singers were exhausted, the noise suddenly died away; the various groups resumed their previous cheerfulness, and again wandered through the valley, or seated themselves under the trees.

So far from Sheikh Adi being the scene of the orgies attributed to the Yezidis, the whole valley is held sacred; and no acts, such as the Jewish law has declared to be impure, are permitted within the sacred precincts. No other than the high priest and the chiefs of the sect are buried near the tomb. Many pilgrims take off their shoes on approaching it, and go barefooted as long as they remain in its vicinity.

Some ceremony took place before I joined the assembly at the tomb, at which no stranger can be present, nor could I learn its nature from the Cawals. Sheikh Nasr gave me to understand that their holy symbol, the Melek Taous, was then exhibited to the priests, and he declared that as far as he was concerned he had no objection to my witnessing the whole of their rites; but that many of the Sheikhs were averse to it, and he did not wish to create any ill-feeling in the tribe. Indeed I found him frank and communicative on all subjects.

After the ceremonies in the inner yard had ceased, I returned with the Sheikh and Hussein Bey to the fountain in the avenue. Around it were grouped men and women with torches, which flung their red gleams upon the water. Several of the Cawals accompanied us to the spot, and sang and played on their flutes and tambourines until nearly dawn.

Daylight had begun to appear before the pilgrims sought repose. Silence reigned through the valley until mid-day, when new parties of travellers reached the tomb, and again awakened the echoes by their cries and the discharge of fire-arms. Towards the evening about seven thousand persons

must have assembled. The festival was more numerously attended than it had been for many years, and Sheikh Nasr rejoiced in the prospect of times of prosperity for his people. At night the ceremonies of the previous evening were repeated. New melodies were introduced; but the singing ended in the same rapid measure and violent excitement that I have described. During the three days I remained at Sheikh Adi, I wandered over the valley and surrounding mountains; visiting the various groups of pilgrims, talking with them of their dwelling-places, and listening to their tales of oppression and bloodshed. From all I received the same simple courtesy and kindness; nor had I any cause to change the good opinion I had already formed of the Yezidis. There were no Mohammedans present, nor any Christians, except those who were with me, and a poor woman who had lived long with the sect, and was a privileged guest at their festivals. Unrestrained by the presence of strangers, the women forgot their usual timidity, and roved unveiled over the mountains. As I sat beneath the trees, laughing girls gathered round me, examined my dress, or asked me of things to them strange and new. Some, more bold than the rest, would bring me the strings of beads and engraved stones hanging round their necks, and permit me to examine the Assyrian relics thus collected together; whilst others, more fearful, though not ignorant of the impression which their charms would create, stood at a distance, and weaved wild flowers into their hair.

The men assembled in groups round the fountains and about the tomb. They talked and made merry; but no dissension or angry words disturbed the general good humor. The sound of music, and of song, rose from all sides above the hum of voices. The priests and Sheikhs walked amongst the people, or sat with the families assembled under nearly every tree.

Sheikh Nasr frequently visited me, and I had opportunities of talking to him alone on the singular tenets of his sect. From these conversations, and from such observations as I was able

to make during my visit at Sheikh Adi, I noted down the following particulars. Although, it must be confessed, far from sufficient to satisfy curiosity, and in many respects incomplete, they are the best I could obtain from persons naturally suspicious of strangers, and fearful of betraying the secrets of their faith. They give, however, a better insight into the origin and belief of the Yezidis, than any information before obtained by travellers.

The Yezidis recognize one Supreme Being; but as far as I could learn, they do not offer up any direct prayer or sacrifice to Him. Sheikh Nasr endeavored to evade my questions on this subject; and appeared to shun, with superstitious awe, every topic connected with the existence and attributes of the Deity. The common Mohammedan forms of expression—half oath, half ejaculation—are nevertheless frequently in the mouths of the people, but probably from mere habit. The name of the Evil spirit is, however, never mentioned; and any allusion to it by others so vexes and irritates them, that it is said they have put to death persons who have wantonly outraged their feelings by its use. So far is their dread of offending the Evil principle carried, that they carefully avoid every expression which may resemble in sound the name of Satan, or the Arabic word for "accursed." Thus, in speaking of a river, they will not say *Shat*, because it is too nearly connected with the first syllable in *Sheitan*, the Devil; but substitute *Nahr*. Nor, for the same reason, will they utter the word *Keitan*, thread or fringe. *Naal*, a horse-shoe, and *naalband*, a farrier, are forbidden words; because they approach to *laan*, a curse, and *maloun*, accursed.

When they speak of the Devil, they do so with reverence, as *Melek Taous*, King Peacock, or *Melek el Kout*, the mighty angel. Sheikh Nasr distinctly admitted that they possessed a bronze or copper figure of a bird, which, however, he was careful in explaining was only looked upon as a symbol, and not as an idol. It always remains with the great Sheikh, and is carried with him wherever he may journey. When depu-

ties are sent to any distance to collect money for the support of the tomb and the priests, they are furnished with a small image of it (I understood the Sheikh to say made in wax), which is shown to those amongst whom they go, as an authority for their mission. This symbol is called the Melek Taous, and is held in great reverence. Much doubt has prevailed amongst travellers as to its existence; but Sheikh Nasr, when I had an opportunity of speaking to him in private, so frankly admitted it, that I consider the question as completely set at rest. The admission of the Sheikh is moreover confirmed, by the answer of the guardian of the tomb, to a question which I put to him on my first visit, when he was completely off his guard.

They believe Satan to be the chief of the Angelic host, now suffering punishment for his rebellion against the divine will; but still all-powerful, and to be restored hereafter to his hign estate in the celestial hierarchy. He must be conciliated and reverenced, they say; for as he now has the means of doing evil to mankind, so will he hereafter have the power of rewarding them. Next to Satan, but inferior to him in might and wisdom, are seven archangels* who exercise a great influence over the world;—they are Gabrail, Michail, Raphail, Azrail, Dedrail, Azrapheel, and Shemkeel. Christ, according to them, was also a great angel, who had taken the form of man. He did not die on the cross, but ascended to heaven.

They hold the Old Testament in great reverence, and believe in the cosmogony of Genesis, the Deluge, and other events recorded in the Bible. They do not reject the New Testament, nor the Koran; but consider them less entitled to their

* It will be remembered that in the book of Tobit (chap. xii. v. 15) Raphael is made to say: "I am Raphael, one of the seven holy angels, which present the prayers of the saints, and which go in and out before the glory of the Holy One." "The seven spirits before the throne of God," are mentioned in Revelation, chap. i. v. 4; chap. iv. v. 5. This number seven, in the hierarchy of the Celestial Host, and in many sacred things, appears to have been connected with Chaldæan traditions, and celestial observations.

veneration. Still they always select passages from the latter for their tombs, and holy places. Mohammed they look upon as a prophet; as they do Abraham, and the patriarchs.

They expect the second coming of Christ, as well as the re-appearance of Imaum Mehdi, giving credence to the Mussulman fables relating to him.

Sheikh Adi is their great saint; but I could not learn any particulars relating to him; indeed the epoch of his existence seemed doubtful; and on one occasion Sheikh Nasr asserted that he lived before Mohammed. According to the author of the Jehan-Nameh* he was one of the Merwanian Caliphs. They have some foolish traditions connected with him, chiefly relating to his interviews with celestial personages; and to a feat he performed in bringing the springs, now rising in the valley in which his tomb stands, from the well of Zemzem at Mecca.

As to the origin of their name, it is well known that the Mussulmans trace it to the celebrated Ommiade Caliph, Yezid, who figures as the persecutor of the family of Ali in their own religious history; but there is reason to believe that it must be sought for elsewhere, as it was used long before the introduction of Mohammedanism, and is not without connection with the early Persian appellation of the Supreme Being.† It is difficult to trace their ceremonies to any particular source. They baptize in water, like the Christians; if possible, within seven days after birth. They circumcise at the same age, and in the same manner as the Mohammedans; and reverence the sun, and have many customs in common with the Sabæans.

* The late lamented Dr. Grant has suggested that the Sheikh Adi of the Yezidis may be Adde, a disciple of Manes. I cannot, however, trace the Hebrew descent, which that gentleman could discover in them as well as in almost every other sect in Assyria.

† Theophanes (Chronographia, p. 492, ed. Bon,) mentions a settlement of Iesdem, on the lesser Zab, near which the Emperor Heracleus encamped,—καὶ ἠπλίκευσεν εἰς τοὺς οἴκους τοῦ Ἰεσδέμ. They may have been Yezidis, and of the ancestors of the present sect. Major Rawlinson has already pointed out the name as occurring in Adiabene.

All these ceremonies and observances may indeed have had a common origin, or may have been grafted at different times on their original creed. They may have adopted circumcision to avoid detection by their Mussulman oppressors; and may have selected passages from the Koran, to carve upon their tombs and sacred places; because, as suggested to me by Sheikh Nasr they corresponded with their opinions, and were best suited to a country in which Arabic was the spoken language. They have more in common with the Sabæans than with any other sect. I have already alluded to their reverence for the sun, and have described the temple and the oxen dedicated to that luminary.* They are accustomed to kiss the object on which its first beams fall; and I have frequently, when travelling in their company at sunrise, observed them perform this ceremony. For fire, as symbolic, they have nearly the same reverence; they never spit into it, but frequently pass their hands through the flame, kiss them, and rub them over their right eyebrow, or sometimes over the whole face.† The color blue, to them, as to the Sabæans, is an abomination; and never to be worn in dress, or to be used in their houses. Their Kubleh, or the place to which they look whilst performing their holy ceremonies, is that part of the heavens in which the sun rises, and towards it they turn the faces of their dead.‡ In their fondness for white linen, in their cleanliness of habits, and in their frequent ablutions, they also resemble the Sabæans.

* I must observe that although the inscriptions, in the sanctuary described, were all addressed to Sheikh Shems, and that both Sheikh Nasr and the Cawals assured me that it was dedicated to the sun, it is just possible that, under the title of Sheikh Shems, some other object than the sun or some particular person is designated, and that my informants were unwilling to enter into any explanation.

† Some travellers have asserted that they will not blow out a candle; but such is not the case; nor is it an insult to spit in their presence.

‡ All Eastern sects appear to have had some Kubleh, or holy point, to which the face was to be turned during prayer. The Jews, it will be remembered, looked towards Jerusalem. The Sabæans, according to some, to the north star, or, according to others, towards that part of the heavens in which the sun rises. The early Christians chose the east; Mohammed, who recognized the general custom, and found it necessary to adhere to it, appointed the holy Kaaba of Mecca to be the Kubleh of his disciples.

The lettuce, and I believe the bamiyah,* and some other vegetables, are never eaten by them. Pork is unlawful; but not wine, which is drunk by all. Although they assert that meat should not be eaten, unless the animal has been slain according to the Mosaic and Mohammedan law, they do not object to partake of the food of Christians.

I could not learn that there were any religious observances on marriage; nor are the number of wives limited. I was informed by the Cawals that the men and women merely presented themselves to a Sheikh, who ascertains that there is mutual consent. A ring is then given to the bride, or sometimes money instead. A day is fixed for rejoicings. They drink sherbet, and dance, but have no religious ceremonies.

Their year begins with that of the Eastern Christians, whom they follow also in the order and names of their months. Some fast three days at the commencement of the year; but this is not considered necessary. They do not observe the Mohammedan Ramazan. Wednesday is their holiday, and although some always fast on that day, yet they do not abstain from work on it, as the Christians do on the Sabbath.

Sheikh Nasr informed me that they had a date of their own, and that he believed we were then, according to their account, in the year 1550. This suggested some connection with Manes; but neither by direct, nor indirect questions could I ascertain that they were acquainted with the name, or recognized him in anywise as the originator of their peculiar doctrines with regard to the Evil principle.

Their names, both male and female, are generally those used by Mohammedans and Christians, or such as are common amongst the Kurds, and not strictly of Mussulman origin. The name of *Goorgis* (George) is, however, objectionable; and is never, I believe, given to a Yezidi.

They have four orders of priesthood, the Pirs, the Sheikhs, the Cawals, and the Fakirs; and what is very remarkable,

* Hibiscus Esculentus.

and, I believe, unexampled in the East, these offices are hereditary, and descend to females, who, when enjoying them, are treated with the same respect and consideration as the men.

The *Pirs*,* or Saints, are most reverenced after the great Sheikh, or religious head of the sect. They are believed to have the power, not only of interceding for the people, but of curing disease and insanity. They are expected to lead a life of great sanctity and honesty; and are looked up to with great reverence. They are not confined, I believe, to any particular fashion of dress. The only Pir I knew was one Sino, who was recognized as the deputy of Sheikh Nasr, and had suffered imprisonment in his stead.

The *Sheikhs* are next in rank. They are acquainted with the hymns, and are expected to know something of Arabic, the language in which the hymns are written. Their dress should be entirely white, except the skull-cap beneath their turbans, which is black. As servants of Sheikh Adi, they are the guardians of his tomb, keep up the holy fires, and bring provisions and fuel to those who dwell within its precincts, and to pilgrims of distinction. They always wear round their bodies a band of red and yellow, or red and orange plaid, as the mark of their office; and with it they bind together the wood, and other supplies which they bring to the sacred edifice. The women carry the same badge, and are employed in the same services. There are always several Sheikhs residing in the valley of Sheikh Adi. They watch over the tomb, and receive pilgrims; taking charge in rotation of the offerings that may be brought, or selling the clay balls and other relics.

The *Cawals*, or Preachers, appear to be the most active members of the priesthood. They are sent by Sheikh Nasr on missions, going from village to village as teachers of the doctrines of the sect. They alone are the performers on the flute

* This is a Kurdish (Persian) title,—it means, literally, an old man.

and tambourine; both instruments being looked upon, to a certain extent, as sacred. I observed that before, and after, using the tambourine they frequently kissed it, and then held it to those near them, to be similarly saluted. They are taught singing at a very early age, and are skilful musicians. They dance also at festivals. They usually know a little Arabic, but barely more than necessary to get through their chants and hymns. Their robes are generally white, although colored stuffs are not forbidden. Their turbans, unlike those of the Sheikhs, are black, as are also their skull-caps.

The *Fakirs* are the lowest in the priesthood. They wear coarse dresses of black, or dark brown cloth, or canvas, descending to the knee and fitting tightly to the person; and a black turban, across or over which is tied a red handkerchief. They perform all menial offices connected with the tomb, trim and light the votive lamps, and keep clean the sacred buildings.

Whilst each tribe and district of Yezidis has its own chief, Sheikh Nasr is looked up to as the religious head of the whole sect, and he is treated with great reverence and respect. His office is hereditary; but the Yezidis frequently chose, without reference to the priority of claim, the one amongst the descendants of the last Sheikh most qualified, by his knowledge and character, to succeed him. The father of Sheikh Nasr held the office for some years; and no one better suited to it than his son could have been chosen to fill his place.

The language in general use amongst all the Yezidis is a Kurdish dialect, and very few, except the Sheikhs and Cawals, are acquainted with Arabic. The chants and hymns,—the only form of prayer, which as far as I could ascertain, they possess,—are, as I have already observed, in Arabic. They have, I believe, a sacred volume, containing their traditions, their hyms, directions for the performance of their rites, and other matters connected with their religion. It is preserved either at Baazani or Baasheikha, and is regarded with so much superstitious reverence that I failed in every endeavor to obtain

a copy, or even to see it. This I much regretted, as its contents would probably throw new light upon the origin and history of this remarkable sect, and would clear up many doubts which still hang over their tenets. It is considered unlawful to know how to read and write. There are only one or two persons amongst the Yezidis who can do either; even Sheikh Nasr is unacquainted with the alphabet. Those who know how to read have only been taught in order that they may preserve the sacred book, and may refer to it for the doctrines and ceremonies of the sect.

The Yezidis have a tradition that they originally came from Busrah, and from the country watered by the lower part of the Euphrates; and that, after their emigration, they first settled in Syria, and subsequently took possession of the Sinjar hill, and the districts they now inhabit in Kurdistan. This tradition, with the peculiar nature of their tenets and ceremonies, points to a Sabæan or Chaldæan origin. With the scanty materials which we possess regarding their history, and owing to the ignorance prevailing amongst the people themselves—for I believe that even the priests, including Sheikh Nasr, have but a very vague idea of what they profess, and of the meaning of their religious forms—it is difficult to come to any conclusion as to the source of their peculiar opinions and observances. There is in them a strange mixture of Sabæanism, Christianity, and Mohammedanism, with a tincture of the doctrines of the Gnostics and Manichæans. Sabæanism, however, appears to be the prevailing feature; and it is not improbable that the sect may be a relic of the ancient Chaldees, who have, at various times, outwardly adopted the forms and tenets of the ruling people, to save themselves from persecution and oppression; and have gradually, through ignorance, confounded them with their own belief and mode of worship. Such has been the case with a no less remarkable sect, the Sabæans, or Mendai (the Christians of St. John, as they are commonly called), who still inhabit the banks of the Euphrates and the districts of ancient S siana.

The Yezidis are known amongst themselves by the name of the district, or tribe, to which they respectively belong. Those who inhabit the country near the foot of the Kurdish Hills, are called Dasni or Daseni, most probably from the ancient name of a province.* Tribes of Yezidis are found in the north of Syria, in Northern Kurdistan, in Bohtan, Sheikhan, and Missouri. In the plains, their principal settlements are in the villages of Baazani, Baasheikha, and Semil.

Having spent three days at Sheikh Adi, and having witnessed all the ceremonies at which a stranger could be present, I prepared to return to Mosul. Sheikh Nasr, Hussein Bey, and the principal Sheikhs and Cawals, insisted upon accompanying me about three miles down the valley; as I preferred this road to the precipitous pathway over the mountains. After parting with me, the chiefs returned to the tomb to finish their festival, and I made my way to the village of Ain Sifni. Before leaving me, Sheikh Nasr placed in my hands a letter, written by his secretary, to the inhabitants of the Sinjar. I had acquainted him with my intention of visiting that district in company with the Pasha, and he promised to send a Cawal to secure me the most friendly reception in the villages. The priest was to wait for the conclusion of the feast, and then to join me in Mosul. The document is sufficiently curious and new, as coming from the Yezidi Sheikh, to deserve a translation. It was couched in the following terms:—

"Peace be always to our most honored and excellent friends, the inhabitants of Bukrah; to Esau (Jesus) Osso, and to Ghurah, and to Hassan the Fakeer, and to all those who are of the village, old and young.

"Peace be also to the inhabitants of Mirkan, to Ali, to Khalto, to Daoud the son of Afdul, and to all the dwellers in the village, old and young.

"Peace be also to the inhabitants of Osafah, to Kolow, and to Sheikh Ali, and to all, old and young.

* There is still a tribe of Kurds of this name, living in the mountains near Suleimaniyah.

"Peace be also to the tribe of Deenah, to Murad, and to the old and young.

"Peace be also to the inhabitants of Amrah, to Turkartou, and to Kassim Agha, and to all, old and young.

"Peace be also to the inhabitants of As'-smookeeyah, and Al Keraneeah, old and young.

"Peace be also to Fukrah Rizo, who dwells in Koulkah.

"Peace be also to the inhabitants of the town of Sinjar, old and young.

"Peace be also to the dwellers in the mountain of Sinjar, old and young.

"May God the most High watch over you all. Amen.

"We never forget you in our prayers before Sheikh Adi, the greatest of all Sheikhs, and of all Khasseens;* our thoughts are always with you, and ye are in our mind by day and by night.

"A beloved friend of ours is about to visit you, and we have sent with him our Cawal, Murad, in order that ye may treat him with all kindness and honor. For as ye receive him, so would ye receive me; and if ye do evil unto him, so do ye evil unto me. As ye are the children of obedience, and faithful to Sheikh Adi, the chief of all Sheikhs, disregard not these our commands, and may God the most High watch over you always.

"He who intercedes for you,
"Sheikh Nasr,
"The Elder."

The village of Ain Sifni was almost deserted; the inhabitants having migrated during the festival to the valley of Sheikh Adi. I urged on my horses, and reached Mosul early in the afternoon.

Tahyar Pasha had for some time been planning an expedition into the Sinjar, not with any hostile intention, but for the

* I am not aware of the exact position of the Khasseens in the hierarchy of the Yezidis, d whether this is a general name for their saints.

purpose of examining the state of the country; which had been ruined by the vexatious extortions, and gratuitous cruelty of the late governor of Mosul. He had previously sent an agent to make an inquiry into the condition of the villages; and a deputation of the inhabitants had returned with him to petition for a diminution of taxes, which the destitute state of the district rendered them unable to pay.

The arrangements of his Excellency, after numerous delays, were at length conpleted by the 8th October, and three o'clock of that day was declared to be the fortunate hour for leaving the town. The principal inhabitants, with the Cadi and Mufti at their head, were collected in the large square opposite the palace, and without the walls, ready to accompany the Pasha, as a mark of respect, some distance from the gates. It was with difficulty that I made my way to the apartments of the governor, through the crowd of irregular troops, and servants, which thronged the courtyard of the Serai. Above, there was no less confusion than below. The attendants of his Excellency were hurrying to and fro, laden with every variety of utensil and instrument; some carrying gigantic telescopes, or huge bowls, in leather cases; others laboring under bundles of pipe-sticks, or bending under the weight of calico bags crammed with state documents. The gray-headed Kiayah had inserted his feet into a pair of capacious boots, leaving room enough for almost any number of intruders. Round his fez, and the lower part of his face, were wound endless folds of white linen, which gave him the appearance of a patient emerging from a hospital; and he carried furs and cloaks enough to keep out the cold of the frigid zone. The Divan Effendesi, although a man of the pen, strutted about with sword and spurs, followed by clerks and inkstand bearers. At the door of the harem waited a bevy of Aghas; amongst them the lord of the towel, the lord of the washing-basin, the lord of the cloak, the chief of the coffee-makers, and the chief of the pipe-bearers, the treasurer, and seal-bearer.* At length the Pasha himself

* These are all offices in the household of a Turkish Pasha

appeared; the Cawasses forced the crowd out of the way, and as his Excellency placed his foot in the stirrup, the trumpets sounded as a signal for the procession to move onwards. First came a regiment of infantry, followed by a company of artillerymen with their guns. The trumpeters, and the Pasha's own standard, a mass of green silk drapery, embroidered in gold, with verses from the Koran, succeeded; behind were six led Arab horses, richly caparisoned with colored saddle-cloths, glittering with gold embroidery. The Pasha himself then appeared, surrounded by the chiefs of the town and the officers of his household. The procession was finished by the irregular cavalry, divided into companies, each headed by its respective commander, and the wild Suiters with their small kettle-drums fastened in front of their saddles.

I was accompanied by my Cawass and my own servants and rode as it best suited, and amused me, in different parts of the procession. We reached Hamaydat, a ruined village on the banks of the Tigris, three caravan hours from Mosul, about sunset. Here we had the first proof of the commissariat arrangements; for there was neither food for ourselves nor the horses, and we all went supperless to bed.

On the following day, after a ride of six hours through a barren and uninhabited plain, bounded to the east and west by ranges of low limestone hills, we reached a ruined village, built on the summit of an ancient artificial mound, and called Abou Maria. The Aneyza Arabs were known to be out on this side of the Euphrates, and during our march we observed several of their scouts watching our movements. The irregular cavalry frequently rushed off in pursuit; but the horsemen, turning their fleet mares towards the desert, were soon lost in the distance.

We passed the ruins of three villages. The plain, once thickly inhabited, is now deserted; and the wells, formerly abundant, are filled up. In spring, the Arab tribe of Jehesh frequently encamp near the pools of water supplied by the rains. The remains of buildings, and the traces of former

cultivation, prove that at some period, not very remote, others than the roving Bedouins dwelt on these lands; whilst the artificial mounds, scattered over the face of the country, show that long ere the Mussulman invasion, this was one of the flourishing districts of ancient Assyria.

A most abundant spring issues from the foot of the mound of Abou Maria. The water is collected in large, well-built reservoirs. Near them is a mill, now in ruins, but formerly turned by the stream, within a few yards of its source. Such an ample supply of water, although brackish to the taste, must always have attracted a population in a country where it is scarce. The village, which was deserted on account of the oppression of Mohammed Pasha, belonged to the Jehesh. Three miles below, on the stream derived from the springs of Abou Maria, is the mud fort and small hamlet of Kessi Kupri, so named from the ruins of a bridge. A party of irregular cavalry, under my old friend Daoud Agha (who, by the way, brought me a load of water-melons and Sinjar figs to celebrate my visit), were then stationed there.

Three hours' ride, still over the desert, brought us to Tel Afer, which we reached suddenly on emerging from a range of low hills. The place had a much more important and flourishing appearance than I could have expected. A very considerable eminence, partly artificial, is crowned by a castle, whose walls are flanked by numerous towers of various shapes. The town, containing some well-built houses, lies at the foot of the mound, and is partly surrounded by gardens well wooded with the olive, fig, and other fruit trees; beyond this cultivated plot is the broad expanse of the desert. A spring, as abundant as that of Abou Maria, gushes out of a rock beneath the castle, supplies the inhabitants with water, irrigates their gardens, and turns their mills.

Tel Afer was once a town of some importance; it is mentioned by the early Arab geographers, and may perhaps be identified with the Telassar of Isaiah, referred to, as it is, in

connection with Gozan and Haran.* It has been three times besieged, within a few years, by Ali Pasha of Baghdad, Hafiz Pasha, and Injeh Bairakdar Mohammed Pasha. On each occasion the inhabitants offered a vigorous resistance. Mohammed Pasha took the place by assault. More than two-thirds of the inhabitants were put to the sword, and the property of the remainder was confiscated. The houses within the fort were destroyed, and the town was rebuilt at the foot of the mound. A small Turkish garrison now occupies the castle. Previous to its last capture, Tel Afer was almost independent of the Turkish governors of Mesopotamia. It paid a small tribute, but had its own hereditary chief; who, in league with the Bedouins of the desert, and the Yezidis of the Sinjar, enriched his followers by the plunder of caravans, and by foraging expeditions into the cultivated districts of Mosul. Great wealth is said to have been discovered in the place, on its pillage by Mohammed Pasha, who took all the gold and silver, and distributed the remainder of the spoil amongst his soldiers.

The inhabitants of Tel Afer are of Turcoman origin, and speak the Turkish language. They occasionally intermarry, however, with the Arabs, and generally understand Arabic.

Towards evening I ascended the mound, and visited the castle, in which was quartered a small body of irregular troops. The houses, formerly inhabited by families whose habitations are now built at the foot of the artificial hill, are in ruins, except that occupied by the commander of the garrison. From the walls I had an uninterrupted view over a vast plain, stretching westward towards the Euphrates, and losing itself in the hazy distance. The ruins of ancient towns and villages rose on all sides, and, as the sun went down, I counted above one hundred mounds, throwing their dark and lengthening shadows

* Isaiah xxxvii. 12. The name does not occur elsewhere in the Bible; and we have consequently no means of determining its locality.

across the plain. These were the remains of Assyrian civilization and prosperity. Centuries have elapsed since a settled population dwelt in this district of Mesopotamia. Now, not even the tent of the Bedouin could be seen. The whole was a barren, deserted waste.

We remained two days at Tel Afer. The commissariat was replenished as far as possible from the scanty stores of the inhabitants. The Pasha recommended forbearance and justice; but his advice was not followed; nor were his orders obeyed. The houses were broken into, and a general pillage ensued. At length, on the 10th, we resumed our march.

The mountain of Sinjar is about thirty miles distant from Tel Afer. A very low range of hills diverges from its southern spur, and unites with those behind the town. The Pasha, with his troops, took the road across the plain.

We passed the first night on the banks of a small salt stream, near the ruins of a village, called, by the people of the Sinjar and Tel Afer, Zabardok; and by the Arabs simply Kharba, or the ruins. We had seen during the day several other ruins and water-courses.* The second day we encamped in the plain, near the southern end of the Sinjar mountain, and under the village of Mirkan, the white houses of which, rising one above the other on the declivity, were visible from below. Here the Pasha was met by all the chiefs of the mountain, except those of the small district in which we had halted.

Mirkan is one of the principal Yezidi settlements in the Sinjar. Its inhabitants had been exposed to great extortions, and many were put to death when Mohammed Pasha visited the mountain. They expected similar treatment at our hands. No promises could remove their fears, and they declared their intention of resolutely defending their village. The Pasha sent up an officer of his household, with a few irregular troops

* All these streams at this time of the year are nearly dry, and lose themselves in the desert; but when replenished by the winter rains they find their way to the Thathar, the small river which flows near the ruins of Al Hather, and ends in a lake to the south of them.

to reassure them, and to restore obedience. I accompanied him. As we entered the village we were received by a general discharge of firearms. Two horsemen, who had accidentally—and as I thought at the time somewhat disrespectfully—pushed forward before the officer and myself, fell dead at our feet, and several of our party were wounded. The Pasha, exasperated at this unprovoked and wanton attack, ordered an advance of the Hytas and Arab irregulars; who, long thirsting for plunder, hastened towards the village. The Yezidis had already deserted it, and had taken refuge in a narrow gorge; abounding in caverns and isolated rocks—their usual place of refuge on such occasions.

The village was soon occupied; the houses were entered, and plundered of the little property that had been left behind. A few aged women and decrepit old men, too infirm to leave with the rest, and found hiding in the small dark rooms, were murdered, and their heads severed from their bodies. Blazing fires were made in the neat dwellings, and the whole village was delivered to the flames. Even the old Pasha, with his gray hair and tottering step, hurried to and fro amongst the smoking ruins, and helped to add the torch where the fire was not doing its work.

The old Turkish spirit of murder and plunder was roused; the houses were soon burnt to the ground; but the inhabitants were still safe. When the irregulars had secured all the property they could discover, they rushed towards the gorge, scarcely believing that the Yezidis would venture to oppose them. But they were received by a steady and well-directed fire. The foremost fell, almost to a man. The caverns were high up amongst the rocks, and all attempts to reach them completely failed. The contest was carried on till night; when the troops, dispirited and beaten, were called back to their tents.

In the evening the heads of the miserable old men and women, taken in the village, were paraded about the camp; and those who were fortunate enough to possess such trophies

wandered from tent to tent, claiming a present as a reward for their prowess. I appealed to the Pasha, who had been persuaded that every head brought to him was that of a powerful chief, and after some difficulty prevailed upon him to have them buried; but the troops were not willing to obey his orders, and it was late in the night before they were induced to resign their bloody spoil, which they had arranged in grim array, and lighted up with torches.

On the following morning the contest was renewed; but the Yezidis defended themselves with undiminished courage. The first who ventured into the gorge was the commander of a body of irregular troops, one Osman Agha, a native of Lazistan. He advanced boldly at the head of his men. On each side of him was a Suiter, with his small kettle-drums by his side, and the tails of foxes in his cap.* He had scarcely entered the valley, when two shots from the rocks above killed his two supporters. The troops rushed forward, and attempted to reach the caves in which the Yezidis had taken refuge Again they were beaten back by their unseen enemies. Every shot from the rocks told, whilst the Pasha's troops were unable to discover, but by the thin smoke which marked the discharge of the rifle, the position of those who defended the gorge. The contest lasted during the day, but without results. The loss of the Hytas was very considerable; not a cavern had been carried; nor a Yezidi, as far as the assailants could tell, killed, or even wounded.

On the following morning the Pasha ordered a fresh attack. To encourage his men he advanced himself into the gorge, and directed his carpet to be spread on a rock. Here he sat with the greatest apathy, smoking his pipe, and carrying on a frivolous conversation with me, although he was the object of the aim of the Yezidis; several persons within a few feet of

* The Suiters are buffoons who precede the irregular cavalry, play on small kettle-drums, and are fantastically attired. They generally display great daring and courage.

us falling dead, and the balls frequently throwing up the dirt into our faces. Coffee was brought to him occasionally as usual, and his pipe was filled when the tobacco was exhausted; yet he was not a soldier, but what is termed "a man of the pen." I have frequently seen similar instances of calm indifference in the midst of danger amongst Turks, when such displays were scarcely called for, and would be very unwillingly made by any European. Notwithstanding the example set by his Excellency, and the encouragement which his presence gave to the troops, they were not more successful in their attempts to dislodge the Yezidis than they had been the day before. One after another, the men were carried out of the ravine, dead or dying. The wounded were brought to the Pasha, who gave them water, money, or words of encouragement. The "Ordou cadesi," or Cadi of the camp, reminded them that it was against the infidels they were fighting; that every one who fell by the enemies of the prophet was rewarded with instant translation to Paradise; whilst those who killed an unbeliever were entitled to the same inestimable privilege. The dying were comforted, and the combatants animated by the promises and exhortations of the Cadi; who, however, kept himself well out of the way of danger behind a rock. He was a fanatic, the fellow; and his self-satisfied air and comfortable obesity, had created in me very strong feelings of indignation and disgust;—not diminished by the new principles of international law which he propounded, in my presence, to the Pasha. "If I swore an oath to these unbelieving Yezidis," asked his Excellency, "and in consequence thereof, believing their lives to be secure, they should surrender, how far am I bound thereby?" "The Yezidis being Infidels," replied his Reverence, smoothing down his beard, "are in the same category as other unbelievers,"—here his eye turned on me;—"as they do not understand the true nature of God, and of his prophet, they cannot understand the true nature of an oath; consequently it is not binding upon them; and therefore, as there is no reciprocity, it cannot be binding upon you. Not

only *could* you put them to the sword, after they had surrendered upon the faith of your oath, but it is your duty as a good Mussulman to do so; for the unbelievers are the enemies of God and his prophet." Here he again honored me with a particular look. The Pasha, as soon as the expounder of the law had departed, thought it necessary to condemn the atrocious doctrines which I had heard, and to assure me that the Cadi was an ass. This fanatic was half Kurd, half Arab, and was a specimen of the religious chiefs who dwell in Kurdistan, and in the towns on its borders; and are constantly inciting the Mohammedans against the Christians, and urging them to shed their blood. I need scarcely say that the abominable opinions which they profess, are not shared by any respectable Turk or Mussulman; and will no longer, it is to be hoped,—now that the Porte has established its authority in Kurdistan,—lead to massacres of the Sultan's Christian subjects.

Attempts were made during the day to induce the Yezidis to surrender, and there was some chance of success. However, night drew near, and hostilities still continued. The regular and irregular troops were then posted at all the known places of access to the gorge. The morning came, and the attack was re-commenced. No signs of defence issued from the valley. The Hytas rushed in, but were no longer met by the steady fire of the previous day. They paused, fearing some trick or ambuscade; then advanced cautiously, but still unnoticed. They reached the mouths of the caves;—no one opposed them. It was some time, however, before they ventured to look into them. They were empty. The Yezidis had fled during the night, and had left the ravine by some pathway known only to themselves, and which had escaped the watchfulness of the Turkish soldiery. In the caverns were found a few rude figures of men and goats, formed of dried figs fastened upon sticks. These were seized by the victors, and borne in triumph through the camp as the gods of the worshippers of Satan. The Pasha, having fully satisfied himself upon this point, by a reference to his reverence, the Cadi, directed the

idols to be carefully packed, and sent them at once to Constantinople by a special Tartar.

Whilst attempts were being made to discover the retreat of the fugitives, the Turkish camp remained near the village of Mirkan. I took this opportunity of visiting other parts of the Sinjar. The residence of the governor of the district is in the village built amongst the ruins of the old city—the Singara of the ancient geographers, and the "Belled Sinjar" of the Arabs. A small mud fort, raised a few years ago, stands on a hill in the midst of the remains of ancient walls and foundations; but the principal part of the ancient city appears to have occupied the plain below. Around this fort, at the time of my visit, were congregated about two hundred families. The Yezidi inhabitants of the village, unlike those of the other districts, are mixed with Mussulmans. The latter, however, are so lax in their religious observances, and in dress so like the Yezidis, that it is difficult to distinguish them from the unbelievers. I was continually falling into mistakes, and eliciting a very indignant exclamation of "God forbid!"

It would be difficult to point out, with any degree of certainty, ruins at Belled Sinjar more ancient than the Mohammedan conquest. It became a place of some importance in the early ages of Islam, and had its own semi-independent rulers. There are the remains of several fine buildings; and the lower part of a minaret, constructed, like that of the great mosque of Mosul, of colored tiles and bricks, is a conspicuous object from all parts of the plain. There are very abundant springs within the circuit of the old walls; the air is declared to be salubrious, and the soil rich and productive.

All the villages of the Sinjar are built upon one plan. The houses rise on the hill-sides, and are surrounded by terraces, formed of rough stones piled one above the other as walls, to confine the scanty earth. These terraces are planted with orange and fig trees; a few vineyards are found near some villages. The houses, which are flat-roofed, are exceedingly clean and neat. They frequently contain several apartments

The walls of the interior are full of small recesses, like pigeon-holes, which are partly ornamental, and partly used to keep the domestic utensils and property of the owner. They give a very singular and original appearance to the room; and the oddity of the effect is considerably increased by masses of red and black paint daubed on the white wall, in patches, by way of ornament.

The principal, and indeed now the only, trade carried on by the inhabitants of the Sinjar, is in dried figs, which are celebrated in this part of Turkey, and supply all the markets in the neighboring provinces. The soil is fertile, and, as the means of irrigation are abundant, corn and various useful articles of produce might be raised in great plenty from the extensive tracts of arable land surrounding the villages. But the people have been almost ruined by misgovernment; they can now scarcely cultivate corn enough for their own immediate wants.*

The Pasha still lingered at Mirkan; and as I was anxious to return to Mosul, to renew the excavations, I took my leave of him, and rode through the desert to Tel Afer. I was accompanied by a small body of irregular cavalry,—a necessary escort, as the Aneyza Arabs were hanging about the camp, and plundering stragglers and caravans of supplies. As evening approached, we saw, congregated near a small stream, what appeared to be a large company of dismounted Arabs, their horses standing by them. As we were already near them, and could not have escaped the watchful eye of the Bedouin, we prepared for an encounter. I placed the baggage in the centre of my small party, and spread out the horsemen as widely as possible to exaggerate our numbers. We approached cautiously, and were surprised to see that the horses still remained without their riders; we drew still nearer, when they all galloped off towards the desert. They were wild asses. We

* Some account of the Sinjar, by the late Dr. Forbes—the only European, besides myself, who has, I believe, visited this singular district—will be found in the Journal of the Royal Geographical Society.

attempted to follow them. After running a little distance they stopped to gaze at us, and I got sufficiently near to see them well; but as soon as they found that we were in pursuit they hastened their speed, and were soon lost in the distance.*

I reached Mosul in two days, taking the road by Kessi Kupri, and avoiding the desert beyond Abou-Maria, which we had crossed on our march to the Sinjar.

* The reader will remember that Xenophon mentions these beautiful animals, which he must have seen during his march in these very plains. He faithfully describes the country, and the animals and birds which inhabit it, as they are to this day, except that the ostrich is not now to be found so far north. "The country," says he, "is a plain throughout, as even as the sea, and full of wormwood; if any other kinds of shrubs or reeds grew there, they had all an aromatic smell; but no trees appeared. Of wild creatures, the most numerous were wild asses, and not a few ostriches, besides bustards and roe deer (gazelles), which our horsemen sometimes chased. The asses, when they were pursued, having gained ground of the horses, stood still (for they exceeded them much in speed); and when these came up with them, they did the same thing again; so that our horsemen could take them by no other means but by dividing themselves into relays, and succeeding one another in the chase. The flesh of those that were taken was like that of red deer, but more tender." (Expedition of Cyrus.) In fleetness they equal the gazelle; and to match them is a feat which only one or two of the most celebrated mares have been known to accomplish. The Arabs sometimes catch the foals during the spring, and bring them up with milk in their tents. I endeavored in vain to obtain a pair. They are of a light fawn color—almost pink. The Arabs still eat their flesh.

CHAPTER X.

ON my return to Mosul, I received letters from England, informing me that Sir Stratford Canning had presented the sculptures discovered in Assyria, and had made over all advantages that might be derived from the order given to him by the Sultan, to the British nation; and that the British Museum had received a grant of funds for the continuation of the researches commenced at Nimroud, and elsewhere. The grant was small, and scarcely adequate to the objects in view. There were many difficulties to contend with, and I was doubtful whether, with the means placed at my disposal, I should be able to fulfil the expectations which appeared to have been formed, as to the results of the undertaking. The sum given to M. Botta for the excavations at Khorsabad alone, greatly exceeded the whole grant to the Museum, which was to include private expenses, those of carriage, and many extraordinary outlays inevitable in the East, when works of this nature are to be carried on. I determined, however, to accept the charge of superintending the excavations, to make every exertion, and to economize as far as it was in my power—that the nation might possess as extensive and complete a collection of Assyrian antiquities as, considering the smallness of the means, it was possible to collect. I had neither knowledge nor experience as a draughtsman; and this I felt to be a great drawback, indeed a disqualification, which I could scarcely hope to overcome. Many of the sculptures, and monuments discovered, were in too dilapidated a condition to be removed, and others threatened to fall to pieces as soon as uncovered.

It was only by drawings that the record of them could be preserved. There was no inclination to send an artist to assist me, and I made up my mind to do the best I could; to copy as carefully and accurately as possible, that which I saw before me. I had therefore to superintend the excavations; to draw all the bas-reliefs discovered; to copy and compare the innumerable inscriptions; to take casts of them;* and to preside over the moving and packing of the sculptures. As there was no one whom I could trust to overlook the diggers, I was obliged to be continually present, and frequently to remove the earth myself from the face of the slabs—as, through the carelessness and inexperience of the workmen, they were exposed to injury from the blows of the picks. I felt that I was far from qualified to undertake these multifarious occupations. I knew, however, that if persons equal to the task, and sufficiently well acquainted with the various languages of the country to carry on the necessary communications with the authorities, and to hold the requisite intercourse with the inhabitants—Arabs, Kurds, Turks, and Chaldæans—were sent out expressly from England, the whole sum granted would be expended before the excavations could be commenced. The researches would probably be then less extensive, and their results less complete than they would be if, however unqualified, I at once undertook their superintendence. I determined, therefore, to devote the whole of my time to the undertaking, and to make every sacrifice to insure its success.

It was, in the first place, necessary to organize a band of workmen best fit to carry on the work. The scarcity of corn, resulting from the oppressive measures of Mohammed Pasha, and from the large exportation which had been made to Syria and the sea-coast, had driven the Arab tribes to the neighborhood of the town, where they sought to gain a livelihood by engaging in labors not very palatable to a Bedouin. I had no

* Casts of the inscriptions and some of the sculptures were taken with brown paper, simply damped and impressed on the slab with a hard brush.

difficulty in finding workmen amongst them. There was, at the same time, this advantage in employing these wandering Arabs—they brought their tents and families with them, and, encamping round the ruins and the village, formed a very efficient guard against their brethren of the Desert, who looked to plunder, rather than to work, to supply their wants. To increase my numbers, I chose only one man from each family; and, as his male relations accompanied him, I had the use of their services, as far as regarded the protection of my sculptures. Being well acquainted with the Sheikhs of the Jebour, I chose my workmen chiefly from that tribe. The chiefs promised every protection; and I knew enough of the Arab character not to despair of bringing the men under proper control. The Arabs were selected to remove the earth—they were unable to dig; this part of the labor required stronger and more active men; and I chose for it about fifty Nestorian Chaldæans, who had sought work for the winter in Mosul, and many of whom, having already been employed, had acquired some experience in excavating. They went to Nimroud with their wives and families. I engaged at the same time one Bainan, a Jacobite, or Syrian Christian, who was a skilful marble-cutter, and a very intelligent man. I had made also a valuable addition to my establishment in a standard-bearer of the irregular troops, of whose courage I had seen such convincing proofs during the expedition to the Sinjar, that I induced his commander to place him in my service. His name was Mohammed Agha; but he was generally called, from his rank, the "Bairakdar." He was a native of Scio, and had been carried off at the time of the massacre, when a child, by an irregular, who had brought him up as a Mussulman. In his religious opinions and observances, however, he was as lax, as men of his profession usually are. He served me faithfully and honestly, and was of great use during the excavations. Awad still continued in my employ; my Cawass, Ibrahim Agha, returned with me to Nimroud; and I hired

a carpenter and two or three men of Mosul as superintendents.

I was again amongst the ruins by the end of October. The winter season was fast approaching, and it was necessary to build a proper house for the shelter of myself and servants. I marked out a plan on the ground, on the outside of the village of Nimroud, and in a few days the habitations were complete. My workmen formed the walls of mud bricks, dried in the sun, covering in the rooms with beams and branches of trees. A thick coat of mud was laid over the whole, to exclude the rain I built two rooms for myself, divided by an Iwan, or open apartment, the whole being surrounded by a wall. In a second courtyard were huts for my Cawass, for Arab guests, and for my servants, and stables for my horses. Ibrahim Agha displayed his ingenuity by making equidistant loop-holes, of a most warlike appearance, in the walls; which I immediately ordered to be filled up, to avoid any suspicion of being the constructor of forts and castles, with the intention of making a permanent Frank settlement in the country. We did not neglect precautions, however, in case of an attack from the Bedouins, of whom Ibrahim Agha was in constant dread. Unfortunately, the only showers of rain that I saw during the remainder of my residence in Assyria, fell before my walls were covered in, and so saturated the bricks that they did not become again dry before the following spring. The consequence was, that the only verdure on which my eyes were permitted to feast before my return to Europe, was furnished by my own property—the walls in the interior of the rooms being continually clothed with a crop of grass.

On the mound itself, and immediately above the great winged lions first discovered, I built a house for my Nestorian workmen and their families, and a hut, to which I could at once remove for safety any small objects discovered among the ruins. I divided my Arabs into three parties, according to the branches of the tribe to which they belonged. About forty

tents were pitched on different parts of the mound at the entrances to the principal trenches. Forty more were placed round my dwelling, and the rest on the bank of the river, where the sculptures were deposited previous to their embarkation on the rafts. The men were all armed. I thus provided for the defence of all my establishment.

Mr. Hormuzd Rassam lived with me; and to him I confided the payment of the wages, and all the accounts. He soon obtained an extraordinary influence amongst the Arabs, and his fame spread through the desert.

I divided my workmen into parties. In each set were generally eight or ten Arabs, who carried away the earth in baskets; and two, or four, Nestorian diggers, according to the nature of the soil and rubbish which had to be removed. They were overlooked by a superintendent, whose duty it was to keep them to their work, and to give me notice when the diggers approached any slab, or exposed any small object to view, that I might myself assist in the uncovering or removal. I scattered a few Arabs of a hostile tribe amongst the rest, and by that means I was always made acquainted with what was going on, could easily learn if there were plots brewing, and could detect those who might attempt to appropriate any relics discovered during the excavations. The smallness of the sum placed at my disposal, compelled me to follow the same plan in the excavations that I had hitherto adopted—viz. to dig trenches along the sides of the chambers, and to expose the whole of the slabs, without removing the earth from the centre. Thus, few of the chambers were fully explored; and many small objects of great interest may have been left undiscovered. As I was directed to bury the building with earth after I had explored it, to avoid unnecessary expense I filled up the chambers with the rubbish taken from those subsequently uncovered, having first examined the walls, copied the inscriptions, and drawn the sculptures.

The excavations were recommenced, on a large scale, by the 1st of November. My working parties were distributed

over the mound—in chambers B, G, and I, of the palace or edifice represented in plan 3; in the centre of the mound near the gigantic bulls;* in the S. E. corner, where as yet no traces of building had been discovered; and at walls *a* and *d* of plan 2. I also opened trenches in parts of the ruins hitherto unexamined.

It will be remembered that in chamber B (plan 3), the slabs from No. 2 to entrance *b*, had fallen with their faces to the ground. I was, in the first place, anxious to raise these bas-reliefs, and to pack them for removal to Busrah. To accomplish this, I had to remove a large accumulation of earth and rubbish—to empty, indeed, almost the whole chamber, for the fallen slabs extended almost half-way across it. The sculptures from No. 3 to 11 (inclusive) were found to be in admirable preservation, although the slabs were broken by the fall. They were divided, as those already described,† into two compartments, separated by an inscription running across the slab. All these inscriptions were precisely similar.

The bas-reliefs, above and below, were of the highest interest. They represented the wars of the king, and the conquest of some strange people. The two upper bas-reliefs, on slabs Nos. 3 and 4, formed one subject—the king followed by warriors, in battle with his enemies under the walls of a hostile castle. He stands, gorgeously attired, in a chariot, drawn, as usual, by three horses richly caparisoned. He is discharging an arrow either against the besieged, who are defending the towers and walls; or against a warrior, who, already wounded, is tumbling from his chariot, one of the horses having fallen to the ground. An attendant protects the person of the king with a shield, whilst a second is holding the reins and urging on the horses. A warrior, fallen from the chariot of the enemy, is almost under the horses' feet. Above the king discharging an arrow, the head of which is in the form of a trident, is the great Deity, represented—as at Persepolis—by a winged figure

* At *i* and *j*, plan 1. † Ante, page 120.

within a circle. He wears the horned cap resembling that of the human-headed lions and bulls.

Behind the king are three chariots; the first, drawn by three horses—one of which is rearing and another falling—is occupied by a warrior already pierced by an arrow, and apparently demanding quarter of the pursuers. In the two other chariots are two warriors, one discharging an arrow, the other guiding the horses, which are at full speed. In each chariot is a standard—on one is an archer, with the horned cap but without wings, standing on a bull; on the other two bulls, back to back. At the bottom of the first bas-relief, are wavy lines, to indicate water or a river, and trees are scattered over both. Groups of men, fighting or slaying the enemy, are introduced in several places; and three headless bodies above the principal figures in the second bas-relief represent the dead in the background.*

On the two next slabs was the return after victory. In front of the procession are several warriors carrying heads, and throwing them at the feet of the conquerors. Two musicians are playing with a plectrum, on stringed instruments, or harps similar to those on slabs Nos. 19 and 20 of the same chamber.† They are followed by the warriors, who were represented in battle in the previous bas-relief, now unarmed, and holding their standards before them; above them flies an eagle with a human head in his talons. Behind them is the king carrying in one hand his bow, and in the other two arrows; the position in which he is so frequently represented on Assyrian monuments, and probably denoting triumph over his enemies: above the horses is the presiding divinity; also holding his bow in his hand. The second warrior, who bore the shield, is now replaced by an eunuch, raising the parasol, the emblem of royalty, above the monarch's head; the third warrior still holds the reins of the horses, which are led by grooms

* These bas-reliefs are already deposited in the British Museum.

† One of them is now in the British Museum.

standing at their heads. Behind the king's chariot is a horseman leading a second horse, gayly caparisoned.

After the procession, we have the castle and pavilion of the conquering king. The ground plan of the former is represented by a circle, divided into four equal compartments, and surrounded by towers and battlements. In each compartment there are figures apparently engaged in various culinary occupations, and preparing the feast; one is holding a sheep, which the other is cutting up: another appears to be baking bread. Various bowls and utensils are placed on tables and stools, all remarkable for the elegance of their forms. The pavilion is supported by three posts or columns; on the summit of one is the fir-cone,—the emblem so frequently found in the Assyrian sculptures; on the others are figures of the ibex or mountain goat, their feet brought together as if preparing to jump. They are designed with great spirit, and carefully executed. The material—probably silk or woollen stuff,—with which the upper part of the pavilion is covered, is richly ornamented and edged with a fringe of fir-cones, and another ornament which generally accompanies the fir-cone when used in the embroidery of dresses, and in the decoration of rooms. Beneath the canopy is a groom cleaning one horse; whilst others, picketed by their halters, are feeding at a trough. An eunuch, who appears to stand at the entrance of the tent, is receiving four prisoners, with their hands tied behind, brought in by a warrior in a pointed helmet. Above this group are two singular figures, uniting the human form with the head of a lion. One holds a whip or a thong in the right hand, and grasps his under jaw with the left. The hands of the second are elevated and joined in front. They wear under-tunics descending to the knees; and a skin falls from the head, over the shoulders, down to the ankles. They are accompanied by a man clothed in a short tunic, and raising a stick with both hands.

The four following bas-reliefs represent a battle, in which the king, the two warriors with their standards, and an eunuch are represented in chariots; and four warriors, amongst whom

is also an eunuch, on horses. The enemy are on foot, some wounded, some dead; others discharging their arrows against the pursuers. Eagles fly above the victors, and one is already feeding on a dead body. The winged divinity in the circle, is again seen above the king. These bas-reliefs are executed with great spirit, particularly that containing the horsemen.

On the lower series of bas-reliefs are represented three subjects—the siege of a castle, the king receiving his prisoners, and the king, with his army crossing a river. The first occupies the under compartments of three slabs. The greater part of the castle is in the centre bas-relief. It has three towers, apparently several walls, one behind the other. They are all surmounted by angular battlements. The besiegers have brought a battering-ram (attached to a movable tower, apparently constructed of wicker-work) up to the wall, from which many stones have already been dislodged and are falling. One of the besieged has succeeded in catching the ram by a chain, and is endeavoring to raise or move it from its place; whilst two warriors of the assailing party are holding it down by hooks, to which they are hanging. Another is throwing fire (traces of the red paint being still retained in the sculpture) from above, upon the engine; which the besiegers endeavor to quench, by pouring water upon it from two spouts in the movable tower. Two figures, in full armor, are undermining the walls with instruments like blunt spears; whilst two others appear to have found a secret passage into the castle. Three of the besieged are falling from the walls; and upon one of the towers are two women, tearing their hair and extending their hands, as if in the act of asking for mercy. The enemy are already mounting to the assault, and scaling-ladders have been placed against the walls. The king, discharging an arrow, and defended by a warrior in complete armor, who holds a shield before him, stands on one side of the castle. He is attended by two eunuchs, one holding the umbrella, the other his quiver and mace. Behind them is a warrior, leading

away captive three women and a child; and driving three bullocks, a part of the spoil. The women are tearing their hair.

On the other side of the castle are two kneeling figures, one discharging an arrow, the other holding a wicker shield for his companion's defence. Behind them is the vizir, also discharging an arrow, and protected by the shield of a second warrior. He is followed by three more warriors, the first kneeling, and two behind in complete armor, erect—one bending the bow, the other raising a shield. They appear to have left their chariot, in which the charioteer is still standing. The heads of the horses are held by a groom; and behind the chariot are two warriors, carrying each a bow and a mace.

Upon the lower part of the three next slabs, is the king receiving captives; the subject being treated, with the exception of the prisoner,—who is here omitted,—and of the grouping of the figures, in the same manner as that in Nos. 17 and 18 in this chamber, and already described.* Behind the chariot of the king, however, are two other chariots each containing a charioteer alone: they are passing under the walls of a castle, in which are women in animated discussion, probably viewing the procession, or discussing the results of the expedition.

The three remaining bas-reliefs are highly interesting, and curious. The first represents a boat containing a chariot, in which is the king. In one hand he holds two arrows, in the other a bow. A eunuch, standing in front of the chariot, is talking with the king, and is pointing with his right hand to some object in the distance, perhaps the strong-hold of the enemy. Behind the chariot is a second eunuch, holding a bow, and a mace. The boat is towed by two naked men, who are walking on dry land; and four men row the vessel with oars. One oar, with a broad flat extremity, is passed through a rope, hung round a thick wooden pin at the stern,

* P. 120

and serves both to guide and impel the boat. It is singular that this is precisely the mode adopted by the inhabitants of Mosul to this day, when they cross the Tigris in barks, perhaps even more rude than those in use, on the same river, three thousand years ago. A charioteer, standing in the vessel, holds by the halters four horses, who are swimming over the stream. A naked figure is supporting himself upon an inflated skin,—a mode of swimming rivers still practised in Mesopotamia. In fact, the three bas-reliefs, with the exception of the king and the chariot, might represent a scene daily witnessed on the banks of the Tigris,—probably the river here represented. The water is shown by undulating lines, covering the face of the slab. On the next slab are two smaller boats; in the first appears to be the couch of the king, and a jar or large vessel; in the other an empty chariot: they are each impelled by two men, seated face to face at their oars. Five other figures, two leading horses by their halters, are swimming on skins. Two fish are represented in the water. On the third slab is the embarkation—men are placing two chariots in a boat, which is about to leave the shores; two warriors, one with, and the other without, support, are already swimming over; and two others are filling and tying up their skins on the bank. Behind them, on dry land, are three figures erect, probably officers superintending the proceedings; one of whom, a eunuch, holds a whip in his right hand, which may have been used—as in the army of Xerxes—to keep the soldiers to their duty, and prevent them flying from the enemy.*

Chamber I had only been partly uncovered; the slabs were still half buried, and the pavement was covered to the height of six feet. A party of Arabs were employed in removing the remaining earth. As we approached the floor, a large

* Herod. book vii. ch. 56, in which Xerxes is described as seeing his troops driven by blows over the bridge across the Hellespont; and we learn also from the same author, that it was the custom for the officers to carry whips to urge their soldiers on to the combat: same book, ch. 223.

quantity of iron was found amongst the rubbish; and I soon recognized in it, the scales of the armor represented on the sculptures. Each scale was separate, and was of iron, from two to three inches in length, rounded at one end, and squared at the other, with a raised or embossed line in the centre.

The iron was covered with rust, and in so decomposed a state, that I had much difficulty in cleansing it from the soil. Two or three baskets were filled with these relics.

As the earth was removed, other portions of armor were found; some of copper, others of iron, and others of iron inlaid with copper. At length a perfect helmet, resembling in shape, and in the ornaments, the pointed helmet represented in the bas-reliefs, was discovered. When the rubbish was cleared away it was perfect, but immediately fell to pieces. I carefully collected and preserved the fragments, which have been sent to England. The lines which are seen round the lower part of the pointed helmets in the sculptures, are thin strips of copper, inlaid in the iron.

Several helmets of other shapes, some with the arched crest, were also uncovered; but they fell to pieces as soon as exposed; and I was only able, with the greatest care, to gather up a few of the fragments which still held together, for the iron was in so complete a state of decomposition that it crumbled away on being touched.

Portions of armor in copper, and embossed, were also found, with small holes for nails round the edges.

The slabs numbered 8, 9, 10, and 11 on the plan* had fallen from their places, and were broken into small pieces. I raised them, and discovered under them—but of course broken into a thousand fragments—a number of vases of the finest white alabaster, and several vessels of baked clay. I carefully collected these fragments, but it was impossible to put them together. I found, however, that upon some of them cuneiform characters were engraved, and I soon perceived the name

* Chamber I, plan 3.

and title of the Khorsabad king, accompanied by the figure of a lion. Upon the pottery were several characters differently formed, resembling those sometimes seen on monuments of Babylonia and Phœnicia, probably a cursive writing in common use; whilst the cuneiform, or more complex letters were reserved for monumental and sacred inscriptions. The earthen vases appear to have been painted of a light yellow color, and ornamented with bars, zig-zag lines, and simple designs in black.

Whilst I was collecting and examining these curious relics, a workman, digging away the earth from a corner of the chamber, between slabs 20 and 21, came upon a perfect vase; but unfortunately struck it with his pick, and broke away the upper part of it. I took the instrument, and, working cautiously myself, was rewarded by the discovery of two small vases, one in alabaster, the other in glass (both in the most perfect preservation), of elegant shape and admirable workmanship. Each bore the name and title of the Khorsabad king, written in two different ways, as in the inscriptions of Khorsabad.

A kind of exfoliation had taken place in the glass vase, and it was incrusted with thin, semi-transparent lamina, which glowed with all the brilliant colors of the opal. This beautiful appearance is a well-known result of age, and is frequently found on glass in Egyptian, Greek, and other early tombs.

From the inscription on the vases, it was evident that this chamber had been opened; or that the building was still standing in the time of the king who built the palace at Khorsabad.

In front of the bas-reliefs Nos. 13 and 18, in the same chamber, were two large slabs slightly hollowed, similar to those in hall B, already described;* and there were also two recesses, resembling that in chamber H,† nearly opposite one another, in the upper part of the chamber. In the lower com-

* P. 124 † P. 132.

partment of slab No. 16, were two beardless figures, which, from a certain feminine character in the features, and from a bunch of long hair falling down their backs, appear to be women. They wear the same horned cap as the bearded figures, and, like them, have wings. They are facing one another, and between them is the usual sacred tree. They hold in one hand a garland or chaplet; and raise the other towards the symbolical or sacred tree, placed between them. They wear a necklace, to which is appended several circular medallions, having stars cut upon them, probably also symbolical.

The shape of this chamber was singular. It had two entrances, one communicating with the rest of the building, the other leading into a small room, from which there was no other outlet. It resembled a long passage, turning abruptly at right angles, and opening into a wider, though still an elongated apartment.

In chamber J, nothing of any importance was discovered. The slabs were unsculptured; upon each of them was the usual inscription, which was also cut upon the slabs forming the pavement. It will be observed by a reference to the plan (3), that there was a recess in one of the corners, resembling a doorway or entrance; but the communication with chamber H, was cut off by a single slab. As it is not probable that the wall of sun-dried bricks was carried up to the roof in this place, there may have been an opening here, to admit light and air. However, it is difficult to account for half the architectural mysteries in this strange building.

The entrance formed by the pair of small human-headed lions, discovered in chamber G, led me into a new hall, which I did not then explore to any extent, as the slabs were not sculptured.

It was in the centre of the mound, however, that one of the most remarkable discoveries awaited me. I have already mentioned the pair of gigantic winged bulls, first found there.*

* P. 59.

They appeared to form an entrance and to be only part of a large building. The inscriptions upon them contained a name, differing from that of the king, who had built the palace in the north-west corner. On digging further I found a brick, on which was a genealogy, the new name occurring first, and as that of the son of the founder of the earlier edifice. This was, to a certain extent, a clue to the comparative date of the newly discovered building.

I now sought for the wall, which must have been connected with the bulls. I dug round these sculptures, and found no other traces of building, except a few squared stones, fallen from their original places. As the backs of the bulls were completely covered with inscriptions, in large and well-formed cuneiform characters, I was led to believe that they might originally have stood alone. Still there must have been other slabs near them. I directed a deep trench to be carried, at right angles, behind the northern bull. After digging about ten feet, the workmen found a slab lying flat on the brick pavement, and having a gigantic winged figure sculptured in relief upon it. It resembled some already described; and carried the fir-cone, and the square basket or utensil, but there was no inscription across it. Beyond was a similar figure, still more gigantic in its proportions, being about fourteen feet in height. The relief was low, and the execution inferior to that of the sculptures discovered in the other palaces. The beard and part of the legs of a winged bull, in yellow limestone, were next found. These remains, imperfect as they were, promised better things. The trench was carried on in the same direction for several days; but nothing more appeared. It had reached about fifty feet in length, and still without any new discovery. I had business in Mosul, and was giving directions to the workmen to guide them during my absence. Standing on the edge of the hitherto unprofitable trench, I doubted whether I should carry it any further; but made up my mind at last, not to abandon it until my return, which would be on the following day. I mounted my horse but had scarcely

left the mound when a corner of black marble was uncovered, lying on the very edge of the trench. This attracted the notice of the superintendent of the party digging, who ordered the place to be further examined. The corner was part of an obelisk, about seven feet high, lying on its side, ten feet below the surface.

An Arab was sent after me without delay, to announce the discovery, and on my return I found the obelisk completely exposed to view. I descended eagerly into the trench, and was immediately struck by the singular appearance, and evident antiquity, of the remarkable monument before me. We raised it from its recumbent position, and, with the aid of ropes, speedily dragged it out of the ruins. Although its shape was that of an obelisk, yet it was flat at the top and cut into three gradines. It was sculptured on the four sides; there were in all twenty small bas-reliefs, and above, below, and between them was carved an inscription 210 lines in length. The whole was in the best preservation; scarcely a character of the inscription was wanting; and the figures were as sharp and well defined as if they had been carved but a few days before. The king is twice represented, followed by his attendants; a prisoner is at his feet, and his vizir and eunuchs are introducing men leading various animals, and carrying vases and other objects of tribute on their shoulders, or in their hands. The animals are the elephant, the rhinoceros, the Bactrian, or two-humped camel, the wild bull, the lion, a stag, and various kinds of monkeys. Amongst the objects carried by the tribute-bearers, may perhaps be distinguished the tusks of the elephant, shawls, and some bundles of precious wood. From the nature, therefore, of the bas-reliefs, it is natural to conjecture that the monument was erected to commemorate the conquest of India, or of some country far to the east of Assyria, and on the confines of the Indian peninsula. The name of the king, whose deeds it appears to record, is the same as that on the centre bulls; and it is introduced by a genealogical list containing many other royal names.

THE OBELISK.

p. 282, vol. 1.

I lost no time in copying the inscriptions, and drawing the bas-reliefs, upon this precious relic. It was then carefully packed, to be transported at once to Baghdad. A party of trustworthy Arabs were chosen to sleep near it at night; and I took every precaution that the superstitions and prejudices of the natives of the country, and the jealousy of rival antiquaries, could suggest.

In the southeast corner, discoveries of scarcely less interest and importance were made, almost at the same time. The workmen were exploring the walls *a* and *d*;* on reaching the end of them, they discovered a pair of winged lions, of which the upper part, including the head, was almost entirely destroyed. They differed in many respects from those forming the entrances of the north west palace. They had but four legs; they were carved out of a coarse lime stone, and not out of alabaster; and behind the body of the lion, and in front behind the horned cap, and above the wings, were sculptured several figures, which were unfortunately greatly injured, and could with difficulty be traced. Behind the lion was a carved monster, uniting the head of an eagle or vulture, with the body and arms of a man, and the tail of a fish or dragon. Beneath were two figures, one of which — a priest carrying a pole tipped by the oft-recurring fir-cone—could alone be distinguished. In front were two human figures, one with the head of a lion raising a stick in one hand, as if in the act of striking. Between the two lions, forming this entrance, were a pair of crumbling sphinxes. They differed from all Assyrian sculptures hitherto discovered; nor could I form any conjecture as to their original use. They were not in relief, but entire. The head was beardless; but whether male or female, I can not positively determine; the horned cap was square, and highly ornamented at the top, resembling the head-dress of the winged bulls at Khorsabad. The body was that of a lion. A pair of gracefully formed wings appeared to support a kind of

* Plan 2.

platform, or the base of a column; but no trace of a column could be found. These sphinxes may have been altars for sacrifice, or places to receive offerings to the gods, or tribute to the king. There was no inscription upon them, by which they could be connected with any other building.

The whole entrance was buried in charcoal, and the fire which destroyed the building, appears to have raged in this part with extraordinary fury. The sphinxes were almost reduced to lime; one had been nearly destroyed; but the other, although broken into a thousand pieces, was still standing when uncovered. I endeavored to secure it with rods of iron, and wooden planks; but the alabaster was too much decomposed to resist exposure to the atmosphere. I had scarcely time to make a careful drawing, before the whole fell to pieces; the fragments were too small to admit of their being collected, with a view to future restoration. The sphinxes, when entire, were about five feet in height and in length.

Whilst superintending the removal of the charcoal, blocking up the entrance formed by the winged lions just described, I found a small head in alabaster, with the high horned cap, precisely similar to that of the large sphinx. A few minutes afterwards, the body of the crouching lion was dug out, and I had then a complete and very beautiful model of the larger sculptures. It had been injured by the fire, but was still sufficiently well preserved to show accurately the form and details. In the same place I discovered the bodies of two lions, united and forming a platform or pedestal, similar to that formed by the one crouching sphinx; but the human heads were wanting, and the rest of the sculpture had been so much injured by fire, that I was unable to preserve it.

The plan, and nature of the edifice in the S. W. corner, was still a mystery to me. All the slabs hitherto uncovered had evidently been brought from another building; chiefly from that in the N. W. part of the mound. The discovery of the entrance I have just described, proved this beyond a doubt; as it enabled me to distinguish between the back and the front

of the walls. I was now convinced that the sculptures hitherto found, were not meant to be exposed to view; they were, in fact, placed *against* the wall of sun-dried bricks; and the back of the slab, smoothed preparatory to being resculptured, was turned towards the interior of the chambers. I had not yet had sufficient experience in the Assyrian character, to draw any inference from the inscriptions occurring on the bricks, found amongst the ruins in this part of the mound, so as to connect the name of the King upon them, with that of the founder of any known building.

There were no inscriptions between the legs and behind the bodies of the lions just described, as in other buildings at Nimroud and Khorsabad. I had not yet found any sculptures unaccompanied by the name and genealogy of the founders of the edifice in which they had been placed. When no inscription was on the face, it was invariably to be found on the back of the slab. I determined, therefore, to dig behind the lions. I was not disappointed in my search; a few lines in the cuneiform character were discovered, and I recognized at once the names of three kings in genealogical series. The name of the first king in the series, or the founder of the edifice, was identical with that of the builder of the N. W. palace; that of his father with the name on the bricks found in the ruins opposite Mosul; that of his grandfather with the name of the builder of Khorsabad. This fortunate discovery served to connect the latest palace at Nimroud, with two of the most important cities or edifices in Assyria; and subsequently with important monuments existing in other parts of Asia. It will be shown hereafter, upon what evidence the proof of the facts I have here stated rest.*

Whilst excavations were thus successfully carried on in the centre, and amongst the ruins of the two palaces first opened, discoveries of a different nature were made in the S. E. corner, which was much higher than any other part of

* See Vol. II. Part II. Chap. I.

the mound. I dug to a considerable depth, without meeting with any traces of building. Fragments of inscribed bricks, and of pottery, appeared in abundance; and a few earthen vessels, and jars well preserved, were found amongst the rubbish. One morning, the superintendent of the workmen informed me that a slab had been uncovered, bearing an inscription. I hastened to the spot, and saw the stone he had described lying at the bottom of the trench. Upon it was the name of the same king, written as on the centre bulls. The slab having been partly destroyed, the inscription was imperfect. I ordered it to be raised with the intention of copying it. This was quickly effected with the aid of an iron crow; when, to my surprise, I found that it had been used as the lid of an earthen sarcophagus, which, with its contents, was still entire beneath. The sarcophagus was about five feet in length, and very narrow. The skeleton was well preserved, but fell to pieces almost immediately on exposure to the air; by its side were two jars in baked clay of a red color, and a small alabaster bottle, all precisely resembling, in shape, similar vessels discovered in Egyptian tombs. There was no other clue to the date, or origin of the sepulchre.

The sarcophagus was too small to contain a man of ordinary size when stretched at full-length; and it was evident, from the position of the skeleton, that the body had been doubled up when forced in. A second earthen case was soon found, differing in form from the first. It resembled a dish-cover, and was scarcely four feet long. In it were other vessels of baked clay. Its lid was a slab taken from some building, like the lid of the sarcophagus first discovered. Although the skulls were entire when first exposed to view they crumbled into dust as soon as touched, and I was unable to preserve either of them.

The six weeks following the commencement of excavations upon a large scale, were amongst the most prosperous, and fruitful in events, during my researches in Assyria. Every day produced some new discovery. My Arabs entered with

alacrity into the work, and felt almost as much interested in its results as I did myself. They were now well organized, and I had no difficulty in managing them. Even their private disputes and domestic quarrels were referred to me. They found this a cheaper fashion of settling their differences than litigation; and I have reason to hope that they received an ampler measure of justice than they could have expected at the hands of his reverence, the Cadi. The tents had greatly increased in numbers, as the relatives of those who were engaged in the excavations came to Nimroud, and swelled the encampment; for although they received no pay, they managed to live on the gains of their friends. They were, moreover, preparing to glean,—in the event of there being any crops in the spring,—and to take possession of little strips of land along the banks of the river, upon which they might cultivate millet during the summer. They already began to prepare water-courses, and machines for irrigation. The mode of raising water, generally adopted in the country traversed by the rivers of Mesopotamia, is very simple. In the first place a high bank, which is never completely deserted by the river, must be chosen. A broad recess, down to the water's edge, is then cut in it. Above, on the edge of this recess, are fixed three or four upright poles, according to the number of oxen to be employed, united at the top by rollers running on a swivel, and supported by a large framework of boughs and grass, extending to some distance behind, and intended as a shelter from the sun during the hot days of summer. Over each roller are passed two ropes, the one being fastened to the mouth, and the other to the opposite end, of a sack, formed out of an entire bullock skin. These ropes are attached to oxen, who throw all their weight upon them by descending an inclined plane cut into the ground behind the apparatus. A trough formed of wood, and lined with bitumen, or a shallow trench, coated with matting, is constructed at the bottom of the poles, and leads to the canal running into the field. When the sack is drawn up to the roller, the ox turns round at the

bottom of the inclined plane, and the rope attached to the lower part of the bucket being fastened to the back part of the animal, he raises the bottom of the sack, in turning, to the level of the roller, and the contents are poured into the troughs. As the ox ascends, the bucket is lowered; and, when filled, by being immersed into the stream, is again raised and emptied, as I have described. Although this mode of irrigation is very toilsome, and requires the constant labor of several men and animals, it is generally adopted on the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates. In this way all the gardens of Baghdad and Busrah are watered; and by these means the Arabs, who condescend to cultivate,—when, from the failure of the crops, famine is staring them in the face,—raise a little millet to supply their immediate wants.

The principal public quarrels, over which my jurisdiction extended, related to property abstracted, by the Arabs, from one another's tents. These I disposed of in a summary manner, as I had provided myself with handcuffs; and Ibrahim Agha and the Bairakdar were always ready to act with energy and decision, to show how much they were devoted to my service. But the domestic dissensions were of a more serious nature, and their adjustment offered far greater difficulties. They related, of course, always to the women. As soon as the workmen saved a few piasters, their thoughts were turned to the purchase of a new wife, a striped cloak, and a spear. To accomplish this, their ingenuity was taxed to the utmost extent. The old wife naturally enough raised objections, and picked a quarrel with the intended bride, which generally ended in an appeal to physical force. Then the fathers and brothers were dragged into the affair; from them it extended to the various branches of the tribe, always anxious to fight for their own honor, and for the honor of their women. At other times, a man repented himself of his bargain, and refused to fulfil it; or a father, finding his future son-in-law increasing in wealth, demanded a higher price for his daughter—a breach of faith which would naturally lead to

violent measures on the part of the disappointed lover. Then a workman, who had returned hungry from his work, and found his bread unbaked, or the water-skin still lying empty at the entrance of his tent, or the bundle of fagots for his evening fire yet ungathered, would, in a moment of passion, pronounce three times the awful sentence, and divorce his wife; or, avoiding such extremities, would content himself with inflicting summary punishment with a tent-pole. In the first case he probably repented himself of his act an hour or two afterwards, and wished to be remarried; or to prove that, being an ignorant man, he had mispronounced the formula, or omitted some words—both being good grounds to invalidate the divorce, and to obviate the necessity of any fresh ceremonies. But the mullah had to be summoned, witnesses called, and evidence produced. The beating was almost always the most expeditious, and really, to the wife, the most satisfactory way of adjusting the quarrel. I had almost nightly to settle such questions as these. Mr. Hormuzd Rassam, who had obtained an immense influence over the Arabs, and was known amongst all the tribes, was directed to ascertain the merits of the story, and to collect the evidence. When this process had been completed, I summoned the elders, and gave judgment in their presence. The culprit was punished summarily, or in case of a disputed bargain, was made to pay more, or to refund, as the case required.

It is singular, considering the number of cases thus brought before me, that only on one occasion did either of the parties refuse to abide by my decision. I was sitting one evening in my tent, when a pretty Arab girl rushed into my presence, and throwing herself at my feet, uttered the most dismal lamentations. An old Arab woman, her mother, entered soon after, and a man endeavored to force his way in, but was restrained by the brawny arms of the Bairakdar. It was some time before I could learn from either the girl or her mother who were both equally agitated, the cause of their distress. The father, who was dead, had, during his lifetime, agreed to

marry his daughter to the man who had followed them to my tent; and the price, fixed at two sheep, a donkey, and a few measures of wheat, had been partly paid. The Arab, who was a stranger, and did not belong to any of the branches of the Jebour from which I had chosen my workmen, had now come to claim his bride; but the girl had conceived a violent hatred for him, and absolutely refused to marry. The mother, who was poor, did not know how to meet the difficulty; for the donkey had already been received, and had died doing his work. She was therefore inclined to give up her daughter, and was about to resign her into the hands of the husband, when the girl fled from their tent, and took refuge with me. Having satisfied myself that the man was of a bad character, and known as a professed thief in a small way (as discreditable a profession as that of a robber on a large scale is honorable), and the girl declaring that she would throw herself into the river rather than marry him, I ordered the mother to give back a donkey, with two sheep by way of interest for the use of the deceased animal, and furnished her privately with the means of doing so. They were tendered to the complainant; but he refused to accept them, although the tribe approved of the decision. As the girl appeared to fear the consequences of the steps she had taken, I yielded to her solicitations, and allowed her to remain under my roof. In the night the man went to the tent of the mother, and stabbed her to the heart. He then fled into the desert. I succeeded after some time in catching him, and he was handed over to the authorities at Mosul; but, during the confusion which ensued on the death of Tahyar Pasha, he escaped from prison, and I heard no more of him. The Arabs, on account of this tragical business, were prejudiced against the girl, and there was little chance of her being again betrothed. I married her, therefore, to an inhabitant of Mosul.

When I first employed the Arabs, the women were sorely ill-treated, and subjected to great hardships. I endeavored to introduce some reform into their domestic arrangements, and

punished severe y those who inflicted corporal chastisement on their wives. In a short time the number of domestic quarrels was greatly reduced; and the women, who were at first afraid to complain of their husbands, now boldly appealed to me for protection. They had, however, some misgivings as to the future, which were thus expressed by a deputation sent to return thanks after an entertainment:—"O Bey! we are your sacrifice. May God reward you. Have we not eaten wheat bread, and even meat and butter, since we have been under your shadow? Is there one of us that has not now a colored handkerchief for her head, bracelets, and ankle-rings, and a striped cloak? But what shall we do when you leave us, which God forbid you ever should do? Our husbands will then have their turn, and there will be nobody to help us."

These poor creatures, like all Arab women, were exposed to constant hardships. They were obliged to look after the children, to make the bread, to fetch water, and to cut wood, which they brought home from afar on their heads. Moreover they were intrusted with all the domestic duties, wove their wool and goat's hair into clothes, carpets, and tent-canvas; and were left to strike and raise the tents, and to load and unload the beasts of burden when they changed their encamping ground. If their husbands possessed sheep or cows, they had to drive them to the pastures, and to milk them at night. When moving, they carried their children at their backs during the march, and were even troubled with this burden when employed in their domestic occupations, if the children were too young to be left alone. The men sat indolently by, smoking their pipes, or listening to a trifling story from some stray Arab of the desert, who was always there to collect a group around him. At first the women, whose husbands encamped on the mound, brought water from the river; but I released them from this labor by employing horses and donkeys in the work. The weight of a large sheep or goat's skin filled with water, is not inconsiderable. This is hung on the back by cords strapped over the shoulders and upon it, in addition, was frequently

seated the child, who could not be left in the tent, or was unable to follow its mother on foot. The bundles of firewood, brought from a considerable distance, were enormous, completely concealing the head and shoulders of those who tottered beneath them. And yet the women worked cheerfully, and it was seldom that their husbands had to complain of their idleness. Some were more active than others. There was a young girl named Hadla, who particularly distinguished herself, and was consequently sought in marriage by all the men. Her features were handsome, and her form erect, and exceedingly graceful. She carried the largest burdens, was never unemployed, and was accustomed, when she had finished the work imposed upon her by her mother, to assist her neighbors in completing theirs.

The dinners or breakfasts (for the meal comprised both) of the Arab workmen, were brought to them at the mound, about eleven o'clock, by the younger children. Few had more than a loaf of millet bread, or millet made into a kind of paste, to satisfy their hunger;—wheat bread was a luxury. Sometimes their wives had found time to gather a few herbs, which were boiled in water with a little salt, and sent in wooden bowls; and in spring, sour milk and curds occasionally accompanied their bread. The little children, who carried their father's or brother's portion, came merrily along, and sat smiling on the edge of the trenches, or stood gazing in wonder at the sculptures, until they were sent back with the empty platters and bowls. The working parties eat together in the trenches in which they had been employed. A little water, drank out of a large jar, was their only beverage. Yet they were happy and joyous. The joke went round; or, during the short time they had to rest, one told a story, which, if not concluded at a sitting, was resumed on the following day. Sometimes a pedler from Mosul, driving before him his donkey, laden with raisins or dried dates, would appear on the mound. Buying up his store, I would distribute it amongst the men. This largess created an immense deal of satisfaction and enthusi-

asm, which any one, not acquainted with the character of the Arab, might have thought almost more than equivalent to the consideration

The Arabs are naturally hospitable and generous. If one of the workmen was wealthy enough to buy a handful of raisins, or a piece of camel's or sheep's flesh, or if he had a cow, which occasionally yielded him butter or sour milk, he would immediately call his friends together to partake of his feast. I was frequently invited to such entertainments; the whole dinner, perhaps, consisting of half a dozen dates or raisins spread out wide, to make the best show, upon a corn-sack; a pat of butter upon a corner of a flat loaf; and a few cakes of dough baked in the ashes. And yet the repast was ushered in with every solemnity;—the host turned his dirty keffiah, or head-kerchief, and his cloak, in order to look clean and smart; and appeared both proud of the honor conferred upon him, and of his means to meet it in a proper fashion.

I frequently feasted the workmen, and sometimes their wives and daughters were invited to separate entertainments, as they would not eat in public with the men. Generally of an evening, after the labors of the day were finished, some Kurdish musicians would stroll to the village with their instruments, and a dance would be commenced, which lasted through the greater part of the night. Sheikh Abd-ur-rahman, or some Sheikh of a neighboring tribe, occasionally joined us; or an Arab from the Khabour, or from the most distant tribes of the desert, would pass through Nimroud, and entertain a large circle of curious and excited listeners with stories of recent fights, plundering expeditions, or the murder of a chief. I endeavored, as far as it was in my power, to create a good feeling amongst all, and to obtain their willing co-operation in my work. I believe that I was to some extent successful.

The Tiyari, or Nestorian Chaldæan Christians, resided chiefly on the mound, where I had built a large hut for them. A few only returned at night to the village. Many of them had brought their wives from the mountains. The women

made bread, and cooked for all. Two of the men walked over to the village of Tel Yakoub, or to Mosul, on Saturday evening, to fetch flour for the whole party, and returned before the work of the day began on Monday morning; for they would not journey on the Sabbath. They kept their holidays, and festivals, with as much rigor as they kept the Sunday. On these days they assembled on the mound or in the trenches; and one of the priests or deacons (for there were several amongst the workmen) repeated prayers, or led a hymn or chant. I often watched these poor creatures, as they reverentially knelt—their heads uncovered—under the great bulls, celebrating the praises of Him whose temples the worshippers of those frowning idols had destroyed,—whose power they had mocked. It was the triumph of truth over Paganism. Never had that triumph been more forcibly illustrated than by those, who now bowed down in the crumbling halls of the Assyrian kings.

I experienced some difficulty in settling disputes between the Arabs and the Tiyari, which frequently threatened to finish in bloodshed. The Mussulmans were always ready, on the slightest provocation, to bestow upon the Chaldæans the abuse usually reserved in the East for Christians. But the mountaineers took these things differently from the humble Rayahs of the plain, and retorted with epithets very harsh to a Mohammedan's ear. This, of course, led to the drawing of sabres and priming of matchlocks; and it was not until I had inflicted a few summary punishments, that some check was placed upon these disorders.

The women retained their mountain habits, and were always washing themselves on the mound, with that primitive simplicity which characterizes their ablutions in the Tiyari districts. This was a cause of shame to other Christians in my employ; but the Chaldæans themselves were quite insensible to the impropriety, and I let them have their way.

On Sunday, sheep were slain for the Tiyari workmen, and they feasted during the afternoon. When at night there were

music and dances, they would sometimes join the Arabs; but generally performed a quiet dance with their own women, with more decorum and less vehemence, than their more excitable companions.

As for myself I rose at daybreak, and after a hasty breakfast rode to the mound. Until night I was engaged in drawing the sculptures, copying and moulding the inscriptions, and superintending the excavations, and the removal and packing of the bas-reliefs. On my return to the village, I was occupied till past midnight in comparing the inscriptions with the paper impressions, in finishing drawings, and in preparing for the work of the following day. Such was our manner of life during the excavations at Nimroud; and I owe an apology to the reader for entering into such details. They may, however, be interesting, as illustrative of the character of the genuine Arab, with whom the traveller is seldom brought so much into contact as I have been.

Early in December I had collected a sufficient number of bas-reliefs to load another raft, and I consequently rode into Mosul to make preparations for sending a second cargo to Baghdad. I had soon procured all that was necessary for the purpose; and loading a small raft with spars and skins for the construction of a larger, and with mats and felts for packing the sculptures, I returned to Nimroud.

The raftmen having left Mosul late in the day, and not reaching the Awai until after nightfall, were afraid to cross the dam in the dark; they therefore tied the raft to the shore, and went to sleep. They were attacked during the night, and plundered. I appealed to the authorities, but in vain. The Arabs of the desert, they said, were beyond their reach. If this robbery passed unnoticed, the remainder of my property, and even my person, might run some risk. Besides, I did not relish the reflection, that the mats and felts destined for my sculptures were now furnishing the tents of some Arab Sheikh. Three or four days elapsed before I ascertained who were the robbers. They belonged to a small tribe encamping at some

distance from Nimroud—notorious in the country for their thieving propensities, and were the dread of my Jebour, whose cattle were continually disappearing in a very mysterious fashion. Having ascertained the position of their tents, I started off one morning at dawn, accompanied by Ibrahim Agha, the Bairakdar, and another irregular horseman, who was in my service. We reached the encampment after a long ride, and found the number of the Arabs to be greater than I expected. The arrival of strangers drew together a crowd, which gathered round the tent of the Sheikh, where I seated myself. A slight bustle was apparent in the women's department. I soon perceived that attempts were being made to hide various ropes and felts, the ends of which, protruding from under the canvas, I had little difficulty in recognizing. "Peace be with you!" said I, addressing the Sheikh, who showed by his countenance that he was not altogether ignorant of the object of my visit. "Your health and spirits are, please God, good. We have long been friends, although it has never yet been my good fortune to see you. I know the laws of friendship; that which is my property is your property, and the contrary. But there are a few things, such as mats, felts, and ropes, which come from afar, and are very necessary to me, whilst they can be of little use to you; otherwise God forbid that I should ask for them. You will greatly oblige me by giving these things to me." "As I am your sacrifice, O Bey," answered he, "no such things as mats, felts, or ropes, were ever in my tents (I observed a new rope supporting the principal pole). Search, and if such things be found we give them to you willingly." "Wallah, the Sheikh has spoken the truth," exclaimed all the bystanders. "That is exactly what I want to ascertain; and, as this is a matter of doubt, the Pasha must decide between us," replied I, making a sign to the Bairakdar, who had been duly instructed how to act. In a moment he had handcuffed the Sheikh; and, jumping on his horse, dragged the Arab, at an uncomfortable pace, out of the encampment. "Now, my sons," said I, mounting leisurely, "I have found a part of that

which I wanted; you must search for the rest." They looked at one another in amazement. One man, more bold than the rest, was about to seize the bridle of my horse; but the weight of Ibrahim Agha's courbatch across his back, drew his attention to another object. Although the Arabs were well armed, they were too much surprised to make any attempt at resistance; or perhaps they feared too much for their Sheikh, still jolting away at an uneasy pace in the iron grasp of the Bairakdar, who had put his horse to a brisk trot, and held his pistol cocked in one hand. The women, swarming out of the tents, now took part in the matter. Gathering round my horse, they kissed the tails of my coat and my shoes, making the most dolorous supplications. I was not to be moved, however; and extricating myself with difficulty from the crowd, I rejoined the Bairakdar, who was hurrying on his prisoner with evident good will.

The Sheikh had already made himself well known to the authorities by his dealings with the villages, and there was scarcely a man in the country who could not bring forward a specious claim against him—either for a donkey, a horse, a sheep, or a copper kettle. He was consequently most averse to an interview with the Pasha, and looked with evident horror on the prospect of a journey to Mosul. I added considerably to his alarm, by dropping a few friendly hints on the advantage of the dreary subterraneous lock-up house under the governor's palace, and of the pillory and sticks. By the time he reached Nimroud, he was fully alive to his fate, and deemed it prudent to make a full confession. He sent an Arab to his tents; and next morning an ass appeared in the courtyard bearing the missing property, with the addition of a lamb and a kid, by way of a conciliatory offering. I dismissed the Sheikh with a lecture, and had afterwards no reason to complain of him or of his tribe—nor indeed of any tribes in the neighborhood; for the story got abroad, and was invested with several horrible facts in addition, which could only be traced to the imagina-

tion of the Arabs, but which served to produce the effect I desired—a proper respect for my property.

During the winter Mr. Longworth, and two other English travellers, visited me at at Nimroud. As they were the only Europeans (except Mr. Ross), who saw the palace when uncovered,* it may be interesting to the reader to learn the impression which the ruins were calculated to make upon those who beheld them for the first time, and to whom the scene was consequently new. Mr. Longworth, in a letter,† thus graphically describes his visit:—

"I took the opportunity, whilst at Mosul, of visiting the excavations of Nimroud. But before I attempt to give a short account of them, I may as well say a few words as to the general impression which these wonderful remains made upon me, on my first visit to them. I should begin by stating, that they are all under ground. To get at them, Mr. Layard has excavated the earth to the depth of twelve to fifteen feet, where he has come to a building composed of slabs of marble. In this place, which forms the northwestern angle of the mound, he has fallen upon the interior of a large palace, consisting of a labyrinth of halls, chambers, and galleries, the walls of which are covered with bas-reliefs and inscriptions in the cuneiform character, all in excellent preservation. The upper part of the walls, which was of brick, painted with flowers, &c., in the brightest colors, and the roofs, which were of wood, have fallen; but fragments of them are strewed about in every direction. The time of day when I first descended into these chambers happened to be towards evening; the shades of which, no doubt, added to the awe and mystery of the surrounding objects. It was of course with no little excitement that I suddenly found myself in the magnificent abode of the old Assyrian kings; where, moreover, it needed not the slight-

* Mr. Seymour also visited me at Nimroud, but before the excavations were in an advanced stage.

† Morning Post, March 3d, 1847.

est effort of imagination to conjure up visions of their long departed power and greatness. The walls themselves were crowded with phantoms of the past; in the words of Byron, '*Three* thousand years their cloudy wings expand;' unfolding to view a vivid representation of those who conquered and possessed so large a portion of the earth we now inhabit. There they were in the Oriental pomp of richly embroidered robes, and quaintly-artificial *coiffure*. There also were portrayed their deeds in peace and war, their audiences, battles, sieges, lion-hunts, &c. My mind was overpowered by the contemplation of so many strange objects; and some of them, the portly forms of kings and vizirs, were so lifelike, and carved in such fine relief, that they might almost be imagined to be stepping from the walls to question the rash intruder on their privacy. Then, mingled with them were other monstrous shapes—the old Assyrian deities, with human bodies, long drooping wings, and the heads and beaks of eagles; or, still faithfully guarding the portals of the deserted halls, the colossal forms of winged lions and bulls, with gigantic human faces. All these figures, the idols of a religion long since dead and buried like themselves, seemed actually in the twilight to be raising their desecrated heads from the sleep of centuries; certainly the feeling of awe which they inspired me with, must have been something akin to that experienced by their heathen votaries of old."

I was riding home from the ruins one evening with Mr. Longworth. The Arabs returning from their day's work, were following a flock of sheep belonging to the people of the village, shouting their war-cry, flourishing their swords, and indulging in the most extravagant gesticulations. My friend, less acquainted with the excitable temperament of the children of the desert than myself, was somewhat amazed at these violent proceedings, and desired to learn their cause. I asked one of the most active of the party. "O Bey," they exclaimed almost all together, "God be praised, we have eaten butter and wheaten bread under your shadow, and are content—but an

Arab is an Arab. It is not for a man to carry about dirt in baskets, and to use a spade all his life; he should be with his sword and his mare in the desert. We are sad as we think of the days when we plundered the Anayza, and we must have excitement, or our hearts would break. Let us then believe that these are the sheep we have taken from the enemy, and that we are driving them to our tents!" And off they ran, raising their wild cry and flourishing their swords, to the no small alarm of the shepherd, who saw his sheep scampering in all directions, and did not seem inclined to enter into the joke.

By the middle of December, a second cargo of sculptures was ready to be sent to Baghdad.* I was again obliged to have recourse to the buffalo-carts of the Pasha; and as none of the bas-reliefs and objects to be moved were of great weight, these rotten and unwieldy vehicles could be patched up for the occasion. On Christmas day I had the satisfaction of seeing a raft, bearing twenty-three cases, in one of which was the obelisk, floating down the river. I watched them until they were out of sight, and then galloped into Mosul to celebrate the festivities of the season, with the few Europeans whom duty or business had collected in this remote corner of the globe.

* Including the obelisk, nearly all the bas-reliefs forming the south wall of chamber B, plan 3, the tablets from chamber I (same plan), with the two female divinities and the kneeling winged figures, and a human head belonging to one of the gigantic bulls, forming an entrance to the palace in the south-west corner (No. 1, entrance *c*, plan 2).

APPENDIX I.

DESCRIPTION OF THE PLANS AND EXPLANATION OF THE REFERENCES IN THEM.*

Plan 1.

SHOWING THE NATURE AND EXTENT OF THE EXCAVATIONS IN THE GREAT MOUND AT NIMROUD.

a. The pyramid, or high conical mound, in the north-west corner. Two trenches were opened in it, but no remains of building were discovered.

b. Trenches opened in the platform immediately beneath the pyramid. Five or six feet beneath the surface, were discovered part of a pavement of large baked bricks, bearing the name of the king who built the north-west palace, fragments of pottery, and masonry of unburnt bricks, but no remains of sculpture, or alabaster slabs.

c. The north-west palace. (See plan 3.)

d. Deep trenches showing the remains of painted chambers, but no sculptures or alabaster slabs, except for pavement at the entrances. Fragments of pottery, and remains of masonry in unbaked bricks. In some places a pavement of baked bricks.

* I have added this explanation to enable the reader to understand the plans without having to search for the references in the narrative.

e. Upper chambers in a part of the mound elevated above the rest of the platform. (See plan 4.)

f. A mass of solid masonry of unbaked bricks, reaching almost to the surface of the platform; perhaps originally a part of the outer wall. No remains of pottery, or alabaster slabs.

g. The south-west palace. (See plan 2.)

h. Trenches showing remains of wall cased with alabaster slabs; probably originally sculptured, but completely destroyed by fire. The mound is here lower than at *g*.

i. Remains of centre palace; a pair of gigantic bulls, partly destroyed, and several bas-reliefs removed from their original places. Above the ruins numerous tombs.

ii. A large number of sculptured slabs, placed one above the other.

j. Trench in which the obelisk of black marble was discovered.

k. Part of the mound separated by a deep ravine from *h*. The trenches opened in it showed remains of painted chambers, and masonry of unbaked bricks. Fragments of a bull, or lion, in yellow limestone, and of an obelisk, or monument, in black stone, and painted bricks, and pottery, were discovered here.

l. A platform, or pavement, of thick plaster, immediately above the ravine.

m. Remains of south-east edifice. (See plan 5.) No sculptures, or alabaster slabs. Above ruins, sarcophagi, tombs, and a large quantity of pottery.

n. Trenches opened into the mound from the outer slope. Remains of building similar to those at *m*, and probably all part of one large edifice. Pottery, sarcophagi, &c., above the ruins.

o. Deep trenches. No remains of sculpture or alabaster slabs. Some pottery amongst the rubbish, and part of a pavement, in large baked bricks, at a considerable depth beneath the surface.

p. Similar trenches. A pavement of baked bricks, part of a wall in roughly hewn blocks of limestone, a few fragments of pottery, and three lion's paws in copper discovered. No remains of sculpture or alabaster slabs.

q. Similar trenches, showing a pavement of baked bricks, and of limestone slabs, but no other remains of building.

r. Trenches cut from the eastern face of the mound through a

solid mass, or wall, of sun-dried bricks, nearly fifty feet thick. In this wall was discovered the small vaulted chamber.

s. Deep trenches through the outer wall. No other remains of building.

t. Trenches in which fragments of pottery and part of a pavement were discovered, but no remains of building.

PLAN 2.

This building is situated in the south-west corner of the mound, and is built of slabs evidently brought from elsewhere, the inscriptions upon most of them being similar to those in the north-west palace. The only bas-reliefs, which may have faced the chambers, are those in walls *n*, *o*, *r*, *rr*, *q*, *ss*, *t*, *u*, *v*; but they also appear to have belonged to another building: all the others have their sculptured sides turned towards the wall of sun-dried bricks. It is sometimes doubtful which way the slabs face; as, for instance, in wall *ss*, where the opposite slabs have not been discovered. All the walls, except *n*, *q*, *s*, *ss*, and *t*, have been destroyed by fire.

WALL *a*.

All the slabs, except 5 and 10, are unsculptured, and have on the back the inscription found behind the slabs in the north-west palace, from whence they were evidently brought. Slabs 5 and 10 appear to have been taken from the centre palace. The bas-reliefs face the wall of sun-dried bricks.

No. 5. King in his castle, receiving his vizir. He is seated on his throne, and surrounded by his attendants. Above him is a groom feeding a horse tied to a manger.

10. Horseman wearing a helmet with a curved crest, pursued by two Assyrian warriors. He is apparently asking for quarter; and his horse, pierced by two spears, is rearing.

Entrance *a*, formed by a pair of gigantic human-headed winged lions, much injured, facing inwards. Between them, two small crouching sphinxes, of alabaster.

Entrance *b*. A pair of winged bulls, much injured. Between them two double crouching sphinxes.

Entrance *c*. A pair of winged bulls. The human head of No. 1 has been sent to England.

Entrance *d*. Unsculptured slabs, with inscription of north-west palace.

WALL *b*.

Unsculptured slabs destroyed by fire.

WALL *c*.

Unsculptured slabs, with the inscription of the north-west palace.

WALL *d*.

The same. In front of the projecting part of this wall, as at *g*, *h*, and *ii*, were low circular pedestals, the use of which I am unable to conjecture.

WALL *e*.

Slabs with bas-reliefs erased, and the face made smooth, preparatory to being re-sculptured. (See page 25, Vol. II.)

No. 1, adjoining entrance *e*, the only slab sculptured; divided into two compartments: the upper bas-relief, partly destroyed, representing warriors hewing down trees; the lower, a warrior on horseback, hunting the wild bull.

WALL *f*.

No. 1. Sculptured slab turned towards the wall. Two bas-reliefs divided by the standard inscription of the north-west palace. In upper compartment, a battle with warriors in chariots. (See page 54, Vol. I.) In lower compartment, siege of a castle or walled city; warriors mounting a scaling-ladder, and setting fire to gates. Other

warriors in turrets, discharging arrows and slinging stones at the assailants. (See page 55, Vol. I.) Both these bas-reliefs were greatly injured.

2. Corner-stone, partly destroyed; also divided into two compartments: the upper occupied by a horseman, and a warrior in a chariot; the lower by a castle, a woman on the walls tearing her hair, and a fisherman beneath drawing a fish from a stream. This slab was reversed.

The remaining slabs were unsculptured, had evidently never been placed, and were lying at the foot of the wall of sun-dried bricks. The inscriptions upon them showed that they had been taken from the north-west palace.

WALL *g*.

There were no traces of slabs, except at the eastern end of the wall.

WALL *h*.

No. 1. Two bas-reliefs, divided by the standard inscription of the north-west palace. In the upper, the king in his chariot, in battle, discharging an arrow against a charioteer. In the lower, two kneeling archers, and a eunuch discharging an arrow; behind them prisoners, raising their hands.

2. A corner-stone, reversed, containing the upper part of a figure, with a conical cap, the rest of the figure being purposely destroyed.

1st slab, on ground, divided into two compartments. The upper much injured. A chariot and warriors on foot could be traced. In the lower, the siege of a castle. A warrior cutting a bucket from a rope passed through a pulley.

WALL *i*.

Unsculptured slabs.

ii, ii. Two winged human-headed bulls, entirely in relief.

WALLS *j* and *jj*.

Unsculptured slabs, with the usual inscription of the north-west palace.

WALL *k*.

Unsculptured slabs, except Nos. 12, 16, and 7.

No. 12. Divided into two compartments, by standard inscription of north-west palace. The bas-relief in the upper much injured, only lower parts of figures remaining; the lower containing four figures, carrying supplies for a banquet.

16. Colossal figure, holding a flower with three blossoms in one hand.

17. Winged figure, almost completely destroyed.

On the ground, opposite 18, a square slab, with an inscription.

WALL *l*.

Traces of sculpture exist on the backs of several slabs, which have been destroyed by fire. The slab on the ground has no inscription, and is raised round the edges.

WALL *m*.

Unsculptured slabs, with the usual inscription from the north-west palace, with the exception of one slab, on which could be traced the remains of a colossal figure.

WALL *n*.

No. 1. Unsculptured.

2. Two groups of warriors discharging arrows; probably from centre palace.

3. Horsemen pursuing an enemy. Vulture above, with the entrails of the slain.

Another slab, which had not been placed, was found near this wall. It contained a bas-relief with several castles on a hill, but was greatly injured.

WALL *o*.

All the slabs in this wall appear to have been sculptured, but the bas-reliefs were almost completely destroyed.

WALL *p*.

The panelling of alabaster slabs had disappeared.

WALL *q*.

No. 1. Divided into two compartments. In the lower, the king, and his vizir, standing over a prostrate enemy; followed by their eunuchs and other attendants. The upper compartment was almost entirely destroyed, but appears to have contained warriors on horseback. A wounded figure, wearing a helmet with a curved crest, was seen beneath the horse's feet.

2. Appears to have been a continuation of No. 1; but only the feet of several figures, probably attendants, could be distinguished.

3. Upper compartment destroyed. In the lower, a king, holding his bow horizontally; an attendant carrying his arms.

The remaining slabs appear to have contained winged figures, but were almost completely destroyed.

WALL *r*.

No. 1. Divided by an inscription into two compartments. In the lower, a charioteer in a chariot, the horses of which are held by a groom on foot, preceded by a eunuch. In the upper, also a chariot, and a man on foot. Almost entirely destroyed.

2. Divided, like the preceding, into two compartments. In the lower, the king with his foot on the neck of a prostrate prisoner; vizir and attendants. In the upper (nearly defaced), figures of warriors discharging arrows could be traced.

3. Divided in the centre by an inscription. In lower compartment, a procession of warriors bearing idols on their shoulders. (See Vol. II. p. 45.) In upper, the siege of a city. These bas-reliefs appear to have been taken from the same edifice as Nos. 1, 2, and 3 of wall *q*.

WALL *rr*.

The remains of three slabs, on which were sculptured two winged figures and a king.

WALL *s*.

Only two slabs discovered. No. 1, unsculptured; No. 2, colossal figure carrying a mace; much injured.

WALL *ss*.

Only part of one slab remaining, with two colossal figures separated by the symbolical tree.

WALL *t*.

The lower part of several slabs, with the feet of colossal figures.

WALLS *u*, *v*.

Slabs greatly injured by fire. All appear to have been sculptured with colossal figures; but scarcely any part of the bas-reliefs could be distinguished, except a winged figure leading a goat, or an ibex, on slab 2, wall *v*.

Entrance *f*, formed by a pair of winged bulls, which had been almost entirely destroyed.

WALL *w*.

Only part of this wall could be traced by the remains of burnt slabs of alabaster.

Plan 3.

A.

Unsculptured slabs with the standard inscription on both sides. This was the first chamber discovered.

B.

Entrance *a*. 1 and 2, winged human-headed lions, facing chamber B.

No. 1. Eagle-headed, winged, human figure, bearing square vessel and fir-cone.

2. Corner-stone, with sacred tree.

3 and 4. Each divided into two compartments, by standard inscription. In upper, one subject—king in his chariot, followed by warriors, fighting under the walls of a hostile castle. Above his head, the winged deity in a circle, discharging an arrow. Behind the king, three chariots, containing warriors.

5 and 6. Upper compartments contain one subject—procession of king and warriors returning after victory. Heads of the slain brought before them. Musicians playing on stringed instruments. Over the king's head presiding divinity with bow. Eunuch raising the parasol.

7. Upper compartment—interior of a castle and a pavilion. Figures engaged in domestic occupations; eunuch receiving prisoners; horses feeding; lion-headed human figures in one corner.

8, 9, 10, 11. Upper compartments, one subject—a battle scene. King in his chariot, accompanied by warriors and eunuchs in chariots and on horses; enemy on foot; eagles flying over the victors; winged divinity in a circle above the king.

3, 4, 5. Lower compartments—siege of a castle. Battering-ram attached to a movable tower; figures in armor undermining the walls; women on towers tearing their hair; scaling-ladders placed against the walls. The king discharging an arrow, protected by the shield of a warrior, and attended by two eunuchs. Vizir, and other figures, some kneeling, others standing, discharging arrows on the other side of the castle.

6, 7, 8. Lower compartments. King, followed by his chariot and attendants, and by the chariots of his warriors, receiving captives. Women viewing the procession from the walls of a castle.

9, 10, 11. Lower compartments. King crossing a river in a boat; smaller boats, carrying chariots and furniture; figures swimming on inflated skins, others tying up their skins on the bank; embarkation of the chariots; three attendants superintending the passage of the river.

12. Colossal figure of the king, holding a cup in one hand, and his bow in the other; attended by eunuch carrying his arms.

13. Two kings facing one another, and attended by winged figures; a bas-relief similar to that on slab 23.

14. Similar to slab 12.

15. Colossal winged figure facing entrance *b*, with garland round head, carrying a flower with five branches in one hand, and square vessel in the other.

Entrance *b*. 1 and 2, winged human-headed bulls in yellow limestone, facing chamber B. 3 and 4, slabs with standard inscription.

16. Similar to 15; figure facing entrance *b*.

17. Upper compartment—castle by a river. One tower defended by an armed man, two others occupied by females; three men swimming across the stream, two on inflated skins; two warriors on the bank, discharging arrows against the fugitives; trees in the background.

18. Upper compartment—siege of city, with battering-ram and movable tower; king and his attendants under the walls.

17 and 18. Lower compartments contain one subject—king followed by his chariot and attendants, receiving prisoners.

19. Upper compartment—king hunting the lion.

19. Lower compartment—king raising the sacred cup, and standing over the conquered lion.

20. Upper compartment—king hunting the wild bull.

20. Lower compartment—king raising sacred cup, and standing over prostrate bull.

21. Corner-stone, similar to No. 2.

22. Colossal winged figure, with three-horned cap, carrying basket and fir-cone: facing 23.

23. Slab cut into a recess in which are two kings facing one another, separated by the symbolical tree, and each followed by a winged figure carrying fir-cone and basket. Above the sacred tree, and between the kings, is the winged divinity in a circle, holding a ring in one hand. In front of this sculpture was a large slab for a throne or altar.

24. Colossal winged figure, similar to No. 22: facing 23.

25. Corner-stone, similar to No. 2.

26. Colossal human figure, with four wings; the right hand raised, and in the left a mace: facing entrance *c*.

Entrance *c*. 1 and 2, Winged human-headed lions, with human arms, and with their hands crossed in front: facing chamber E. 3 and 4, slabs with standard inscription.

27 and 28. Divided into two compartments—the upper completely destroyed. The lower contains one subject—the siege of a castle standing by a river or the sea. The inhabitants wear rounded caps made up of bands. A horseman, pursued by an Assyrian warrior in a chariot, discharges an arrow, turning backwards.

29. Colossal winged human figure, carrying stag on one arm, and in the left hand a flower with five blossoms; facing entrance *d*.

Entrance *d*. 1 and 2, Human-headed lions with arms, similar to those at entrance *e*, but carrying a stag or ram on one arm, and holding a flower with three blossoms in the right hand: facing chamber D. 3 and 4, unsculptured slabs with standard inscription.

30. Two colossal winged human figures, back to back. That to the east similar to No. 29, and facing entrance *d*; the other bearing the square vessel and fir-cone, and facing No. 31.

31. Corner-stone, similar to No. 2.

32. Eagle-headed winged human figure, similar to No. 1.

C.

On all the slabs, 13 in number, except 6, 7, and 8, are colossal winged figures with horned cap, bearing square vessel and fir-cone, in pairs, facing one another, and separated by the emblematical tree.

6. Colossal winged figure and eunuch attending upon the king.

7. King holding cup and bow.

8. Winged figure and eunuch attending on the king.

Entrance *b*. 1 and 2, Colossal winged figures with garland round the head. 3 and 4, unsculptured slabs.

Entrance *c*. Unsculptured slabs with usual inscription.

D.

Slab 1. Winged figure, about fourteen feet high, with three-horned cap, fir-cone, and square vessel.

2. Colossal figure of king holding bow and arrows, followed by eunuch, carrying his arms; facing No. 3.

3. Vizir, facing the king (No. 2), and followed by eunuch.

4. Also vizir followed by eunuch.

5, 6, 7, 8. Colossal figures, apparently captives, bringing, as presents or tribute, ear-rings, bracelets, &c. Figure on slab 7, accompanied by two monkeys. All facing entrance *d*.

E.

Nos. 1 and 2. Figures resembling Nos. 5–8, chamber D, bringing ear-rings, bracelets, and other ornaments on trays.

3 and 4. Similar to 1 and 2.

5. Gigantic winged figure resembling No. 1, chamber D.

F.

All the slabs, except No. 4, occupied by colossal eagle-headed figures in pairs, facing one another, and separated by the symbolical tree.

No. 4. Colossal figure of the king attended by eagle-headed figures, and wearing figures of the sun, moon, star, horned cap, and bident round his neck.

G.

Entrance *a*. 1 and 2, Colossal figures without wings, wearing garlands round their heads, right hand raised, and in the left a flower with three blossoms. 3 and 4, unsculptured, with the usual inscription. All the figures in this chamber are colossal, and remarkable for the careful finish of the sculpture and elaborate nature of the ornaments.

No. 1. Corner-stone, with sacred tree.

2, 3, 4. One subject—king seated on his throne, attended by three eunuchs and two winged figures.

18, 19. Winged figures; facing entrance *d*.

21, 22, 27. Eagle-headed figures: facing entrances *c* and *b*.

26. Unsculptured with usual inscription.

All the other slabs in the east wall have, alternately, the king holding a cup in one hand and a bow in the other, attended by two

eunuchs; and the king holding two arrows in one hand and a bow in the other, attended by two winged figures, carrying the fir-cone and basket. On the west wall, the groups are similar; but the king's hand is on the hilt of his sword, instead of holding the bow.

In front of Nos. 20 and 29, are square slabs of alabaster, with a hole in the centre.

Entrance *b*. 1 and 2, Human-headed winged lions: facing chamber Y.

Entrance *c*. 1 and 2, Colossal winged figures, holding fir-cone and basket: facing hall Y. 3 and 4, unsculptured, with usual inscription.

Entrance *d*. 1 and 2, Colossal eagle-headed winged figures: facing chamber N.

Entrance *e*. 1 and 2, Colossal winged human figures, bearing fir-cone and square utensil; facing chamber G. 3 and 4, unsculptured, with usual inscription.

H.

No. 1. Winged human figure, with fillet round the head, bearing fir-cone and basket: facing entrance *e*.

All the other slabs in this chamber have the king holding a cup in one hand, and a bow in the other, standing between two winged figures, with garlands round their heads similar to No. 1. There are three recesses in the western wall, in slabs 3, 30, and 32.

I.

All the slabs in this chamber, except No. 16, are similar. They are divided into two compartments by the usual inscription. The upper is occupied by two kneeling winged figures, in the horned cap, bearing the fir-cone and square utensil, or extending their hands, and separated by the sacred tree; the lower by two eagle-headed human figures, also standing before the sacred tree. The lower compartment of No. 16, contains two female winged figures, bearing garlands and wearing the horned caps, separated by the sacred tree. In the upper part of Nos. 17 and 18, a recess like a window. Before these slabs and No. 13, are square slabs with a hole in the centre.

Entrance *a* Unsculptured slabs, with usual inscription.

Entrance *b*. Colossal winged figures, facing chamber G, and bearing square vessel and fir-cone.

J.

Slabs unsculptured, with the usual inscription; pavement of alabaster slabs, bearing the standard inscription.

K.

Unsculptured slabs, with usual inscription.

Entrance *c*. Two unsculptured slabs, and two with winged figures bearing square vessel and fir-cone, facing chamber H.

L.

Each slab in this chamber, except 18, 20, and 27, is occupied by a colossal winged figure, wearing the usual horned cap, and carrying the basket and fir-cone, separated from the next figure by the sacred tree.

Nos. 18 and 27, have recesses in the upper part; the lower is occupied by small winged figures, separated by the sacred tree.

20. A colossal female figure, with four wings, having one hand raised, and holding a garland or chaplet in the other, similar to the small figures, No. 16, chamber I. In front of this bas-relief was a square alabaster slab with a hole in the centre communicating with a drain.

M.

Precisely similar to chamber J.

N.

All the slabs in this chamber, except Nos. 6, 9, and 10, have the usual colossal winged figures with the horned cap, separated by the sacred tree.

No. 6. King, holding two arrows in one hand, and a bow in the other.

9 and 10. Unsculptured, with usual inscription.

O.

Unsculptured slabs, with usual inscription.

P.

No. 1. Unsculptured, with usual inscription.

2, 3, 4. Colossal winged figures, with horned cap.

The other slabs were unsculptured. They end abruptly at 4 and 5. The chamber is continued by a wall built of sun-dried bricks.

Entrance *a*. Two large slabs, each with two colossal winged figures, back to back, and facing respectively chambers S and Y.

R.

Unsculptured slabs, with usual inscription. Pavement of alabaster slabs. A recess in No. 10.

S.

No. 1. Corner-stone with sacred tree.

2, 3, and 4. One subject. King with one hand on the hilt of his sword, and the other supported by a long staff; attended by two eunuchs bearing his arms. Behind each eunuch a sacred tree.

5 and 6. Colossal winged figures, wearing garlands round their heads: facing entrance *b*.

11 and 12. Eagle-headed figures; facing entrance *c*.

26. A narrow slab divided by the usual inscription into two compartments, each containing a small winged figure, with horned cap, carrying basket and fir-cone.

The remaining slabs are occupied by the usual winged figures with the horned cap, separated by the sacred tree.

Entrances *b*, *c*, and *d*, formed by colossal winged figures with the usual horned cap, bearing sacred flowers.

e. Winged bulls: facing chamber Y.

T.

All the slabs have the usual colossal winged figures with the horned cap, alternating with the sacred tree; a square alabaster slab with a hole in the centre, before No. 4.

Entrance *a*. Colossal winged figures with garlands round their temples, carrying on one arm a wild goat or a gazelle, and in the elevated right hand, an ear of corn: facing chamber Z.

U.

Unsculptured slabs, with usual inscription.

Entrance *a*. Unsculptured slabs, with usual inscription; above which were cut additional inscriptions, containing the name of the Khorsabad king.

V

Unsculptured slabs, with usual inscription. A square slab before No. 6, with a hole in the centre connected with a drain.

W.

Unsculptured slabs. A recess in the slab forming the north corner. In the entrance leading into V, and in the two chambers, were discovered the greater part of the ivory ornaments.

X.

Unsculptured slabs, with usual inscription.

Y.

One side of this chamber has completely disappeared; that which remains is formed by unsculptured slabs with the usual inscription.

Entrance *f*. Winged bulls, facing chamber Y, and corresponding with those on the opposite side at entrance *e*.

Z.

A narrow passage, connecting hall Y with a chamber which has been completely destroyed.

Nos. 1, 2, 6, 7, are narrow slabs, divided by the usual inscription into two compartments, each occupied by a small winged figure. On the remaining slabs are colossal winged figures, with the horned cap.

A A.

Unsculptured slabs, with the usual inscription.

B B.

Unsculptured slabs, the greater part destroyed. Entrance *a* is formed by two small winged lions.

APPENDIX II.

DESCRIPTION OF THE IVORIES FROM THE NORTH-WEST PALACE.

(*From Dr. Birch's Observations on Two Egyptian Cartouches, and some other Ivory Ornaments found at Nimroud: Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature, New Series.*

1. Head of a man, full face, and a left cheek, of style peculiarly Egyptian; the eyes sunk for the purpose of inlaying; the brows incuse, and prolonged towards the ears, and filled with blue color: the back of the head, which is flat, has been inlaid into wood: the face measures $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch high.

2. A pendant left arm,—the hand clinched: on the shoulder of this arm is the border of the garment, represented by pendant drops, and incused; these are inlaid with blue paint, and the part just below them is gilded, showing that the garment was gold: the length of this arm is $4\,\frac{7}{12}$ inches, and as the distance from the elbow to the knuckles is equal to two faces, it formed part of a figure of the same proportions.

3. Fore-part of a foot, completely carved, and which has been inlaid and projected: there is rather a deep hole between the great and first toe, but its use is uncertain.

4. A head, much decomposed, from a similar figure.

5, 6. Two pairs of hands clasping each other, perhaps from a figure in a dignified action, like that of the kings of Nimroud and Khorsabad, $2\,\frac{4}{12}$ inches long.

5*. Garment with disked uræi inlaid. These fragments seem to have come from figures whose bodies were of ebony or cedar, covered with an imitation of drapery, which was gilded, while the exposed parts of the body, similar to the wooden statues with stone extremities, called ἀκρόλιθοι by the Greeks, were executed in ivory. There is no trace of staining.

7. Jaws of a lion or panther, 2 inches high, and 2 inches wide.

8. A stag, grazing, and going to the left; incomplete; $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches long.

9. Heads of two other stags, proceeding in the reverse direction, to the right.

10. Anterior part of a stag, nearly in full relief, head raised.

11—16. A cow, and portions of others, standing towards the right, but turning back its head, and licking its calf; $3\,1\frac{4}{2}$ inches long.

17. Similar cow, turned to the left; 3 inches long.

18. Calves, which have apparently formed part of a group with the cows, which they may have been sucking; $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch long.

19, 20. Bodies of winged gryphons, $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch long.

21. The fragment of a bull, going to the right; the eye inlaid with blue; $1\frac{5}{12}$ inch high.

22. A fragment of another bull, $1\frac{5}{12}$ inch long.

The remainder are all portions of flat panels, of about $\frac{1}{4}$ inch thick, with tenons above and below; they are all carved in bas-relief, of a round and Egyptian style; the accessories, such as the eyes, draperies, and portions of the chair, inlaid with a deep-blue glass, probably an imitation of lapis lazuli, and some of the more important parts gilded. They are evidently the prototype of the toreutic work of the Greeks.

23, 24, 25. Three panels, which represent each the same subject, a monarch unbearded, wearing on his head the Egyptian *kheprr* or helmet, which is ornamented with a series of annulations or rings, perhaps to show that it was of chain or scale armor, and has in front the uræus serpent, emblem of royalty, with an Assyrian garment round the loins, like the Egyptian shenti, apparently, from its corrugated folds, intended to represent wool, with a long pendent fold on the left side; the whole with a border of oval drops; the legs bare, and unshod, advancing to the right; holding in his left hand a tall flower of the lotus, which rises out of a clod of earth; the whole

representing the Egyptian symbol for the upper country. As pendents to these are three other panels.

26, 27, 28, on which a figure, exactly the same, advances to the right. These, which are nearly of equal size, measuring $3\frac{5}{16}$, $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches high, and $2\frac{1}{4}$, $2\frac{1}{16}$ inches wide, have evidently been placed in composition with one another, probably arranged in pairs or else in series, facing to the right and left.

29. Two figures in Egyptian style, with hair falling in locks from the crown of the head; squared at the base; wearing the shenti round the loins; standing face to face, and cording up between them a double flower of the papyrus: each figure places one foot on a flower of the papyrus. These figures are apparently imitated from the ordinary representation of the Nile, cording up the flowers of the lotus and papyrus, common to the sides of Egyptian thrones. There is half of a similar panel with the figure on the left side—

30. The large panel measures $3\frac{1}{16}$ inches wide, and 3 inches high; the fragment $2\frac{11}{16}$ inches by $1\frac{11}{16}$ inch.

31. Portion of another panel, representing an Assyrian deity, bearded and draped, standing, looking to the left, and holding in his pendent left hand a symbol of life, probably the god Baal or Belus; $2\frac{7}{16}$ inches high.

32–35. Three panels and head from another, also of style peculiarly Egyptian. They represent a kind of window with three plain mouldings, in which is a head carved in Egyptian style in very salient relief, the locks falling in regular rows of curls: in some instances these curls are tied at the ends. The neck has a collar round it, and is placed on a stand, supported by four pillars with capitals, in shape of the lily lotus. These measure $3\frac{7}{16}$ inches square, and were probably disposed at the gable end of whatever object they decorated.

There are four other heads (36), of most exquisite style and in good preservation, which seem to have belonged to a similar panel. The ears in these panels follow the Egyptian canon, being placed above the eyes.

37. An imperfect panel, of large size: two winged sphinxes, placed back to back, facing outwards; their hair in pendent Egyptian locks, and in front of them palmettes; 6 inches long, $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches high.

38. Part of another sphinx and emblem *Tet* from a similar panel, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch long.

39. Part of a large panel, of very fine style, representing a lion advancing to the right amidst the tall reeds of some river, five of the stems of which remain. This fragment, which rivals many of the archaic remains of Greece, has been embellished with blue and gold: it measures 3·5 inches by 6 inches. There are some smaller portions, representing a man in a chariot.

40. A chain border, exactly like the Greek.

41. A fleurette of eight petals, $\frac{11}{12}$ths of an inch in diameter; and

42. Another of twelve, $\frac{3}{4}$ths of an inch in diameter, with some minor odds and ends.

The two remaining ivories, 43 and 44, described by Mr. Birch, are the panels with the cartouches. (See page 15, Vol. II.)

Since this description was written several additional fragments of carved ivory have been placed in the British Museum. The most interesting is part of a very beautiful tablet, representing the god Horus with a finger upon his lip, seated on a lotus flower. On either side of him were other figures which have probably been destroyed; but as the tablet has not yet been restored, it cannot be fully described.

APPENDIX III.

LIST OF ASSYRIAN BAS-RELIEFS AND SCULPTURES SENT TO ENGLAND *

1. A colossal human-headed winged lion.
2. A colossal human-headed winged bull.
3. * † A battle-piece with the king in his chariot beneath the walls of a castle.
4. * † Sequel to the preceding. Warriors combating in chariots.
5. * † Two warriors in shirts of mail; one discharging an arrow, the other holding a shield, followed by a chariot and warriors on foot.
6. * The siege of a castle, with battering-ram and movable tower; warriors defending the walls, others discharging arrows, &c. &c. Part of preceding subject.
7. * Warriors scaling walls; king discharging an arrow, followed by his attendants; warriors driving off cattle and female prisoner with a child. Sequel to preceding subject.
8. * † The king hunting the lion.
9. * † The king hunting the wild bull.
10. † The king standing over the prostrate lion.

* Those marked with an * will be engraved in the "Monuments of Nineveh," and those with a † have already been placed in the British Museum. All these sculptures are from the northwest palace at Nimroud, except such as are mentioned as coming from elsewhere.

11. * The king standing over the prostrate bull.

12. * † The siege of a castle, with a battering-ram and movable tower, and the king under the walls.

13. * † The king, followed by his attendants and his chariot, receiving prisoners.

14. * Prisoners led by warriors and eunuchs. Part of the preceding subject.

15. † Two heads: one of the king, the other of his attendant eunuch. Part of a large slab, the rest destroyed.

16. † Eagle-headed human figure: the wings, which were on an adjoining slab, are wanting in this specimen.*

17. † A winged human figure, bearing the fir-cone and square utensil.

18. † The human head of a winged bull, and a hoof from the same sculpture, in yellow limestone.

19. * King crossing a river; horses swimming, and men on inflated skins.

20. † Continuation of the preceding. Boats carrying chariot and furniture; horses swimming, and men on skins.

21. * Sequel to preceding. Eunuch and warriors superintending embarkation of chariot in a boat; men preparing skins for crossing the river. (These three bas-reliefs were broken in many pieces.)

22. * Interior of castle or pavilion, with persons engaged in domestic occupations or sacrifice; horses feeding, &c.

23. Warriors in chariots, with standards, pursuing enemy.

24. * Horsemen contending with the enemy. Continuation of the preceding.

25. Eunuch warrior in chariot, contending with the enemy. Part of same subject.

26. King in his chariot, discharging an arrow. Part of same subject.

27. * King in his chariot, returning in triumph from battle; parasol borne over his head by a eunuch.

28. * Sequel to the preceding. Warriors in chariots forming part of a triumphal procession and preceded by musicians and men bearing heads of the slain.

* All these single figures are between 7 feet 6 inches and 8 feet high.

29. * Fugitives crossing river to a castle; two warriors on the banks discharging arrows at the swimmers.

30. Warriors in a chariot pursuing a horseman, who is turning back and discharging an arrow.

31. * Colossal figure of the king seated on his throne, holding a cup in one hand; followed by a eunuch bearing his arms.

32. * Part of preceding subject. A eunuch raising a fly-flapper or fan over the cup held by the king, followed by a winged figure with the fir-cone and square utensil.

33. * Part of same subject. A eunuch carrying the king's arms followed by a winged figure. These figures are behind the king.

(These three bas-reliefs are amongst the most beautiful and perfect specimens of sculpture discovered at Nimroud. The slabs are each about 7 feet 8 inches high, and 6 feet 7 inches wide.)

34. * Winged figure carrying a stag.

35. * Similar figure carrying a wild goat or gazelle.

36. Eagle-headed winged figure, entire.

37. Female winged figure carrying a garland.

38. * Man riding on a dromedary, pursued by Assyrian horsemen. (From the centre palace.)

39. * Warriors in a chariot; a wounded lion beneath the horses' feet. (A very beautiful and well-preserved bas-relief.)

40. * Horsemen armed with spears pursuing the enemy. (From the southwest palace.)

41. Warrior wearing helmet with curved crest; his horse wounded and rearing. (Fragment much injured; from the southwest palace.)

42. * Two winged female figures carrying garlands, and standing before the sacred tree.

43. * Two winged figures kneeling before the sacred tree.

44. Two eagle-headed figures, before the sacred tree.

45. The king, followed by his attendants and chariot, receiving his vizir.

46. Chariots passing under castle walls; upon which are women. Part of the preceding subject.

47 and 48. Colossal figure of the king, standing, holding a cup in one hand and his bow in the other, followed by two eunuchs bearing his arms.

49. A eunuch raising a fly-flapper or fan. Part of preceding subject.

50. Colossal figure of the king holding two arrows in one hand and a bow in the other, followed by a winged figure with the fir-cone and square utensil.

51. Two colossal figures: one a eunuch, belonging to group on 46 and 47, and the other a winged figure belonging to group on 48.

52. * Eunuchs writing down the amount of spoil of sheep and cattle; women in carts drawn by oxen. (From centre palace.)

53. † Cart with women; castle and two battering-rams. Sequel to preceding subject.

54. † Warrior discharging an arrow from behind a shield held by a second warrior; palm-tree behind. (From centre palace.)

55. A flock of camels; part of spoil. (From centre palace.)

56. * A flock of sheep and goats. Part of preceding subject. (From centre palace.)

57. * † Prisoners, with their arms bound behind, preceded by a eunuch. (From centre palace.)

58. * The king holding a long staff or wand.

59. † The assault of a city; part of a bas-relief. (From centre palace.)

60. * † The head of a figure, with a conical cap made up of bands. (From the southwest palace.)

61. † The head of a king.

62. † The head of a eunuch.

63. * Two colossal figures from the procession of tribute-bearers; one brings two monkeys.

64. * † Human head of a winged bull, in relief. (From the centre palace.)

65. * Large bas-relief from the end of the great hall B of the northwest palace, representing two kings standing before the sacred tree, and followed by winged figures. (In five pieces.)

66. † Part of a bas-relief with a siege of a castle and figures impaled. (From centre palace.)

67.
68.
69. } † Five small winged figures.
70.
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72. Human head of a winged bull, in coarse limestone. (From southwest palace.)

73. * † A head with a garland and three rosettes round the temples. The colors well preserved.

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79. Sitting figure in basalt. (Kalah Sherghat.)

80. † An inscription with the name of the Khorsabad king. (Northwest palace, Nimroud.)

81. } † Two small tablets with standard inscription, from Nim-
82. } roud.

83. † Inscription. (Kouyunjik.)

84. † Cast of a warrior on horseback.

85. † Cast of two warriors turning back and discharging arrows.

END OF VOL.

VOLUME SECOND.

"She saw men pourtrayed upon the wall, the images of the Chaldeans pourtrayed with vermilion,

"Girded with girdles upon their loins, exceeding in dyed attire upon their heads, all of them princes to look to, after the manner of the Babylonians of Chaldea, the land of their nativity." EZEKIEL, xxiii. 14, 15.

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NINEVEH

AND

ITS REMAINS.

CHAPTER XI.

As I was drawing one morning at the mound, Ibrahim Agha came to me, with his eyes full of tears, and announced the death of Tayhar Pasha. The Cawass had followed the fortunes of the late Governor of Mosul almost since childhood, and was looked upon as a member of his family. Like other Turks of his class, he had been devoted to the service of his patron, and was treated more like a companion than a servant. In no country in the world are ties of this nature more close than in Turkey; nowhere does there exist a better feeling between the master and the servant, and the master and the slave.

I was much grieved at the sudden death of Tahyar; for he was a man of gentle and kindly manners, just and considerate in his government, and of considerable information and learning for a Turk. I felt a kind of affection for him. The cause of his death showed his integrity. His troops had plundered a friendly tribe, falsely represented to him as rebellious by his principal officers, who were anxious to have an opportunity of enriching themselves with the spoil. When he

learnt the particulars of the affair, and that the tribe, so far from being hostile, were peaceably pasturing their flocks on the banks of the Khabour, he exclaimed, "You have destroyed my house" (*i. e.* its honor), and, without speaking again, died of a broken heart. He was buried in the courtyard of the principal mosque at Mardin. A simple but elegant tomb surrounded by flowers and evergreens, was raised over his remains; and an Arabic inscription records the virtues and probable reward of one of the most honest and amiable men that it has been my lot, in a life of some experience amongst men of various kinds, to meet. I visited his monument on my return to Constantinople. From the lofty terrace, where it stands, the eye wanders over the vast plains of Mesopotamia, stretching to the Euphrates—in spring one great meadow, covered with the tents and flocks of innumerable tribes.

The Kiayah, or chief secretary, was chosen Governor of the province by the council, until the Porte could name a new Pasha, or take other steps for the administration of affairs. Essad Pasha, who had lately been at Beyrout, was at length appointed to succeed Tahyar, and soon after reached his Pashalic. These changes did not affect my proceedings. Armed with my firman I was able to defy the machinations of the Cadi and the Ulema, who did not cease their endeavors to throw obstacles in my way.

After the celebration of Christmas I returned to Nimroud, and the excavations were again carried on with activity.

I should weary the reader, were I to describe, step by step, the progress of the work, and the discoveries gradually made in various parts of the great mound. The labors of one day resembled those of the preceding; but it would be difficult to convey to others an idea of the excitement which was produced by the constant discovery of objects of the highest interest. A mere journal of my proceedings would afford but little amusement, and I should have to repeat, over and over again, the same details, and should probably be led into a repetition of the same reflections. I prefer, therefore, describing

at once the results of my labors during the first three months of the year; and I will endeavor to explain, as concisely as possible, the extent of the operations, and the nature of the buildings uncovered. I must necessarily make frequent reference to the plans; as without the assistance they afford, it would be difficult to convey an accurate idea of the form of the edifices and the position of the chambers.

The northwest palace was naturally the most interesting portion of the ruins, and to it were principally directed my researches. I had satified myself beyond a doubt that it was the most ancient building yet explored in Assyria. Not having been exposed to a conflagration like other edifices, the sculptures, bas-reliefs, and inscriptions, which it contained, were still admirably preserved.

When the excavations were resumed after Christmas, eight chambers had been discovered. There were now so many outlets and entrances, that I had no trouble in finding new rooms and halls—one chamber leading into another. By the end of the month of April I had explored almost the whole building; and had opened twenty-eight chambers cased with alabaster slabs. Although many new objects of sculpture of considerable interest and importance were found in them, still the principal part of the edifice seems to have been that to the north. Chambers B and G contained the most remarkable bas-reliefs; they represented the deeds of the king in war and in the chase, his triumphant return, and the celebration of religious ceremonies. The best artists had evidently been employed upon them; and they excelled all those that had yet been discovered, in the elegance and finish of the ornaments, and in the knowledge of art displayed in the grouping of the figures. The walls of the other chambers were either occupied by a series of winged figures, separated by the sacred tree,—the figures resembling one another in every respect,—or the usual inscription alone was carved upon the slabs.

It will be perceived that a certain symmetry was, to some extent, observed in the plan of the building; particularly in

the arrangement of the chambers to the East; those marked I and L corresponding in form and size, and both leading into small rooms, which do not communicate with any other part of the edifice. Each slab, however, in chamber L, is occupied by only one figure,—a gigantic winged divinity, or priest,—and is not divided into two compartments, as in chamber I. But it is remarkable that on the slab No. 20, there is a figure differing from all the rest, and corresponding with the figures found on the lower part of the slab No. 16, of chamber I. It is that of a winged female deity or priestess, bearing a garland in one hand, and raising the other as if in some act of adoration. Around her neck are suspended, in the form of a double necklace, the star-shaped ornaments already described.* In this chamber also occur niches similarly placed to those in I. In front of the female figure, and forming part of the pavement, was a slab with a hole through the centre. On raising it I found an earthen pipe, about eight inches in diameter and two feet in length, communicating with a drain running underneath, the whole being lined and cemented with bitumen. One or two fragments of ivory were also found in this room.

In chamber H all the groups were similar—representing the king holding a cup in one hand and his bow in the other, attended by two winged figures with garlands round their heads. The sculptures in chamber G, as I have already observed, were chiefly remarkable for the variety and elegance of the ornaments on the robes of the king and his attendants. Amongst them were groups of figures similar to those represented on the walls of the palace, such as the king slaying the lion, and hunting the bull; winged figures before the sacred tree; religious emblems; various animals and elaborate scroll work; all furnishing not only beautiful designs, but important illustrations of the religion of the Assyrians.

The entrance *d* to this chamber was formed by two gigantic

* See page 279, Vol. I. This figure has been moved, and is amongst the sculptures which have been secured for the British Museum.

THE KING. (N. W. Palace. Nimroud.)

eagle-headed winged figures, of considerable beauty and finish. One of them was moved, and will be brought to England. In the chamber beyond, were repeated the winged divinities or priests, with the emblematic tree; except on slab 6, which had the king holding a bow in one hand, and two arrows in the other.

The four sculptures in the chamber, or rather passage, P (Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 4), were remarkable for the beauty of the ornaments and details, and their careful finish. They all represented winged figures, either holding a mace, a fir-cone, or some religious emblem. On their dresses, however, were a variety of groups and designs—lion hunts, bull hunts, winged animals, and many groups of winged figures. Amongst the last was a curious representation of the Assyrian Venus, Mylitta or Astarte, in an indecent posture which indicated the peculiar nature of her worship.

On each of the slabs forming the narrow passage *a*, leading from the chamber P, were two winged figures back to back. They were well designed and carefully executed. Beyond them, on slabs 2, 3, and 4, of chamber S, was the king between two eunuchs. The figure of the king, one of the most carefully sculptured and best preserved in the palace, has been removed, and will be brought to England. He is represented with one hand on the hilt of his sword, the other being supported by a long wand, or staff.

On the remaining slabs of chamber S the winged figures were repeated. Some carried flowers of various shapes, whilst others had the usual fir-cone, and square basket, or utensil.

Three sides alone of the great hall Y, were found entire. From its size it is probable that it was not roofed in, but was an open court. It appears to have been nearly square; but the western wall has been completely destroyed; the slabs having perhaps been carried away to be used in the construction of the southwest palace. Three entrances are still standing. The one at *b*, formed by a pair of winged lions—those at *e* and *f*, by winged bulls. There was probably a fourth en-

trance on the western side, formed by a pair of lions, to correspond with that on the eastern; but I found no remains of it, although some might perhaps be discovered on a more careful examination. The removal of the slabs, which formed the western wall, has caused a depression in the mound; and consequently, if any large sculptures, such as the winged lions, had been left, when the slabs adjoining them were taken away, they would probably have been exposed to decay; and the upper part, remaining longest uncovered, would have been completely destroyed.

Behind the great hall Y, to the south, were a cluster of chambers leading one into another. Their proportions were small. V and W did not contain sculptures. T was surrounded by the usual winged figures; one of its entrances (*a*) being formed by two gigantic priests or divinities, with garlands round their heads, holding in one hand an ear of corn, and in the other an ibex, or mountain goat.

The chamber V is remarkable for the discovery, near the entrance *a*, of a number of ivory ornaments of considerable beauty and interest. These ivories, when uncovered, adhered so firmly to the soil, and were in so forward a state of decomposition, that I had the greatest difficulty in extracting them, even in fragments. I spent hours lying on the ground, separating them, with a penknife, from the rubbish by which they were surrounded. Those who saw them when they first reached this country, will be aware of the difficulty of releasing them from the hardened mass in which they were embedded. The ivory separated itself in flakes. Even the falling away of the earth was sufficient to reduce it almost to powder. This will account for the condition of the specimens which have been placed in the British Museum. With all the care that I could devote to the collection of the fragments, many were lost, or remained unperceived, in the immense heap of rubbish under which they were buried. Since they have been in England, they have been admirably restored and cleaned. The gelatinous matter, by which the particles forming

the ivory are kept together, had, from the decay of centuries, been completely exhausted. By an ingenious process it has been restored, and the ornaments, which on their discovery fell to pieces almost upon mere exposure to the air, have regained the appearance and consistency of recent ivory, and may be handled without risk of injury.

The important evidence as to the epoch of the destruction of the building, furnished by these ivories, will be alluded to in another place. I will here merely describe them. The most interesting are the remains of two small tablets, one nearly entire, the other much injured. Upon them are represented two sitting figures, holding in one hand the Egyptian sceptre or symbol of power. Between them is a cartouche, containing a name or words in hieroglyphics, and surmounted by a feather or plume, such as is found in monuments of the eighteenth, and subsequent dynasties of Egypt. The chairs on which the figures are seated, the robes of the figures themselves, the hieroglyphics in the cartouche, and the feather above it, were enamelled with a blue substance let into the ivory, and the whole ground of the tablet, as well as the cartouche and part of the figures, was originally gilded—remains of the gold leaf still adhering to them. The forms, and style of art, have a purely Egyptian character; although there are certain peculiarities in the execution, and mode of treatment, that would seem to mark the work of a foreign, perhaps an Assyrian, artist. The same peculiarities—the same anomalies—characterize all the other objects discovered. Several small heads in frames, supported by pillars or pedestals, most elegant in design and elaborate in execution, show not only a considerable acquaintance with art, but an intimate knowledge of the method of working in ivory. Found with them were oblong tablets, upon which are sculptured, with great delicacy, standing figures, with one hand elevated, and holding in the other a stem or staff, surmounted by a flower or ornament resembling the Egyptian lotus Scattered about were fragments of winged sphinxes, the head of a lion of singular beauty, but which un-

fortunately fell to pieces, human heads, hands, legs, and feet, bulls, flowers, and scroll-work. In all these specimens the spirit of the design and the delicacy of the workmanship are equally to be admired.*

On the two slabs forming the entrance to chamber U, were two remarkable inscriptions, cut above those which invariably occur on the slabs of this palace. They contained the name of the king who founded Khorsabad, and they had evidently been placed there long after the lower inscriptions (from which they differ in the forms of many characters) had been cut. They may have been carved to celebrate the reopening, or the restoration, of the building.

In all the chambers to the south of the great hall Y, were found copper vessels of peculiar shape; but they fell to pieces almost immediately on exposure to the air, and I was unable to preserve one of them entire.

Beyond the entrance *b*, as far as chamber S, the alabaster slabs ceased altogether; and I was, for some time, at a loss to account for the manner in which the building had been con-

* I add Mr. Birch's description of the most important of the ivory ornaments—that containing the cartouche. "The first of these panels, which is the most complete, measures nine inches long by six inches high. The cartouche is placed vertically in the centre, surmounted by a solar disk, gilded, flanked by two ostrich feathers, which are inlaid with narrow horizontal strips of opaque blue glass, probably imitations of lapis-lazuli, and with some few bars in green. The area of the cartouche is gilded, and the hieroglyphics are incused, and inlaid with blue glass. At each side is a divinity, beardless, wearing the long hair-dress called *namms*, also inlaid with blue, and draped in linen garments, enveloping the whole of the form, with a border of inlaid blue ovals. The seats on which they sit are the usual Egyptian throne, the side decorated with scales alternately of blue and opaque green pastes, inlaid into the ivory, and intended to imitate lapis-lazuli and felspar. At the lower corner, in a compartment, in gilded ivory on a blue back-ground, is a symbol of life. Each divinity holds in one hand a *tam* or *kukupha* sceptre, and holds up the other with the palm turned towards the cartouche. No name is attached to either of these figures, which are probably intended for deities of an inferior rank, such as the Persian Izjeds. Like all the Egyptian figures, they are unbearded; but their drapery is not that of Egyptian females." (*Trans. of the Royal Society of Literature*, New Series.) For a detailed description of all the ivory fragments discovered, see Appendix.

tinued. The pavement of baked bricks was still carried on, and it was evident that the edifice did not end here. It was some time before I discovered that I was now digging into chambers formed by walls of sun-dried bricks, over which a thin coating of plaster had been laid. They had been painted with figures and ornaments; but the colors had faded so completely, that scarcely any of the subjects or designs could be traced. It required the greatest care to separate the rubbish from the walls, without destroying, at the same time, the plaster to which it adhered. I seldom succeeded in uncovering even a small portion of the paintings, as the plaster fell from the walls in flakes, notwithstanding all my efforts to preserve it. I was able to draw a few of the ornaments, in which the colors chiefly distinguishable were red, blue, black, and white. The subjects of the paintings appeared to be generally processions, in which the king was represented followed by his eunuchs and attendant warriors. The figures were merely in outline, in black upon a blue ground, and I was unable to distinguish any other color. In design they resembled the sculptures—exhibiting the same features, and the same peculiar treatment in the draperies and attitudes.

As the means at my disposal did not warrant any outlay in making more experiments, without the promise of the discovery of something to carry away, I felt myself compelled, much against my inclination, to abandon the excavations in this part of the mound, after uncovering portions of two chambers. The doorway, which united them, was paved with one large slab, ornamented with flowers and scroll-work. The flooring was of baked bricks.

I found, by opening trenches behind chambers I and L, that similar painted rooms existed in other parts of the mound. The palace did not, therefore, only contain chambers formed by slabs of alabaster, but had other apartments, extending considerably beyond the limits shown in the plan. How far, I could not ascertain.

It may be mentioned that on the slabs 1 and 2, and those

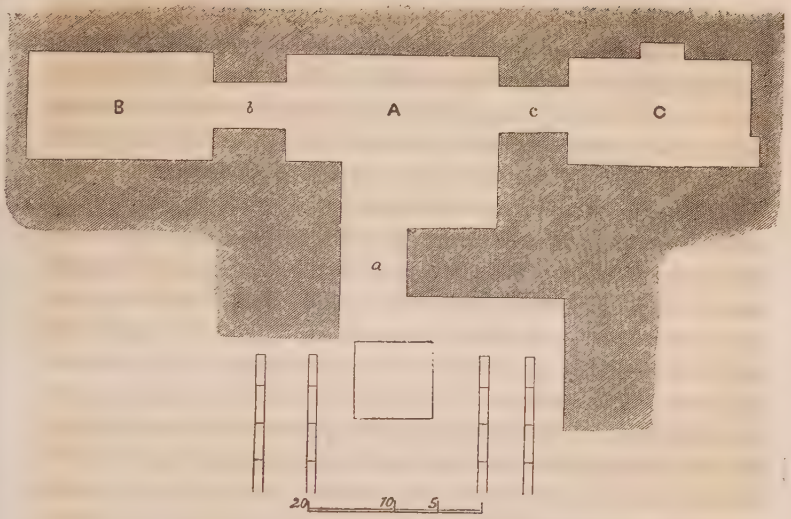
opposite, of chamber Z, were sculptured small winged figures, —two, one above the other, on each. On removing No. 2, I found behind it, imbedded in the wall of sun-dried bricks, a small earthen bowl, or cup, of baked clay of a dark red color. This, consequently, is the most ancient specimen of pottery hitherto discovered in Assyria; for, from its position behind the slab, it is evident that it must have been placed there at the time of the building of the edifice.* Between the bulls and lions, forming the entrances in different parts of the palace, were invariably found a large collection of baked bricks, elaborately painted with figures of animals, and flowers, and with cuneiform characters. It is remarkable, that on the back of these bricks, or on one of the sides not colored, are rude designs, in black paint or ink, of men and animals, and marks having the appearance of numbers. They appear to have been built into a wall above the sculptures. That they belonged to this edifice is proved by the name of the king which is painted upon them.†

Whilst excavating above the southern chambers of this palace, I found, in the rubbish several feet above the walls, numerous vases of baked clay. In those that were preserved entire, human remains could be distinguished; but it was not until I had made further discoveries, that I learnt the nature and importance of these objects.

On the western side of the great mound, to the south of the palace in which the discoveries just described were made, there is a considerable elevation. The spot is marked *e* on plan 1. To examine the place, a trench was opened on a level with the platform. It was some time before I discovered that we were cutting into a kind of tower, or nest of upper chambers, constructed entirely of unbaked bricks; the walls being plastered, and elaborately painted. I explored three rooms, and part of a fourth, on the southern side of the building.

* It has been preserved, and will be placed in the British Museum.

† Many specimens have been secured, and will be deposited in the British Museum.



PLAN 4.—Upper Chambers on the West Side of the Mound. (Nimroud.)

It is probable that there were four similar groups of chambers, facing the four cardinal points. In front of the entrance *a*,* was a large square slab with slightly-raised edges, similar to those frequently found in the northwest palace. Parallel with it were two narrow pieces of alabaster, with a groove running down the centre, carefully cut and fitted together, which I can only compare to the rails of a railroad. I cannot form any conjecture as to their use. The rooms had been twice painted—two distinct coats of plaster being visible on the walls. The outer coating, when carefully detached, left the under; on which were painted ornaments differing from those above.

In the centre, and in one of the corners, of chamber C, were recesses, similar to those in some of the alabaster slabs in the northwest palace. No remains of plaster, or color,

* See plan 4.

could be traced upon the sun-dried bricks, forming the back of these recesses.

The painted ornaments were elaborate and graceful in design. The Assyrian bull was frequently portrayed, sometimes with wings, sometimes without. Above the animals were painted battlements, similar to those of castles, as represented in the sculptures. Below them, forming a kind of cornice, were squares and circles, tastefully arranged; and more elaborate combinations were not wanting. The colors found were blue, red, white, yellow, and black. I doubt whether any green was used in this building; the green on the under coating of plaster, being rather the result of the decomposition of the blue. The pale yellow of the ground, on which the designs were painted, resembles the tint on the walls of Egypt; but it is possible that white had changed to this color.

But the most important discovery, connected with these upper chambers, was that of the slabs forming the pavement of the two entrances *a* and *b*. Upon them were the names and titles of five kings, in genealogical succession; commencing with the father of the founder of the northwest palace, and ending with the grandson of the builder of the centre edifice. By this valuable record, I was able to verify the connection between the names already discovered, and to add two more to the list.*

I could not ascertain whether there were any chambers, or remains of buildings, beneath this upper edifice; or whether this was a tower constructed on the solid outer wall. A deep trench was opened on the eastern side of it,† and about twenty feet below the surface, a pavement of brick and several square slabs of alabaster were uncovered; but these remains did not throw any light upon the nature of the building above; nor were they sufficient to show that the northwest palace had been carried under these upper chambers. To the south of them there were no remains of building, the platform

* One of these slabs will be placed in the British Museum.

† At *d*, in plan 1.

of unbaked bricks being continued up to the level of the flooring of the chambers; but there is reason to believe that this part of the mound is of a more recent date than that to the north of it, and was added at a subsequent period.

In the centre of the mound, to the north of the great winged bulls, I had in vain endeavored to find traces of building. Except the obelisk, two winged figures, and a few fragments of yellow limestone, which appeared to have formed part of a gigantic bull or lion, no remains of sculpture had yet been discovered. On excavating to the south, I found a well-formed tomb, built of bricks, and covered with a slab of alabaster. It was about five feet in length, and scarcely more than eighteen inches in breadth in the interior. On removing the lid, parts of a skeleton were exposed to view; the skull and some of the larger bones were still entire; but, on an attempt being made to move them, they crumbled into dust. With them were three earthen vessels. A vase of reddish clay, with a long narrow neck, stood in a dish of such delicate fabric, that I had great difficulty in removing it entire. Over the mouth of the vase was placed a bowl or cup, also of red clay. This pottery appears to have stood near the right shoulder of the body. In the dust, which had accumulated round the skeleton, were found beads and small ornaments belonging to a necklace. The beads are of opaque colored glass, agate, cornelian, and amethyst. A small crouching lion of lapis lazuli, pierced on the back, had been attached to the end of the necklace. The vases and ornaments are Egyptian in their character, being identical with similar remains found in the tombs of Egypt, and preserved in collections of antiquities from that country. With the beads was a cylinder, on which is represented the king in his chariot, hunting the wild bull, as in the bas-relief from the northwest palace. The surface of the cylinder has been so much worn and injured, that it is difficult to distinguish the figures upon it. A copper ornament resembling a modern seal, two bracelets of silver, and a pin for the hair were also discovered I carefully collected and preserved

these interesting remains, which seemed to prove that the body had been that of a female.

On digging beyond this tomb, I found a second, similarly constructed, and of the same size. In it were two vases of highly glazed green pottery, elegant in shape, and in perfect preservation. Near them was a copper mirror, and a copper lustral spoon, all Egyptian in form.

Many other tombs were opened, containing vases, plates, mirrors, spoons, beads, and ornaments. Some of them were built of baked bricks, carefully joined, but without mortar; others were formed by large earthen sarcophagi, covered with an entire alabaster slab, similar to those discovered in the south-east corner of the mound, and already described.*

Having carefully collected and packed the contents of the tombs, I removed them and dug deeper into the mound. I was surprised to find, about *five feet beneath them*, the remains of a building. Walls of unbaked bricks could still be traced; but the slabs, with which they had been cased, were no longer in their places, being scattered about without order, and lying mostly with their faces on the flooring of unbaked bricks. Upon them, were both sculptures and inscriptions. Slab succeeded to slab; and when I had removed nearly twenty tombs, and cleared away the earth from a space of about fifty feet square, the ruins, which had been thus uncovered, presented a very singlar appearance. Above one hundred slabs were exposed to view, packed in rows, one against the other, as slabs in a stonecutter's yard, or as the leaves of a gigantic book. Every slab was sculptured; and as they were placed in a regular series, according to the subjects upon them, it was evident that they had been moved, in the order in which they stood, from their original positions against the walls of sun-dried brick; and had been left as found preparatory to their removal elsewhere. That they were not thus arranged before being used in the building for which they had been orignally sculp-

* See Vol. I. p. 285.

tured, was evident from the fact, proved beyond a doubt by repeated observation, that the Assyrians carved their slabs after, and not before, they were placed. Subjects were continued on adjoining slabs, figures and chariots being divided in the centre. There were places for the iron brackets, or dovetails. They had evidently been once filled, for I could still trace marks and stains left by the metal. To the south of the centre bulls were two gigantic figures, similar to those discovered to the north.*

These sculptures resembled, in many respects, some of the bas-reliefs found in the southwest palace, in which the sculptured face of the slab was turned, it will be remembered, towards the walls of unbaked bricks. It appeared, therefore, that the centre building had been destroyed, to supply materials for the construction of this edifice. But here were tombs *over* the ruins. The edifice had perished, and in the earth and rubbish accumulating above its remains, a people whose funereal vases and ornaments were identical in form and material with those found in the catacombs of Egypt, had buried their dead. What race, then, occupied the country after the destruction of the Assyrian palaces? At what period were these tombs made? What antiquity did their presence assign to the buildings beneath them? These are questions which I am yet unable to answer; and which must be left undecided, until the origin and age of the contents of the tombs can be satisfactorily determined.

The bas-reliefs differed considerably from those of the northwest palace, both in the character of the sculpture, and the treatment of the subjects; in the costumes of the figures, in the caparisons of the horses, and in the form of the chariots. The distinction was so great, that the short period elapsing between the reigns of a father and son could scarcely have given rise, except under extraordinary circumstances, to so considerable a change in all these points. As the centre bulls

* See Vol. I. p. 28[illegible].

were inscribed with the name of the son of the founder of the northwest building, it might be presumed that the ruins near them belong to the same period as the rest of the palace. However, this is liable to doubt. The bulls, as it has already been pointed out,* may have stood alone on the platform, and may have been placed long previous to the construction of an edifice. There were a few inscriptions accompanying the bas-reliefs, and they may hereafter serve to decide the question. On the greater number of slabs, however, the space between the bas-reliefs was left without any inscription.

The subjects principally recorded by the sculptures thus found collected together, with the exception of a few gigantic figures of the king and his attendant eunuchs, and of the winged priests or divinities, were battle-pieces and sieges. Some cities were represented as standing on a river, in the midst of groves of date-trees; others on mountains. Amongst the conquered people were warriors mounted on camels. It may be inferred, therefore, that a part of these sculptures were made to record the invasion or conquest of an Arab nation, or perhaps of a part of Babylonia; the inhabitants of the cities being assisted by auxiliaries, or allies from the neighboring desert. The conquered race, as in the bas-reliefs of the northwest palace, were generally without helmets or armor, their hair falling loosely on their shoulders. Some, however, were provided with helmets, which vary in shape from those worn by the conquerors.

A battering ram, differing in form from that seen in the earlier sculptures, was found on bas-reliefs representing sieges. They were unaccompanied by the moving tower; some were provided with two rams, the ends of which, instead of being broad and blunt, were pointed, and resembled the heads of spears.

On two slabs (occupied by one subject) were bas-reliefs of considerable interest. They have been sent to England, and

* Vol. I. p. 281.

represent the taking of a city, within the walls of which grew the palm and other trees. The place having been sacked, the conquerors are seen carrying away the spoil. Two eunuchs, standing near the gates, count, as they pass before them, the sheep, oxen, and other cattle driven away by the warriors, and write down the numbers with a pen upon rolls of paper or leather. In the lower part of the bas-relief, are two carts drawn by oxen. Two women and a child are in each. The women appear to be carrying away bags, containing provisions or valuable property, saved during the sack. Near the gates stand two battering rams, which, the city having been taken, are no longer at work. The subject is not ill-arranged, and the oxen drawing the cart are well designed.

On the fragment of a slab were found two gigantic horses' heads, well designed; but sculptured in very low relief, and greatly injured. I also discovered parts of a winged human-headed bull, the whole being in relief. I was able to preserve one of the heads.

Upon other slabs were the king seated on his throne, the sun, moon, and other religious symbols being placed above his head, and receiving prisoners with their arms bound behind them; eunuchs registering the heads of the enemy, laid at their feet by the conquering warriors; a procession of gods borne on the shoulders of men; and many other subjects.

The sides of all the slabs thus placed one against the other —the part which, in the event of their gradual covering up, would have been longest exposed—were worn away. It was, therefore, evident that they had not been buried by the same process as the sculptures in the northwest palace, the walls of which could not have been long exposed. If the edifice to which they originally belonged had been suddenly covered up, it must have been subsequently excavated. The slabs were then removed from their places, and arranged as they were found, preparatory to being used for other purposes, probably for the construction of the southwest palace. Not having been carried away, as that palace had not been finished, they

were left exposed, and were gradually covered by dust and rubbish. As the slabs stood on their sides, and not upright, all the bas-reliefs had suffered more or less injury. Many were completely destroyed, no traces of sculpture remaining upon them. The upper part of the slabs had not been the first injured; this proves that they were not exposed whilst standing in their original position, but subsequent to their removal.

Although on each slab the two bas-reliefs were divided by an unsculptured space, as in the northwest palace, in few instances, as I have already mentioned, were inscriptions cut upon it. It had been left blank; but whether intentionally, or because the building had never been completed, there were no means of ascertaining. The slabs, too, were much thinner than those used in other parts of the mound; and, as the dove-tailed and circular holes for metal braces on the top were cut in half, it is evident that they had been reduced in size after having been used. They had probably been sawn in two, the other half having been carried elsewhere. There were no inscriptions on the back, as is invariably the case in the northwest palace; and this is another proof that the slabs had been reduced after they had been placed. In fact, I have little doubt, from the appearance of these ruins, that the building to which the sculptures originally belonged had been suddenly buried, like that in the northwest corner of the mound; and that it had subsequently been uncovered, the materials being wanted for the construction, as I have conjectured, of the southwest palace. The slabs, not having been required, were left exposed, until they were reburied by a gradual accumulation of dust and rubbish. I could still trace the walls of unbaked bricks, forming the divisions of chambers in the old edifice.

To the east of the centre bulls I discovered the remains of several slabs, still standing in their proper position. The lower part alone remained, the upper having been completely destroyed. Upon them had been sculptured gigantic winged figures, carrying the usual square vessel, and a sacred flower

Several trenches were opened around these remains; but, with the exception of the sculptures just mentioned, and the fragments of a second winged bull of yellow limestone, I could find no traces of building in the centre of the mound.

I have described the singular appearance presented by the ruins in the southwest corner. Several parties of workmen were now engaged in exploring them. When all the walls still standing had been traced, and trenches opened in opposite directions, so that no remains of building could escape observation, I was equally at a loss to determine the position of the chambers, and the extent of the edifice.

It will be seen, by a reference to plan 2, that the only portion of the building sufficiently well preserved to give any idea of its original form, was one large hall curiously constructed. Leading into it were two entrances, formed by gigantic winged bulls and lions with human heads; and, in the centre, was a portal formed by a second pair of bulls. At entrance *a*, were a pair of lions with the crouching sphinxes between: at entrance *c*, a pair of bulls much injured, only the lower part being entire. A human head, belonging to one of them, was, however, discovered near the remains of the body; and as it was nearly entire, I sent it to Busrah. The second pair of bulls were at entrance *b*. They resembled the lions at entrance *a*, in having figures sculptured behind the body of the animal, and between the cap and the wings. Between them were a pair of double sphinxes—two sphinxes, resembling those already described, being united, and forming one pedestal. They had been greatly injured by fire, and the heads and all the sculptured portions of the figure had fallen to pieces.*

The lions and bulls were all sculptured out of a coarse gray limestone; the space between them was paved with small slabs of the same material. I have called all the space in-

* The remains of a small double sphinx of this kind had already been found in the rubbish at entrance *a*. See Vol. I. page 284.

closed by the walls *d*, *e*, *m*, *l*, *k*, and *j*, one hall; although it is divided into four separate chambers by a thick partition in the centre. This partition appears to have been merely constructed to support the beams of the roof, and not to have been meant as a division between different rooms.

The hall narrows near the four corners, and in the narrowest part at each extremity were two low spherical stones, flattened at the top. I cannot account for their use. If they were bases of columns supporting the roof, why were they placed in the narrowest part of the hall? No remains of pillars were found near them, and if any ever existed they must have been of wood. It appears more probable that these stones corresponded in some manner with the crouching sphinxes between the bulls and lions; and were altars to receive sacrifices, or tables upon which vases or utensils were laid.

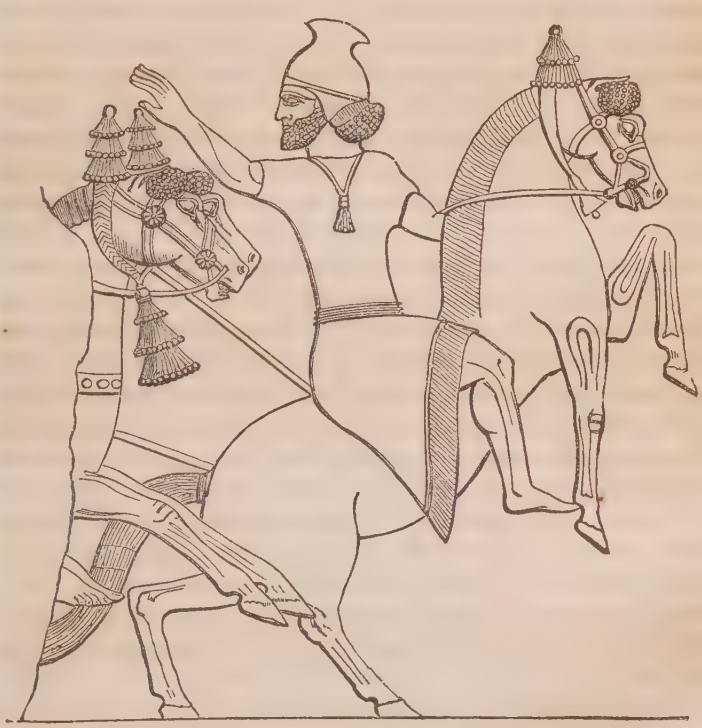
The whole of this hall was panelled with slabs brought from elsewhere; the only sculptures, attributable to those who built it, being the gigantic lions and bulls, and the crouching sphinxes. The slabs were not all from the same edifice. Some, and by far the greater number, belonged to the northwest, others to the centre, palace. But there were many bas-reliefs which differed greatly, in the style of art, from the sculptures discovered in both those buildings. From whence they were obtained I was unable to determine; whether from a palace of another period once existing at Nimroud, and still concealed in a part of the mound not explored, or from some ruin in the neighborhood.

All the walls had been exposed to fire; the slabs were nearly reduced to lime, and were too much injured and cracked to bear removal. They were not all sculptured; the bas-reliefs being scattered here and there; and, as I have already observed, always when left entire, turned towards the wall of sun-dried brick. The earth had consequently to be removed by the workmen from both sides of the slabs.

I will proceed to describe the walls as they are marked on

the plan; without a reference to which, the details and form of the ruins can scarcely be understood.

All the slabs in wall *a* were unsculptured, except Nos. 5 and 10. On the first were represented the walls of a castle, the king being within, seated on his throne, and receiving his vizir. Around him were his attendants, and above him a groom bringing corn to a horse tied to a manger. On the other slab was a horseman wearing a helmet with a curved crest, of which a sketch is given. He appears to be raising his hand in the act of asking for quarter, whilst his horse,



Enemy asking quarter of Assyrian horsemen. (S. W. Palace, Nimroud.)

pierced by the spears of two pursuing warriors, is rearing and plunging.* Both the slabs had been greatly injured.

No remains of sculpture could be traced on walls *b*, *c*, and *d* Upon the faces of most of the slabs forming wall *e*, were the marks of a chisel, or of some metal instrument. The bas-reliefs had been carefully erased, the only part of the figures remaining being the feet, which would probably have been concealed by the pavement of the chamber. As the sculptured face of the slabs had been turned towards the chamber, and not to the wall of sun-dried brick, it is evident that the bas-reliefs had been purposely destroyed; the intention of the builders of the edifice being either to recarve the alabaster, or to reduce it to a smooth surface. The boots, and fringes on the lower part of the dresses of the erased figures, identified them with the sculptures in chambers D and E of the north-west palace (plan 3), from whence indeed they may have been brought, as the ravine to the north of that edifice must have been partly caused by the removal of a wall. On the slab adjoining entrance *e*, were two bas-reliefs, the upper (partly destroyed) representing warriors hewing down trees; the lower, a warrior on horseback hunting the wild bull. Both were too much injured to bear removal.

Only parts of walls *f* and *h* had been finished; many of the slabs not having been used, and still lying in the centre of the chamber. It was evident that they had not fallen after having been placed, for they were entire, having only suffered injury from fire; they were, moreover, arranged in rows with great regularity, and, in one or two instances, heaped one above the other. These prostrate slabs, therefore, furnished additional evidence that the building had been destroyed before its completion. In wall *f*, were the two sculptured slabs already described.† In wall *h*, there were bas-reliefs on Nos. 1, 2, and on the adjoining prostrate slab. In the upper compart-

* This sculpture will be placed in the British Museum.

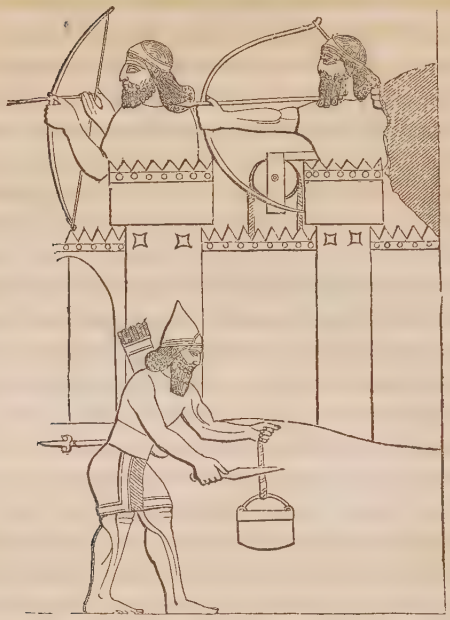
† See Vol. I. page 55.

ment of No. 2, was represented the king, in his chariot, discharging an arrow against a charioteer, whose horses had already been wounded. Scattered about, were the bodies of the slain. The top of this bas-relief had been destroyed, and the slab so much injured, that it could not be moved. In the lower compartment were two kneeling archers, wearing the conical helmet, and a eunuch also discharging an arrow; behind them were several figures, probably prisoners, raising their hands. The draperies, and ornaments on both bas-reliefs were elegant and elaborate, resembling those on the opposite slab (No. 1, wall *f*), to which they appear originally to have been joined, forming part of the same subjects.

The corner stone (No. 1) was reversed; upon it was a figure with the conical cap, apparently made of bands of linen or felt, and already described as represented in the sculptures of chambers D and E (plan 3).* The upper part of the stone (or the lower part of the reversed figure) had been purposely destroyed, the marks of the chisel being visible. In this respect, and in its position, it resembled the opposite corner stone.

On the prostrate slab were two bas-reliefs. The upper was so much injured that the outlines of a chariot, and warriors on foot, could with difficulty be traced. The lower was the siege of a castle; a eunuch was represented discharging his arrows against warriors, without helmets, who manned the towers and walls. The besiegers were leading away prisoners, and carrying off the spoil. One high-capped warrior was seen cutting a bucket from a rope passed through a pulley; and probably used by the besieged to supply themselves with water from a well, without the castle walls. The pulley resembled those now in common use for raising and lowering buckets into wells. This bas-relief had been brought from the north-west palace.

* See Vol. I. page 218. The head of this figure will be placed in the British Museum.



Part of a bas-relief, showing a pulley, and a warrior cutting a bucket from the rope.

There were no slabs against wall *g*, nor near it; those of wall *i* were unsculptured. Upon the two opposite slabs at *ii*, were winged human-headed bulls, resembling in form those at the entrance to the hall; except that the whole, including the head and forepart, was sculptured in low relief. They bore no traces of an inscription. The cap was high and square; and they resembled, in all respects, the remains of the bull discovered in the centre of the mound.

Walls *j*, and *jj*, were cased with unsculptured slabs, each bearing an inscription similar to that on the back of the slabs in the northwest palace: they had evidently been brought from that building.

In wall *k* there were three sculptured slabs. The bas-re-

liefs on Nos. 12 and 16 have already been described.* On No. 17 was a winged figure almost completely destroyed. On the floor, and opposite No. 18 of this wall, was a large square slab bearing a long inscription. It commenced with the name and titles of a king, of whom no other records have yet been discovered. The forms of certain arrow-headed characters show, that this inscription belongs to a period posterior to the reign of the great-grandson of the founder of the northwest palace.

On the backs of several slabs, forming the wall *l*, were bas-reliefs; but all so much injured, that scarcely a trace of the sculpture remained. The slab lying on the pavement opposite this wall was plain; the edges were raised, and it was pierced in the centre.

On all the slabs of wall *m*, was the inscription containing the name of the founder of the northwest palace; and the reversed slab (No. 10), already described, appears to have been a pavement stone, also brought from that building.

To the north of the entrance *c* of the great hall, remains of buildings were discovered, but no entire chamber. A large number of unplaced slabs were scattered about. They appear to have been brought from elsewhere, to be used in the construction of the palace, and to have been abandoned before they reached their destination. Although many detached walls were uncovered, it was impossible to determine the form and size of the chambers to which they belonged.

In front of entrance *c*, and about 220 feet from it, were the remains of a pair of winged bulls, forming another entrance. The whole space between may have been comprised in one large hall, open at the top. The wall forming the east side of this hall, if it had ever been finished, had almost completely disappeared; the traces of it being only marked here and there, by fragments of calcined alabaster. Of the opposite, or western wall, a few sculptured slabs, probably brought from elsewhere,

* See Vol. I. page 64.

were alone standing. To the right and left of the entrance *f*, were the remains of gigantic figures in relief; but they had been exposed to the fire, and had been cracked into a thousand pieces.* They also appear to have belonged to another edifice.

Upon the three slabs forming the wall *r*, were bas-reliefs of considerable interest They once formed part of another building, but do not belong to either the northwest, or the centre palace. They appear to be of the same period as the bas-reliefs on wall *q*,† already described. In the lower compartment of No. 1 was a charioteer, in a highly ornamented chariot—the horse being held by a groom on foot, preceded by a eunuch. This relief must have formed part of a series; the figures represented in it being probably the attendants of the king. The caparisons of the horses resembled those at Khorsabad. Above this bas-relief was also a chariot, and a man on foot; but they had been almost entirely destroyed. On the lower part of No. 2 was the king placing his foot on the neck of a prostrate prisoner, and raising his spear over him. Following the king is a eunuch carrying a fan; and standing before him, his vizir, also attended by a eunuch. This bas-relief did not form part of the preceding; for the king would have faced the chariot on that slab—a position which he never appears to occupy in the Assyrian sculptures. The upper compartment was nearly defaced; I could, however, trace the figures of warriors discharging their arrows from behind a high shield held in front of them by an attendant.

On the lower part of slab No. 3, was a bas-relief of considerable interest. It represented either a procession of gods, borne on the shoulders of warriors; or warriors returning from the sack of a city, carrying away the idols of the conquered people. Each figure was raised by four men; the first was that of a female, seated on a high-backed arm-chair, look-

* On No. 2, wall *v*, could be still traced a winged figure leading a goat, or an ibex.

† Vol. I. page 68.

ing towards the spectator; the face is, consequently, sculptured in full,—a rare occurrence in Assyrian sculpture. In one hand, she holds a ring; in the other, apparently, a kind of fan or triangle; on the top of her square horned cap is a star. The next figure is also that of a female, wearing a similar cap, seated in a chair, and holding in her left hand a ring; she carries something in her right hand, but its form cannot be distinguished. The third figure is much smaller in its proportions than those preceding it, and is half concealed in a case, or box, carried on a chair: there is also a ring in its left hand. The fourth is that of a man in the act of walking; in one hand he holds the thunderbolt of the Greek Jove—represented as at Malthaiyah; and in the other, an axe. He wears a richly ornamented tunic descending to the knees. The warriors, bearing these figures, were probably preceded and followed by others, also carrying idols; but no traces of the slabs, forming the rest of the series, could be found amongst the ruins. On each slab between the bas-reliefs, was an inscription, divided into two parts by a perpendicular line.

Trenches were opened, in various directions, across the corner of the mound in which these remains were discovered. Nothing, however, was found but isolated unplaced slabs, and fragments of burnt walls. With adequate means and time at my disposal, I might have determined, by a careful examination, the position of the walls of sun-dried bricks, if they had ever been built. Tracing them, by the fragments remaining, I could have ascertained the form of the chambers, and perhaps that of the entire building. It would have been difficult, however, to distinguish between these walls and the earth and rubbish under which they were buried; and as no more sculptures appeared to exist, I did not think it worth while to incur additional expense in such an examination.

As *the bottom* of the slabs, forming this edifice, was even above the level of *the top* of those in the northwest palace, and as no building had yet been found from which many of the sculptures could have been taken, it appeared to me possible

that the southwest palace stood above other ruins. By way of experiment, I directed long and very deep trenches to be opened in three different directions; nothing, however, was discovered, but a box or square hole, formed by bricks carefully fitted together, containing several small heads in unbaked clay of a dark brown color. These heads are furnished with beards, and have very high pointed caps (not helmets) or mitres.* They were found about twenty feet beneath the surface, and were probably idols placed, for some religious purpose, under the foundations of buildings. Objects somewhat similar, in unbaked clay, were discovered at Khorsabad, buried under the slabs forming the pavement between the gigantic bulls.

Near the entrance *d* of the great hall was found, amidst a mass of charred wood and charcoal, and beneath a fallen slab, part of a beam in good preservation. It appears to be mulberry. This is the only portion of entire wood as yet discovered in the ruins of Assyria.

The southeast corner of the mound, which was considerably higher than any other part, appears to have been the principal burying place of those who occupied the country after the destruction of the oldest of the Assyrian palaces. I have already described two tombs discovered there;† many others were subsequently found. The sarcophagi were mostly of the same shape, that of a dish-cover; but there were other tombs constructed of bricks, well fitted together and covered by a slab, similar to those above the ruins of the edifice in the centre of the mound. In nearly all were earthen vases, copper and silver ornaments, lachrymatories and small alabaster bottles. The skeletons, as soon as uncovered, crumbled to pieces, although entire when first exposed. Two skulls alone have been preserved. Scattered amongst these tombs were a large number of vases of all sizes, lamps, and small objects of pottery —some uninjured, others broken into fragments.

* They will be deposited in the British Museum. † See Vol. I. p. 285, etc.

Removing these tombs I discovered beneath them the remains of a building, and explored seven chambers, of which I give the plan. No sculptured slabs or inscriptions were found in them. They resembled those in the ruin to the north of Kouyunjik;* the lower part of the walls being built of plain slabs of limestone, three feet seven inches high and from two to three feet wide, closely fitted together. The upper part, of sun-dried bricks, had been covered by a thick coat of white plaster. I could trace this brick wall about fourteen feet above the slabs. The chambers were paved with limestone. There were no traces of inscriptions, nor were there any remains or fragments by which the comparative age of the building could be determined. In the walls were recesses like those in some of the chambers of the northwest palace, and the door-posts were slightly ornamented with a rough kind of cornice. No remains of color could be seen on the plastered walls.

In the rubbish, near the bottom of these chambers, several small objects were found; amongst them I may mention a female head in white alabaster, highly ornamented and showing traces of color.†

A trench having been opened on the southern edge of the mound, an outer wall, built of squared stones, or rather slabs, was discovered. Behind it were other walls of similar construction leading inwards, and a low platform, resembling a stone seat, in which were cut several holes, like the fireplaces used by the natives of the country to hold charcoal when they roast their meat. The Arabs consequently named the place the "Kibab Shop." The whole was buried under a heap of charcoal and rubbish, in which were found several small vases, and part of a highly polished black slab, having, on either face, a cuneiform inscription, and on the sides figures of animals. Similar remains of building were discovered on the south-eastern edge of this part of the mound. The whole, including

* Vol. I. p. 132. † This head will be placed in the British Museum.

the centre chambers, appeared to form parts of one extensive edifice.

Between the palace in the southwest corner and the ruins last described, was a deep ravine; whether an ancient artificial ascent to the platform, gradually deepened and widened by the winter rains, or entirely a natural water-course, I was unable to determine. Along its sides, to a considerable depth, were exposed masses of brickwork. I directed several trenches to be carried from this ravine into the southeastern corner, in the expectation of finding buildings beneath the chambers already explored. A few fragments of sculptured alabaster, the remains of a winged bull in yellow limestone, and a piece of black stone bearing small figures, evidently from an obelisk resembling that found in the centre palace, were discovered; but to the west of the upper building. I could also trace walls of sun-dried brick, still bearing remains of painted ornaments, but the excavations were not sufficiently extensive to enable me to ascertain the nature and extent of the edifice. Finding no sculptured slabs, I did not continue my researches in this part of the ruins.

It only remains for me to mention a singular discovery on the eastern face of the mound, near its northern extremity. I had opened a trench* from the outer slope, with a view to ascertain the nature of the wall surrounding the inner buildings. I found no traces of stone, or of alabaster slabs; the wall being built of sun-dried bricks and nearly fifty feet thick. In its centre, about fifteen feet below the surface of the platform, the workmen came upon a small vaulted chamber, built of baked bricks. It was about ten feet high, and the same in width. The arch was constructed upon the well-known principle of vaulted roofs—the bricks being placed sideways, one against the other, and having been probably sustained by a framework until the vault was completed. This chamber was nearly blocked up with rubbish, the greater part being a kind of slag.

* *r*, plan 1.

The sides of the bricks, forming the arched roof and the walls, were almost vitrified, and had evidently been exposed to very intense heat. In fact, the chamber had the appearance of a large furnace for making glass, or for fusing metal. I am unable to account for its use. It is buried in the centre of a thick wall, and I could find no access to it from without. If, therefore, either originally a furnace or serving for any other purpose, it must have been used before the upper part of the wall was built.

Several trenches were opened in other parts of the mound.* Every where I found traces of buildings, and generally reached a pavement of baked bricks between ten and fifteen feet beneath the surface. In the northern half of the mound, the name of the founder of the earliest palace was written upon all these bricks. No remains, however, of sculptured slabs or inscriptions were discovered; but many small objects of considerable interest were occasionally taken out of the rubbish: amongst them I may mention three lions' paws in copper, of beautiful form, which may have belonged to the bottom of a couch or throne.†

The ruins were, of course, very inadequately explored; but with the small sum at my disposal I was unable to pursue my researches to the extent that I could have wished. If, after carrying a trench to a reasonable depth and distance, no remains of sculpture or inscription appeared, I abandoned it and renewed the experiment elsewhere. By this mode of proceeding I could ascertain, at least, that in no part of the mound was there any very extensive edifice still standing; although it is highly probable that slabs taken from such an edifice, and placed together in readiness for removal, like those discovered in the centre, may still be buried under the soil. But there is nothing to point out the spot where such remains may be deposited, and I might have sought after them in vain for months.

* At *o*, *p*, *q*, *s*, and *t*, in plan 1.

† Found at *p*, plan 1.

There were too many tangible objects in view to warrant an outlay in experiments, perhaps leading to no results; and I have left a great part of the mound of Nimroud to be explored by those, who may hereafter succeed me in the examination of the ruins of Assyria

CHAPTER XII.

I HAD long wished to excavate in the mounds of Kalah Sherghat,—ruins rivalling those of Nimroud and Kouyunjik in extent. An Arab, from the Shammar, would occasionally spend a night amongst my workmen, and entertain them with accounts of idols and sculptured figures of giants, which had long been the cause of wonder and awe to the wandering tribes, who occasionally pitch their tents near the place. On my first visit, I had searched in vain for such remains; but the Arabs, who are accustomed to seek for pasture during the spring in the neighborhood, persisted in their assertions, and offered to show me where these strange statues, carved, it was said, in black stone, were to be found. As there is scarcely a ruin in Mesopotamia without its wondrous tale of apparitions and Frank idols, I concluded that Kalah Sherghat was to be ranked amongst the number, and that all these accounts were to be attributed to the fertile imagination of the Arabs. As the vicinity is notoriously dangerous, being a place of rendezvous for all plundering parties, whether of the Shammar, the Aneyza, or the Obeid, I had deferred a visit to the ruins, until I could remain amongst them for a short time under the protection of some powerful tribe. This safeguard was also absolutely necessary in the event of my sending workmen to the place, to carry on excavations.

The pastures in the neighborhood of Mosul having this year been completely dried from the want of rain, the three great divisions of the Jebour Arabs sought the jungles on the

banks of the Tigris below Mosul. Abd'rubbou with his tribe descended the river, and first pitching his tents at Senidij,* near the confluence of the Tigris and the Zab, subsequently moved towards Kalal Sherghat. I thought this a favorable time for excavating in the great mound; and the Sheikh having promised to supply me with Arabs for the work, and with guards for their defence, I sent Mansour, one of my superintendents, to the spot. I followed some days afterwards, accompanied by Mr. Hormuzd Rassam, the Bairakdar, and several well-armed men, chosen from amongst the Jebour who were employed at Nimroud.

We crossed the river on a small raft—our horses having to swim the stream. Striking into the desert by the Wadi Jehennem, we rode through a tract of land, at this time of year usually covered with vegetation; but then, from the drought, a barren waste. During some hours' ride we scarcely saw any human being, except a solitary shepherd in the distance, driving before him his half-famished flocks. We reached at sunset a small encampment of the Jebour. The tents were pitched in the midst of a cluster of high reeds on the banks of the Tigris, and nearly opposite to the tomb of Sultan Abdallah. They were so well concealed, that it required the experienced eye of a Bedouin to detect them,† by the thin smoke rising above the thicket. The cattle and sheep found scanty pasturage in a marsh formed by the river. The Arabs were as poor and miserable as their beasts; they received us, however, with hospitality, and killed a very lean lamb for our entertainment.

Near the encampment was a quadrangle, resembling on a small scale the great inclosures of Nimroud and Kouyunjik,

* A corruption of Sunedik, the plural form of Sanduk, a box. The place is so called by the Arabs from the peculiar form of the rocks near the river.

† In the desert, the vicinity of an encampment is generally marked by some sign well known to the members of the tribe. It would otherwise be very difficult to discover the tents, pitched, as they usually are, in some hollow or ravine to conceal them from hostile plundering parties.

formed by low mounds, and evidently marking the site of an Assyrian town or fort. I searched for some time, but without success, for fragments of pottery or brick bearing the traces of cuneiform characters.

On the following day we passed the bitumen pits, or the "Kiyara," as they are called by the Arabs. They cover a considerable extent of ground; the bitumen bubbling up in springs from crevices in the earth. The Jebour, and other tribes encamping near the pits, carry the bitumen for sale to Mosul, and other parts of the Pashalic. It is extensively used for building purposes, for lining the boats on the river, and particularly for smearing camels, when suffering from certain diseases of the skin to which they are liable. Before leaving the pits, the Arabs, as is their habit, set fire to the bitumen, which sent forth a dense smoke, obscuring the sky, and being visible for many miles. We reached the tents of Abd'rubbou early in the afternoon. They were pitched about ten miles to the north of Kalah Sherghat, at the upper end of a long slip of rich alluvial soil, lying between the river and the range of low hills parallel to it. The great mound was visible from this spot, rising high above the Zor, or jungle, which clothes the banks of the Tigris.

No Sheikh could have made a more creditable show of friendship than did Abd'rubbou. He rode out to meet me, and, without delay, ordered sheep enough to be slain to feast half his tribe. I declined, however, to spend the night with him, as he pressed me to do, on the plea that I was anxious to see the result of the excavations at Kalah Sherghat. He volunteered to accompany me to the ruins after we had breakfasted, and declared that if a blade of grass were to be found near the mound, he would move all his tents there immediately for my protection. In the meanwhile, to do me proper honor, he introduced me to his wives, and to his sister, whose beauty I had often heard extolled by the Jebour, and who was not altogether undeserving of her reputation. She was still unmar-

ried. Abd'rubbcu himself was one of the handsomest Arabs in Mesopotamia.

We started for the ruins in the afternoon, and rode along the edge of the jungle. Hares, wolves, foxes, jackals, and wild boars continually crossed our path, and game of all kinds seemed to abound. The Arabs gave chase; but the animals were able to enter the thick brushwood, and conceal themselves before my greyhounds could reach them. Lions are sometimes found near Kalah Sherghat, rarely higher up on the Tigris.* As I floated down to Baghdad a year before, I had heard the roar of a lion not far from this spot: they are, however, seldom seen, and we beat the bushes in vain for such noble game.

As for grass, except in scanty tufts at the foot of the trees in the jungle, there appeared to be none at all. The drought had been felt all over the desert: in the place of the green meadows of last year, covered with flowers, and abounding in natural reservoirs of water, there was a naked yellow waste, in which even the abstemious flocks of the Bedouin could scarcely escape starvation.

As we rode along, Abd'rubbou examined every corner and ravine in the hope of finding an encamping place, and a little pasture for his cattle, but his search was not attended with much success.

The workmen on the mound, seeing horsemen approach, made ready for an encounter, under the impression that we were a foraging party from a hostile tribe. As soon, however, as they recognized us, they threw off the superfluous garments they possessed. Dropping their shirts from their

* The lion is frequently met with on the banks of the Tigris below Baghdad, rarely above. On the Euphrates it has been seen, I believe, almost as high as Bir, where the steamers of the first Euphrates expedition, under Colonel Chesney, were launched. In the Sinjar, and on the banks of the Khabour, they are frequently caught by the Arabs. They abound in Khuzistan, the ancient Susiana: I have frequently seen three or four together, and have hunted them with the chiefs of the tribes inhabiting that province.

shoulders, and tying them round their waist by the arms, they set up the war cry, and rushed in and out of the trenches like madmen.

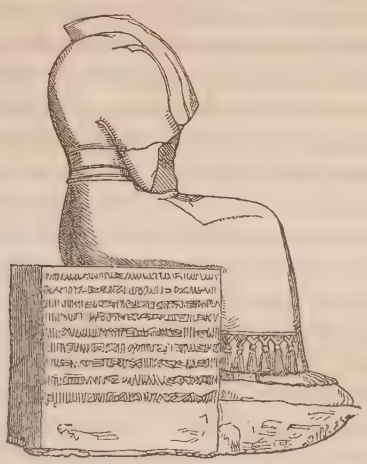
We heard their shouts from afar, but could see nothing from the dust they made in throwing out the earth. I found that Mansour, the superintendent, had organized a regular system of warlike defence. We were hailed by scouts as we advanced, and there were well-armed watchmen on all the heights. Near each trench were the matchlocks and spears of the workmen, ready for use. "What need of all these precautions?" said I to the timid Christian, as he advanced to receive me. "Yia Rubbi! May God preserve you, O Bey!" replied he. "Our lives, under your shadow, are, of course, of no value—may yours be prolonged. But all the unbelievers in the world—whether they be Aneyza, Shammar, Obeid, or any other manner of infidel—congregate here. If we put a morsel of bread into our mouths—lo! we have to spit it out again, before we can eat it, to meet those accursed Bedouins. If we shut our eyes in sleep, they steal our caldrons and pots, and we have nothing wherewith to bake our bread; so that, if we are not killed, we must be starved. They come from the desert and from the river—from north, south, east and west. But we have eaten your bread, and shall not go unrewarded after all these sufferings." The concluding paragraph accounted to some extent for this exaggerated history of their miseries; but I learnt that scarcely a day had elapsed without the appearance of a body of horsemen from some of the tribes of the desert, and that their visits were not always prompted by the most friendly intentions. The general scarcity, and the rivalry between Sofuk and Nejris, had unsettled the Arabs, and every one was on the look-out to help himself to his neighbor's property. Moreover, reports had soon been spread abroad that a Frank, acquainted with all the secrets and hidden mysteries of wisdom, had been successfully searching for treasure. Many of those who rode to Kalah Sherghat, expected to return much wealthier men than they went, by seizing the heaps of gold

and silver to which, as possessors of the country, they were convinced they had better claims than a stranger. However, with the exception of an occasional squabble with the Bedouins who visited the mound, ending in a few broken heads, no very serious engagement had yet taken place—my workmen presenting much too formidable an appearance to be exposed to the attack of any but a large and well-armed party.

The principal excavations had been made on the western side of the mound. After I had succeeded in obtaining silence, and calming the sudden fit of enthusiasm which had sprung up on my arrival, I descended into the trenches. A sitting figure in black basalt, of the size of life, had been uncovered. It was, however, much mutilated. The head and hands had been destroyed and other parts of the statue had been injured. The square stool, or block, upon which the figure sat, was covered on three sides with a cuneiform inscription. The first line, containing the name and titles of the king, was almost defaced; but one or two characters enabled me to restore a name identical with that on the great bulls in the centre of the mound at Nimroud. On casting my eye down the first column of the inscription, I found the names of his father (the builder of the most ancient palace of Nimroud), and of his grandfather, which at once proved that the reading was correct. An Arab soon afterwards brought me a brick bearing a short legend, which contained the three names entire. I was thus enabled to fix the comparative epoch of the newly-discovered ruins. At no time did I feel the value of the genealogical lists on the different monuments at Nimroud, more than when exploring other remains in Assyria. They enabled me to ascertain the comparative date of every edifice and rock tablet with which I became acquainted; and to fix the style of art of each period.

The figure, unlike the sculptures of Nimroud and Khorsabad, was in full, and not in relief; and probably represented the king. Part of the beard was still preserved; the hands appear to have rested on the knees, and a long robe edged

with tassels reached to the ankles. The Arabs declared that this statue had been seen some years before; and it is possible that, at some period of heavy rain, it may have been for a



Sitting figure in basalt, from Kalah Sherghat.

short time exposed to view, and subsequently reburied. It stood on a spur of the mound, and probably in its original position. Mansour had dug trenches at right angles with it on four sides, in the expectation of finding a corresponding figure; but he was disappointed in his search, and no remains of building were discovered near it.

In other parts of the mound there were ruins of walls, but we found no more sculptures. Several tombs, similar to those discovered above the palaces at Nimroud, had been opened; and Mansour brought me earthen vases, and bottles taken from them. He had also picked up, amongst the rubbish, a few fragments of stone bearing cuneiform characters, a piece of copper similarly inscribed, and several bits of black stone with small figures in relief, which appeared to have belonged to an obelisk, like that dug up at Nimroud.

Having made a hasty survey of the trenches, I rode to my tent. It had been pitched in the midst of those of my workmen.

The Arabs had found for their encampment a secure place in the jungle at the northern foot of the mound, and not far from the Tigris. A ditch, leading from the river, nearly surrounded the tents, which were completely concealed by the trees and shrubs. Abd'rubbou remained with me for the night. Whilst I was examining the ruins, he had been riding to and fro, to find a convenient spot for his tents, and grass for his cattle. Such is the custom with the Arabs. When the grass, within a certain distance of their encampment, has been exhausted, they prepare to seek new pastures. The Sheikhs and the principal men of the tribe mount their mares, and ride backwards and forwards over the face of the country, until they find herbage sufficient for the wants of their flocks. Having fixed upon a spot, they return to acquaint their followers with their success, and announce their intention of moving thither on the following morning. The Sheikh's tent is generally the first struck; and the rest of the Arabs, if they feel inclined, follow his movements. If any of the tribe have quarrelled with the chief and wish to desert him, they seize this occasion; leaving their tents standing until the others are gone, and then moving off in another direction.

Abd'rubbou having, at length, fixed upon a suitable spot on the banks of the river, to the south of the mound, he marked out a place for his tents, and sent a horseman to his tribe, with orders for them to move to Kalah Sherghat on the following morning. These preliminaries having been settled, he adjourned to my tent to supper. It was cold and damp, and the Arabs, collecting brushwood and the trunks of trees, made a great fire, which lighted up the recesses of the jungle. As the night advanced, a violent storm broke over us; the wind rose to a hurricane—the rain descended in torrents—the thunder rolled in one long peal—and the vivid streams of lightning, almost incessant, showed the surrounding landscape. When the storm had abated, I walked to a short distance from the tents to gaze upon the scene. The huge fire we had kindled, threw a lurid glare over the trees around our encampment. The

great mound could be distinguished through the gloom, rising like a distant mountain against the dark sky. From all sides came the melancholy wail of the jackals—thousands of these animals having issued from their subterranean dwellings in the ruins, as soon as the last gleam of twilight was fading in the western horizon. The owl, perched on the old masonry, occasionally sent forth its mournful note. The shrill laugh of the Arabs would sometimes rise above the cry of the jackal. Then all earthly noises were buried in the deep roll of the distant thunder. It was desolation such as those alone who have witnessed such scenes, can know—desolation greater than the desolation of the sandy wastes of Africa; for there was the wreck of man, as well as that of nature. Some years before, I had passed a night on the same spot. We were four strangers in the land, without guide or defence. Our horses were picketed about us; and although surrounded by dangers, of which we then thought little, and exposed to a continual rain, we ate the frugal fare our own guns had obtained for us; and slept in our cloaks undisturbed, round the embers of the small fire we had lighted.* I did not think then that I should ever revisit the place.

Soon after sunrise on the following morning, stragglers on horseback from Abd'rubbou's late encampment, began to arrive. They were soon followed by the main body of the tribe. Long lines of camels, sheep, laden donkeys, men, women, and children, such as I have described in my visit to Sofuk, covered the small plain, near the banks of the river. A scene of activity and bustle ensued. Every one appeared desirous to outdo his neighbor in vehemence of shouting, and violence of action. A stranger would have fancied that there was one general quarrel; in which, out of several hundred men and women concerned, no two persons took the same side of the question. Every one seemed to differ from every one else. All this confusion, however, was but the result of a friendly

* Ainsworth's Travels in Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, &c., vol. ii.

debate on the site of the respective tents; and when the matter had been settled to the general satisfaction, without recourse to any more violent measures than mere yelling, each family commenced raising their temporary abode. The camels being made to kneel down, and the donkeys to stop in the place fixed upon, the loads were rolled off their backs. The women next spread the coarse, black, goat-hair canvas. The men rushed about with wooden mallets to drive in the stakes and pegs; and in a few minutes the dwellings, which were to afford them shelter until they needed shelter no longer, and under which they had lived from their birth upwards, were complete. The women and girls were then sent forth to fetch water, or to collect brushwood and dry twigs for fire. The men, leaving all household matters to their wives and daughters, assembled in the tent of the Sheikh; and crouching in a circle round an entire trunk of an old tree, which was soon enveloped in flames, they prepared to pass the rest of the day in that desultory small-talk, relating to stolen sheep, stray donkeys, or successful robberies, which fills up the leisure of an Arab, unless he be better employed in plundering, or in war.

There is a charm in this wandering existence, whether of the Kurd or the Arab, which cannot be described. I have had some experience in it, and look back with pleasure to the days I have spent in the desert, notwithstanding the occasional inconveniences of such a life, not the least of them being a strong tendency on the part of all nomads to profess a kind of communist philosophy, supposed in Europe to be the result of modern wisdom; but which appears to have been known, from the earliest times, in the East. Friends and strangers are not always exempted from the rules of this philosophy, and, as reciprocity is as little understood in the Asiatic, as in the European system, their property is made no less free with than that of Job was, by Arabs and Chaldees, some four thousand years ago. Still this mode of life has not always a bad effect on human nature; on the contrary, it frequently acts favorably. One cannot but admire the poor half-naked Arab, who, intrusted

with a letter or message from his Sheikh to the haughty Pasha of Baghdad, walks proudly up to the great man's sofa, and seats himself, unbidden, upon it as an equal. He fulfils his errand as if he were half ashamed of it. If it be too late to return to his tent that night, or if business still keep him from the desert, he stretches himself under a tree outside the city gate, that he may not be degraded by sleeping under a roof or within walls. He believes that the town corrupts the wanderer; and he remembers that, until the Sheikh of the desert visited the citizens, and was feasted in the palaces of their governors, oppression and vices most odious to the Arab were unknown in his tribe.

Leaving Abd'rubbou and his Arabs to pitch their tents, and settle their domestic matters, I walked to the mound. The trenches dug by the workmen around the sitting figure, were almost sufficiently extensive to prove, that no other remains of building existed in its immediate vicinity. Had not the figure been in an upright position I should have concluded, at once, that it had been brought from elsewhere; as I could not find traces of pavement, nor any fragments of sculpture or hewn stone, near it. Removing the workmen, therefore, from this part of the mound, I divided them into small parties, and employed them in making experiments in different directions. Wherever trenches were opened, remains of the Assyrian period were found, but only in fragments; such as bits of basalt, with small figures in relief, portions of slabs bearing cuneiform inscriptions, and bricks similarly inscribed. Many tombs were also uncovered. Like those of Nimroud, they had been made long after the destruction of the Assyrian building, and in the rubbish and earth which had accumulated above it. The sarcophagi resembled those I have already described—large cases of baked clay, some square, others in the form of a dish-cover; as at Nimroud, they were all much too small to hold a human body, unless it had been violently forced in, or the limbs had been separated. That the body had not been burned, was proved by all the bones of the skeleton being found entire

They may have been exposed, as is the custom amongst the Parsees, until, by the usual process of decomposition, or from the flesh being devoured by birds and beasts of prey, the bones were left naked; they may then have been collected, and buried in these earthen cases. In the sarcophagi were found numerous small vases, metal ornaments, and a copper cup, resembling in shape and in the embossing upon it, that represented in the hand of the king, in one of the bas-reliefs of a chamber of the northwest palace of Nimroud.*

Above these ancient tombs were graves of more recent date; some of them, indeed, belonged to the tribes which had, but a few days before, encamped amongst the ruins.† The tenant of one had been removed from his last resting-place by the hungry hyenas and jackals, who haunt these depositories of the dead. The rude casing of stones, forming the interior of an Arab grave, was exposed to view; and the bones and skull, still clothed with shreds of flesh, were scattered around.

Although I remained two days at Kalah Sherghat, I was not able to find the platform of sun-dried bricks upon which the edifice, now in ruins, and covered with earth, must originally have been built. Remains of walls were found in abundance; but they were evidently of a more recent period than the Assyrian building, to which the inscribed bricks, and the fragments of sculptured stone belonged. The trenches opened by the workmen were deep; but still they did not, I think, reach the platform of the older building. The ruins were consequently not thoroughly explored. I saw no remains of the alabaster or Mosul marble, so generally employed in the palaces

* This cup was taken out entire, but was unfortunately broken by the man who was employed to carry it to Mosul.

† The Arabs generally seek some elevated spot to bury their dead. The artificial mounds, abounding in Mesopotamia and Assyria, are usually chosen for the purpose, and there is scarcely one whose summit is not covered with them. On this account I frequently experienced great difficulty whilst excavating, and was compelled to leave unexamined one or two ruins, into which I wished to open trenches.

to the north of Kalah Sherghat. As quarries of that stone do not exist in that neighborhood, unbaked bricks alone may have been used; and if so, the walls built with them could no longer, without very careful examination, be distinguished from the soil in which they are buried. Had there been sculptured slabs, as at Nimroud, it is probable that fragments, at least, would have been found in the ravines after the earth had been washed away by the rains; and they would then most likely have been taken by the Arabs to decorate their graves (the use to which they are generally applied); but no such fragments were to be met with. All the hewn stones discovered amongst the ruins, except the remains of basalt, were evidently obtained from the hills in the immediate vicinity.*

The Tigris has been gradually encroaching upon the ruins, and is yearly undermining and wearing away the mound. Large masses of earth are continually falling into the stream, leaving exposed to view vases, sarcophagi, and remains of building. Along the banks of the river, to the south of the great mound, several remains of circular masonry, which had the appearance of wells, had been thus uncovered. At the time of my first visit, similar wells were exposed, and we were at a loss to account for their origin and use. I now opened two or three of them. They were filled with earth, mixed with human bones and fragments of vases and pottery;† but whether the bones and vases had been originally deposited there, or had fallen in from above with the rubbish, I could not determine. It is possible that these wells may have been constructed, at a very early period, for purposes of irrigation, or to supply water to the inhabitants of the city; and may have been buried, like the surrounding buildings, long before the erection of the upper edifices, and even before the time of the tombs.

The principal ruin at Kalah Sherghat, as at Nimroud,

* They are of a coarse fossiliferous limestone.

† I found similar wells amongst the ruins on the banks of the rivers of Susiana. One having been opened on the river of Dizful, remains, similar to those described in the text, were found in it.

Khorsabad, and on other ancient Assyrian sites, is a large square mound, surmounted by a cone or pyramid. Long lines of smaller mounds or ramparts, inclose a quadrangle, which, from the irregularities in the surface of the ground, and from the pottery and other rubbish scattered about, appears originally to have been partly occupied by small houses, or unimportant buildings.

At Kalah Sherghat, the high conical mound rises nearly in the centre of the north side of the great platform. Immediately below this cone, and forming a facing to the great mound, is a wall of well-hewn stones or slabs, carefully fitted together, and bevelled at the edges. The battlements still existing on the top of this wall, are cut into gradines, resembling in this respect the battlements of castles and towers, as frequently represented in the Nimroud sculptures. It is probably an Assyrian work, and the four sides of the mound may originally have been similarly cased.

It is not improbable that much of the masonry, still visible on the summit of the mound, may be the remains of an Arab or Turkish fort. The position of Kalah Sherghat is well adapted to a permanent settlement. The lands around are rich, and could be irrigated without much labor. If the population of Mesopotamia were more settled than it now is, the high road between Mosul and Baghdad would be carried along the western banks of the Tigris; and Kalah Sherghat might soon become a place of importance, both as a station and as a post of defence. At present, caravans, carrying on the trade between these two cities, are compelled to make a considerable detour to the left of the river. They pass through the towns of Arbil and Kerkouk, and skirt the Kurdish hills, to avoid the Arab tribes of Tai and Obeid. The journey is long and circuitous; and, from the number of large rivers and torrents to be crossed, merchants are, in the winter and spring, frequently delayed for many days. The road through the desert to the right of the Tigris would be direct and short; water could, of course, be easily obtained during the whole

journey, and there are no streams to interrupt the progress of a caravan. There can be little doubt that, in the days of the Arab supremacy, a flourishing commerce was carried on through this wilderness, and that there was a line of settlements, and stations on both sides of the river; but its banks are now the encamping places of wild tribes; and no merchant dares to brave the dangers of the desert, or to compound, if he escapes them, by the payment of an enormous black-mail to the Arab Sheikhs, through whose pasture-grounds his camels must pass.

The principal mound of Kalah Sherghat, is one of the largest ruins with which I am acquainted in Assyria. I had not the leisure, or the means, to measure it accurately during this visit; but when on the spot with Mr. Ainsworth, we carefully paced round it; and the result, according to that gentleman's calculation, gives a circumference of 4685 yards.* A part of it, however, is not artificial. Irregularities in the face of the country, and natural eminences, have been united into one great platform by layers of sun-dried bricks. It is, nevertheless, a stupendous structure, yielding in magnitude and extent to no other artificial mound in Assyria. In height it is unequal; to the south it slopes off nearly to the level of the plain, whilst to the north, where it is most lofty, its sides are perpendicular, in some places rising nearly one hundred feet above the plain.

I will not attempt to connect, without better materials than we now possess, the ruins of Kalah Sherghat with any ancient city whose name occurs in the sacred books, or has been preserved by ancient geographers. That it was one of the most ancient cities of Assyria, the identification of the name of the king, found on its monuments and bricks, with that of the founder of the centre palace of Nimroud, will be sufficient to prove; but whether it be Chalah, one of the four primitive cities mentioned in Genesis,† or the Ur of Abraham, still

* Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, vol. xi. p. 5. † Chap. x. 11.

existing in the time of Ammianus Marcellinus,* I will not venture to determine. Of the geography of ancient Assyria, we know scarcely any thing. When even the site of Nineveh could not recently be determined with any degree of certainty, we can scarcely expect to be able to identify the ruins of less important places. We possess but few names of cities preceding the Persian conquest; and the accounts handed down to us are too meagre and vague, to lead to the identification of the site of any of them. An extended knowledge of the monuments of Assyria, and an acquaintance with the contents of the inscriptions, may, hereafter, enable us not only to fix the position of these cities, but to ascertain the names of many more, which must have existed in so well-peopled a country, and may have perished on the fall of the Empire.

Having directed Mansour to continue the excavations, I prepared to return to Mosul. Abd'rubbou offered to accompany me, and as the desert between Kalah Sherghat and Hammum Ali was infested by roving parties of the Shammar and Aneyza Arabs, I deemed it prudent to accept his escort. He chose eight horsemen from his tribe, and we started together for the desert.

We slept the first night at the tents of a Seyyid, or descendant of the Prophet, of some repute for sanctity, for the miraculous cure of diseases, which he effected by merely touching the patient. The Arabs are fully persuaded of the existence of this power; but I never saw any one who even pretended to have been cured, although there was certainly no lack of subjects for the Seyyid to practise upon. The old gentleman's daughter, a dark, handsome girl, was claimed by a Sheikh of the Jebour, to whom, according to some accounts, she had been betrothed. The greater part of the night was spent in quarrelling and wrangling on this subject. The Sey-

* Lib. xxv. c. 8. Ammianus does not mention Hatra after, but before Ur; so that Mr. Ainsworth's argument in favor of the identification of the latter city with Kalah Sherghat, is scarcely tenable. (Journal of the Geog. Soc. vol. xi.)

vid resolutely denied the contract, on the mere plea that one of such holy descent could not be united to a man, in whose veins the blood of the Prophet did not flow. Abd'rubbou and his friends, on the other hand, as stoutly contended for the claims of the lover, not treating, I thought, so great a saint with a proper degree of respect. Although my tent was pitched at some distance from the assembly, the discordant voices, all joining at the same time in the most violent discussion, kept me awake until past midnight. Suddenly the disputants appeared to have talked themselves out, and there was a lull. Vainly flattering myself that the company had sunk into sleep, I prepared to follow their example. But I had scarcely closed my eyes, when I was roused by a fresh out break of noises. An Arab had suddenly arrived from the banks of the Khabour—the old pasture grounds of the tribe; he was overwhelmed with a thousand questions, and the news he brought of struggles between the Aneyza and the Asai, and the defeat of the former enemies of the Jebour, led to continual bursts of enthusiasm, and to one or two attempts to raise a general shouting of the war-cry. Thus they passed the night, to my great discomfort.

On the morrow I started early with Abd'rubbou and his horsemen. We struck directly across the desert, leaving my servants and baggage to follow leisurely along the banks of the river, by a longer but safer road. When we were within four or five miles of that part of the Tigris at which the raft was waiting for me, I requested Abd'rubbou to return, as there appeared to be no further need of an escort. Mr. Hormuzd Rassam and myself galloped over the plain. We disturbed, as we rode along, a few herds of gazelles, and a solitary wolf, or a jackal; but we saw no human beings. Abd'rubbou and his Arabs were less fortunate; they had scarcely left us when they observed a party of horsemen in the distance, whom they mistook for men of their own tribe returning from Mosul. It was not until they drew nigh that they discovered their mistake. The horsemen were plunderers from the Aneyza. The

numbers were pretty equal. A fight ensued, in which two men on the side of the enemy, and one of the Jebour, were killed; but the Aneyza were defeated, and Abd'rubbou carried off, in triumph, a couple of mares.

A few days after my return to Nimroud, the Jebour were compelled, from want of pasturage, to leave the neighborhood of Kalah Sherghat. The whole desert, as well as the jungle on the banks of the river, which generally supplied, even in the driest seasons, a little grass to the flocks, was dried up. Abd'rubbou, with his tribe, moved to the north. A few of his people came to Nimroud to cultivate millet; but the Sheikh himself, with the greater part of his followers, left the district of Mosul altogether, and migrated to the sources of the Khabour, and to the Nisibin branch of that river—the ancient Mygdonius. The desert to the south of the town was now only frequented by wandering parties of plunderers, and the position of my workmen at Kalah Sherghat became daily more insecure. After they had been once or twice exposed to molestation from the Aneyza, and the Obeid, I found it necessary to withdraw them—had I not, they would probably have run away of themselves. I renounced the further examination of these ruins with regret, as they had not been properly explored; and I have little doubt, from the fragments discovered, that many objects of interest, if not sculptured slabs, exist in the mound.

Although I was unable, at this time, to remove the sitting figure, I have, since my return to England, at the desire of the Trustees of the British Museum, sent orders for its transport to Baghdad. This has been accomplished under the directions of Mr. Ross. It will, I trust, be ere long added to the Assyrian remains now in the national collection. Although it has unfortunately suffered greatly from long exposure, it is of considerable interest, as being the only specimen, hitherto discovered, of an entire Assyrian figure.

CHAPTER XIII.

ASSYRIA PROPER, like Babylonia, owed its ancient fertility as much to the system of artificial irrigation, so extensively and successfully adopted by the inhabitants of the country, as to the rains which fell during the winter and early spring. The Tigris and Euphrates, unlike the Nile, did not overflow their banks, and deposit a rich manure on the face of the land. They rose sufficiently at the time of the melting of the snows in the Armenian hills, to fill the numerous canals led from them into the adjacent country; but their beds were generally so deep, or their banks so high, that when the stream returned to its usual level, water could only be raised by artificial means.

The great canals dug in the most prosperous period of the Assyrian Empire, and used for many centuries by the inhabitants of the country—probably even after the Arab invasion—have long since been choked up, and are now useless. When the waters of the rivers are high, it is still only by the labor of man that they can be led into the fields. I have already described the rude wheels constructed along the banks of the Tigris. Even these are scarce. The government, or rather the local authorities, levy a considerable tax upon machines for irrigation, and the simple buckets of the Arabs become in many cases the source of exaction or oppression. Few are consequently bold enough to make use of them. The land, therefore, near the rivers, as well as that in the interior of the country out of the reach of the canals, is entirely dependent upon the rains for its fertility.

Rain, amply sufficient to insure the most plentiful crops, generally falls during the winter; the grain, in the days of Herodotus, yielding two and even three hundred fold. Indeed, such is the richness of the soil of Assyria, that even a few heavy showers in the course of the year, at the time of sowing the seed, and when the corn is about a foot above the ground, are sufficient to insure a good harvest.* It frequently, however, happens that the season passess without rain. Such was the case this year. During the winter and spring, no water fell. The inhabitants of the villages, who had been induced to return by the improved administration and conciliatory measures of the late Pasha, had put their whole stock of wheat and barley into the ground. They now looked in despair upon the cloudless sky. I watched the young grass as it struggled to break through the parched earth; but it was burnt up almost at its birth. Sometimes a distant cloud hanging over the solitary hill of Arbela, or rising from the desert in the far west, led to hopes, and a few drops of rain gave rise to general rejoicings. The Arabs would then form a dance, and raise songs and shouts, the women joining with the shrill tahlehl. But disappointment always ensued. The clouds passed over, and the same pure blue sky was above us. To me, the total absence of verdure in spring was particularly painful. For months my eye had not rested upon a green thing; and that unchanging yellow, barren waste, has a depressing effect upon the spirits. The Jaif, which the year before had been a flower-garden and had teemed with life, was now as naked and bare as a desert in the midst of summer. I had been looking forward to the return of the grass

* The description of Herodotus agrees exactly with the present state of the country, and with the remains of canals still existing near the two rivers, the Tigris and Euphrates. "The Assyrians," he says, "have but little rain; the lands, however, are fertilized, and the fruits of the earth nourished, by means of the river. This does not, like the Egyptian Nile, enrich the country by overflowing its banks, but is dispersed by manual labor, or by hydraulic engines. The Babylonian district is intersected by a number of canals. Of all countries which have come under my observation this is the most fruitful in corn." (lib. i. c. 193.)

to encamp outside the village, and had meditated many excursions to ancient ruins in the desert and the mountains; but I was doomed to disappointment like the rest.

The Pasha issued orders that Christians, as well as Mussulmans, should join in a general fast and in prayers. Supplications were offered up in the churches and the mosques. The Mohammedans held a kind of three days Ramazan, starving themselves during the day, and feasting during the night. The Christians abstained from meat for the same length of time. If a cloud were seen on the horizon the inhabitants of the villages, headed by their mullahs, would immediately walk into the open country to chant prayers and verses from the Koran. Sheikhs—crazy ascetics who wandered over the country, either half-clothed in the skins of lions or gazelles, or stark naked—burnt themselves with hot irons, and ran shouting about the streets of Mosul. Even a kind of necromancy was not neglected, and the Cadi and the Turkish authorities had recourse to all manner of mysterious incantations, which were pronounced to have been successful in other parts of the Sultan's dominions on similar occasions. A Dervish returning from Mecca, had fortunately brought with him a bottle of the holy water of Zemzem. He offered it, for a consideration, to the Pasha, declaring that when the sacred fluid was poured out in the great mosque, rain must necessarily follow. The experiment had never been known to fail. The Pasha paid the money,—some twenty purses,—and emptied the bottle; but the results were not such as had been anticipated; and the dervish, when sought after to explain, was not to be found.

There was no rain, not even the prospect of a shower. A famine appeared to be inevitable. It was known, however, that there were abundant supplies of corn in the granaries of the principal families of Mosul; and the fact having been brought to the notice of the Pasha, he at once ordered the stores to be opened, and their contents to be offered for sale in the market at moderate prices. As usual, the orders were given to the very persons who were speculating upon the mis-

eries of the poor and needy—to the cadi, the mufti, and the head people of the town. They proceeded to obey, with great zeal and punctuality, the orders of his Excellency; but somehow or another overlooked their own stores and those of their friends, and ransacked the houses of the rest of the inhabitants. In a few days, consequently, those who had saved up a little grain for their own immediate wants, were added to the number of the starving; and the necessities and misery of the town were increased.

The Bedouins, who are dependent upon the villages for supplies, now also began to feel the effects of the failure of the crops. As is generally the case in such times, they were preparing to make up for their sufferings by plundering the caravans of merchants, and the peaceable inhabitants of the districts within reach of the desert. Although early in the spring, the Shammar and other formidable tribes had not yet encamped in the vicinity of Mosul; still, casual plundering parties had made their appearance among the villages, and it was predicted that as soon as their tents were pitched nearer the town the country without the walls would be not only very unsafe, but almost uninhabitable.

These circumstances induced me to undertake the removal of the larger sculptures as early as possible. The dry season had enabled me to carry on the excavations without interruption. As no rain fell to loosen the earth above the ruins there was no occasion to prop up the sides of the trenches, or to cover the sculptures: considerable expense was thus saved. Had there been the usual violent storms, not only would the soil have continually fallen in and reburied the building, but the bas-reliefs would have been exposed to injury. A marsh would also have been formed round the base of the mound, completely cutting me off from the river, and impassable to any cart carrying the larger sculptures. My first plan, when anticipating the usual wet weather, was to wait, before moving the bas-reliefs, until the rain had completely ceased, and the low ground under the mound had been dried up. I

could not, in that case, commence operations before the month of May, when the Tigris would still be swollen by the melting of the snows in the Armenian hills. The stream would then be sufficiently rapid to carry to Baghdad a heavily laden raft, without the fear of obstruction from shallows and sand-banks. This year, however, there was no marsh round the ruins, nor had any snow fallen in the mountains to promise a considerable rise in the river. I determined, therefore, to send the sculptures to Busrah in the month of March or April, foreseeing that as soon as the Bedouins had moved northwards from Babylonia, and had commenced their plundering expeditions in the vicinity of Mosul, I should be compelled to leave Nimroud

The Trustees of the British Museum had not contemplated the removal of either a winged bull or lion, and I had at first believed that, with the means at my disposal, it would have been useless to attempt it. They wisely determined that these sculptures should not be sawn into pieces, to be put together again in Europe, as the pair of bulls from Khorsabad. They were to remain, where discovered, until some favorable opportunity of moving them entire might occur; and I was directed to heap earth over them, after the excavations had been brought to an end. Being loath, however, to leave all these fine specimens of Assyrian sculpture behind me, I resolved upon attempting the removal, and embarkation of two of the smallest and best preserved. Those fixed upon were the lion No. 2, from entrance *b*, hall Y, in plan 3, and a bull from entrance *e*, of the same hall. Thirteen pairs of these gigantic sculptures, and several fragments of others, had been discovered; but many of them were too much injured to be worth moving. I had wished to secure the pair of lions forming the great entrance into the principal chamber of the northwest palace;* the finest specimens of Assyrian sculpture discovered in the ruins. But after some deliberation I determined to leave

* Entrance *a*, chamber B, plan 3.

them for the present; as, from their size, the expense attending their conveyance to the river would have been very considerable.

I formed various plans for lowering the smaller lion and bull, for dragging them to the river, and for placing them upon rafts. Each step had its difficulties, and a variety of original suggestions and ideas were supplied by my workmen, and by the good people of Mosul. At last I resolved upon constructing a cart, sufficiently strong to bear any of the masses to be moved. As no wood but poplar could be procured in the town, a carpenter was sent to the mountains with directions to fell the largest mulberry tree, or any tree of equally compact grain, he could find; and to bring beams of it, and thick slices from the trunk, to Mosul.

By the month of March this wood was ready. I purchased from the dragoman of the French Consulate a pair of strong iron axles, formerly used by M. Botta in bringing sculptures from Khorsabad. Each wheel was formed of three solid pieces, nearly a foot thick, from the trunk of a mulberry tree, bound together by iron hoops. Across the axles were laid three beams, and above them several cross-beams, all of the same wood. A pole was fixed to one axle, to which were also attached iron rings for ropes, to enable men, as well as buffaloes, to draw the cart. The wheels were provided with movable hooks for the same purpose.

Simple as this cart was, it became an object of wonder in the town. Crowds came to look at it, as it stood in the yard of the vice-consul's khan; and the Pasha's tepjis, or artillerymen, who, from their acquaintance with the mysteries of gun carriages, were looked up to as authorities on such matters, daily declaimed on the properties and use of this vehicle, and of carts in general, to a large circle of curious and attentive listeners. As long as the cart was in Mosul, it was examined by every stranger who visited the town. But when the news spread that it was about to leave the gates, and to be drawn over the bridge, the business of the place was completely sus-

pended. The secretaries and scribes from the palace left their divans; the guards their posts; the bazars were deserted; and half the population assembled on the banks of the river to witness the manœuvres of the cart. A pair of buffaloes, with the assistance of a crowd of Chaldæans and shouting Arabs, forced the ponderous wheels over the rotten bridge of boats.* The multitude seemed to be fully satisfied with the spectacle. The cart was the topic of general conversation in Mosul until the arrival, from Europe, of some children's toys,—barking dogs and moving puppets—which gave rise to fresh excitement, and filled even the gravest of the clergy with wonder at the learning and wisdom of the Infidels.

To lessen the weight of the lion and bull, without in any way interfering with the sculpture, I reduced the thickness of the slabs, by cutting away as much as possible from the back. Their bulk was thus considerably diminished; and as the back of the slab was never meant to be seen, being placed against the wall of sun-dried bricks, no part of the sculpture was sacrificed. As in order to move these figures at all, I had to choose between this plan and that of sawing them into several pieces, I did not hesitate to adopt it.

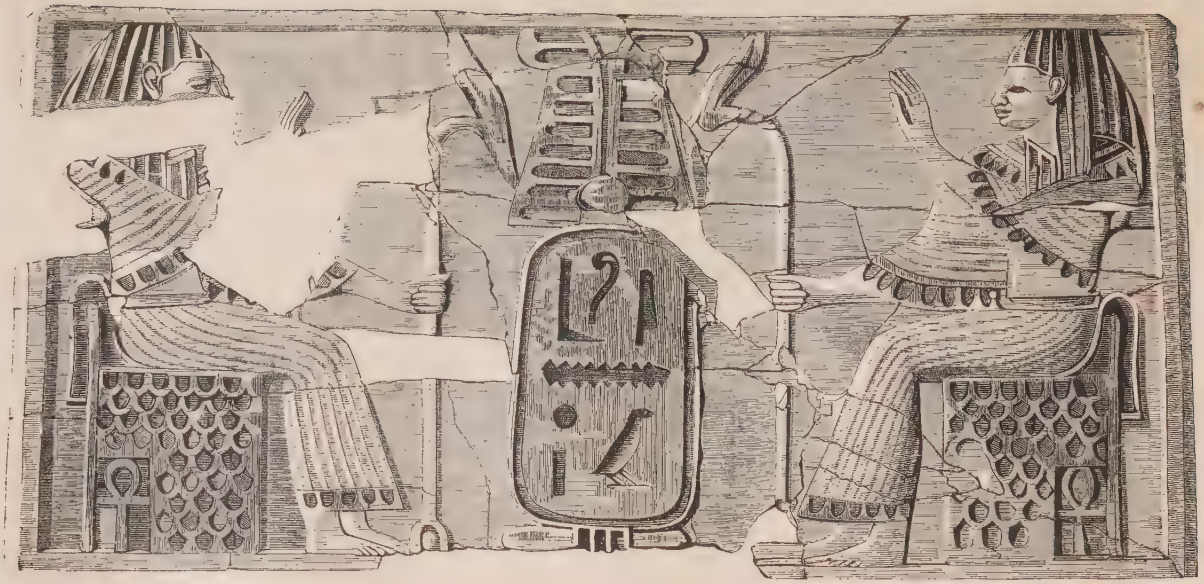
To enable me to move the bull from the ruins, and to place it on the cart in the plain below, it was necessary to cut a trench nearly two hundred feet long, about fifteen feet wide, and, in some places, twenty feet deep. A road was thus constructed from the entrance, in which stood the bull, to the edge of the mound. There being no means at my disposal to raise the sculpture out of the trenches, like the smaller bas-reliefs, this road was necessary. It was a tedious undertaking, as a

* The bridge of Mosul consists of a number of rude boats bound together by iron chains. Planks are laid from boat to boat, and the whole is covered with earth. During the time of the floods this frail bridge would be unable to resist the force of the stream; the chains holding it on one side of the river are then loosened, and it swings round. All communication between the two banks of the river is thus cut off, and a ferry is established until the waters subside, and the bridge can be replaced.

very large accumulation of earth had to be removed. About fifty Arabs and Nestorians were employed in the work.

On opening this trench it was found, that a chamber had once existed to the west of hall Y. The sculptured slabs, forming its sides, had been destroyed or carried away. Part of the walls of unbaked bricks, however, could still be traced. The only bas-relief discovered was lying flat on the pavement, where it had evidently been left when the adjoining slabs were removed. It has been sent to England, and represents a lion hunt. Only one lion, wounded, and under the horse's feet, is visible. A warrior, in a chariot, is discharging his arrows at some object before him. It is evident that the subject must have been continued on an adjoining slab, on which was probably represented the king joining in the chase. This small bas-relief is remarkable for its finish, the elegance of the ornaments, and the great spirit of the design. In these respects it resembles the battle-scene in the southwest palace ;* and I am inclined to believe that they both belonged to this ruined chamber; in which, perhaps, the sculptures were more elaborate and more highly finished than in any other part of the building. The work of different artists may be plainly traced in the Assyrian edifices. Frequently where the outline is spirited and correct, and the ornaments designed with considerable taste, the execution is defective or coarse; evidently showing, that whilst the subject was drawn by a master, the carving of the stone had been intrusted to an inferior workman. In many sculptures some parts are more highly finished than others, as if they had been retouched by an experienced sculptor. The figures of the enemy are generally rudely drawn and left unfinished, to show probably, that being those of the conquered or captive race, they were unworthy the care of the artist. It is rare to find an entire bas-relief equally well executed in all its parts. The most perfect hitherto discovered in Assyria are, the lion hunt now in the British Museum, the lion hunt just

* See Vol. I. page 54.



FIGURES AND CATOUCHE, WITH HIEROGLYPHICS, ON AN IVORY PANEL. (N. W. Palace. Nimroud.)

described, and the large group of the king sitting on his throne, in the midst of his attendants and winged figures, which formed the end of chamber G, of the northwest palace, and will be brought to England.

Whilst making this trench, I also discovered, about three feet beneath the pavement, a drain, which appeared to communicate with others previously opened in different parts of the building. It was probably the main sewer, through which all the minor water-courses were discharged. It was square, built of baked bricks, and covered in with large slabs and tiles.

As the bull was to be lowered on its back, the unsculptured side of the slab having to be placed on rollers, I removed the walls behind it as far as the entrance *a*. An open space was thus formed, large enough to admit of the sculpture when prostrate, and leaving room for the workmen to pass on all sides of it. The principal difficulty was of course to lower the mass; when once on the ground, or on rollers, it could be dragged forwards by the united force of a number of men; but, during its descent, it could only be sustained by ropes. If not strong enough to bear the weight, they chanced to break, the sculpture would be precipitated to the ground, and would, probably, be broken in the fall. The few ropes I possessed had been expressly sent to me, across the desert, from Aleppo; but they were small. From Baghdad, I had obtained a thick hawser, made of the fibres of the palm. In addition I had been furnished with two pairs of blocks, and a pair of jack-screws belonging to the steamers of the Euphrates expedition. These were all the means at my command for moving the bull and lion. The sculptures were wrapped in mats and felts, to preserve them, as far as possible, from injury in case of a fall; and to prevent the ropes chipping or rubbing the alabaster.

The bull was ready to be moved by the 18th of March. The earth had been taken from under it, and it was now only supported by beams resting against the opposite wall. Amongst the wood obtained from the mountains were several thick rollers. These were placed upon sleepers, or half beams,

formed out of the trunks of poplar trees, well greased and laid on the ground parallel to the sculpture. The bull was to be lowered upon these rollers. A deep trench had been cut behind the second bull, completely across the wall, and, consequently, extending from chamber to chamber. A bundle of ropes coiled round this isolated mass of earth, served to hold two blocks, two others being attached to ropes wound round the bull to be moved. The ropes, by which the sculpture was to be lowered, were passed through these blocks; the ends, or falls of the tackle, as they are technically called, being led from the blocks above the second bull, and held by the Arabs. The cable having been first passed through the trench, and then round the sculpture, the ends were given to two bodies of men. Several of the strongest Chaldæans placed thick beams against the back of the bull, and were directed to withdraw them gradually, supporting the weight of the slab, and checking it in its descent, in case the ropes should give way.

My own people were reinforced by a large number of the Abou Salman. I had invited Sheikh Abd-ur-rahman to be present, and he came attended by a body of horsemen. The inhabitants of Naifa and Nimroud having volunteered to assist on the occasion, were distributed amongst my Arabs. The workmen, except the Chaldæans who supported the beams, were divided into four parties, two of which were stationed in front of the bull, and held the ropes passed through the blocks. The rest clung to the ends of the cable, and were directed to slack off gradually as the sculpture descended.

The men being ready, and all my preparations complete, I stationed myself on the top of the high bank of earth over the second bull, and ordered the wedges to be struck out from under the sculpture to be moved. Still, however, it remained firmly in its place. A rope having been passed round it, six or seven men easily tilted it over. The thick, ill-made cable stretched with the strain, and almost buried itself in the earth round which it was coiled. The ropes held well. The mass descended gradually, the Chaldæans propping it up firmly with

the beams. It was a moment of great anxiety. The drums, and shrill pipes of the Kurdish musicians increased the din and confusion caused by the war-cry of the Arabs, who were half frantic with excitement. They had thrown off nearly all their garments: their long hair floated in the wind; and they indulged in the wildest postures and gesticulations as they clung to the ropes. The women had congregated on the sides of the trenches, and by their incessant screams, and by the ear-piercing tahlehl, added to the enthusiasm of the men. The bull once in motion, it was no longer possible to obtain a hearing. The loudest cries I could produce were buried in the heap of discordant sounds. Neither the hippopotamus hide whips of the Cawasses, nor the bricks and clods of earth with which I endeavored to draw attention from some of the most noisy of the group, were of any avail. Away went the bull, steady enough as long as supported by the props behind; but as it came nearer to the rollers, the beams could no longer be used. The cable and ropes stretched more and more. Dry from the climate, as they felt the strain, they creaked and threw out dust. Water was thrown over them, but in vain, for they all broke together when the sculpture was within four or five feet of the rollers. The bull was precipitated to the ground. Those who held the ropes, thus suddenly released, followed its example, and were rolling one over the other, in the dust. A sudden silence succeeded to the clamor. I rushed into the trenches, prepared to find the bull in many pieces. It would be difficult to describe my satisfaction, when I saw it lying precisely where I had wished to place it, and uninjured! The Arabs no sooner got on their legs again, than seeing the result of the accident, they darted out of the trenches, and seizing by the hands the women who were looking on, formed a large circle, and yelling their war-cry with redoubled energy, commenced a most mad dance. The musicians exerted themselves to the utmost; but their music was drowned by the cries of the dancers. Even Abd-ur-rahman shared in the excitement, and throwing his cloak to one of his attendants, insisted upon

leading off the debkhé. It would have been useless to endeavor to put any check upon these proceedings. I preferred allowing the men to wear themselves out—a result which, considering the amount of exertion and energy displayed both by limbs and throat, was not long in taking place.

I now prepared, with the aid of Behnan, the Bairakdar, and the Tiyari, to move the bull into the long trench which led to the edge of the mound. The rollers were in good order; and as soon as the excitement of the Arabs had sufficiently abated to enable them to resume work, the sculpture was dragged out of its place by ropes.

Sleepers were laid to the end of the trench, and fresh rollers were placed under the bull as it was pulled forwards by cables, to which were fixed the tackles held by logs buried in the earth, on the edge of the mound. The sun was going down as these preparations were completed. I deferred any further labor to the morrow. The Arabs dressed themselves; and placing the musicians at their head, marched towards the village, singing their war-songs, and occasionally raising a wild yell, throwing their lances into the air, and flourishing their swords and shields over their heads.

I rode back with Abd-ur-rahman. Schloss and his horsemen galloped round us, playing the jerrid, and bringing the ends of their lances into a proximity with my head and body, which was far from comfortable; for it was evident enough that had the mares refused to fall almost instantaneously back on their haunches, or had they stumbled, I should have been transfixed on the spot. As the exhibition, however, was meant as a compliment, and enabled the young warriors to exhibit their prowess, and the admirable training of their horses, I declared myself highly delighted, and bestowed equal commendations on all parties.

The Arab Sheikh, his enthusiasm once cooled down, gave way to moral reflections. "Wonderful! wonderful! There is surely no God but God, and Mohammed is his Prophet," exclaimed he after a long pause. "In the name of the Most

High, tell me, O Bey, what you are going to do with those stones. So many thousands of purses spent upon such things! Can it be, as you say, that your people learn wisdom from them; or is it, as his reverence the Cadi declares, that they are to go to the palace of your Queen, who, with the rest of the unbelievers, worships these idols? As for wisdom, these figures will not teach you to make any better knives, or scissors, or chintzes; and it is in the making of those things that the English show their wisdom. But God is great! God is great! Here are stones which have been buried ever since the time of the holy Noah,—peace be with him! Perhaps they were under ground before the deluge. I have lived on these lands for years. My father, and the father of my father, pitched their tents here before me; but they never heard of these figures. For twelve hundred years have the true believers (and, praise be to God! all true wisdom is with them alone) been settled in this country, and none of them ever heard of a palace under ground. Neither did they who went before them. But lo! here comes a Frank from many days' journey off, and he walks up to the very place, and he takes a stick (illustrating the description at the same time with the point of his spear), and makes a line here, and makes a line there. Here, says he, is the palace; there, says he, is the gate; and he shows us what has been all our lives beneath our feet, without our having known any thing about it. Wonderful! wonderful! Is it by books, is it by magic, is it by your prophets, that you have learnt these things? Speak, O Bey; tell me the secret of wisdom."

The wonder of Abd-ur-rahman was certainly not without cause, and his reflections were natural enough. Whilst riding by his side I had been indulging in a reverie, not unlike his own, which he suddenly interrupted by these exclamations. Such thoughts crowded upon me day by day, as I looked upon every newly discovered sculpture. A stranger laying open monuments buried for more than twenty centuries, and thus proving, —to those who dwelt around them,—that much of the civiliza

tion and knowledge of which we now boast, existed amongst their forefathers when our "ancestors were yet unborn," was, in a manner, an acknowledgment of the debt which the West owes to the East. It is, indeed, no small matter of wonder, that far distant, and comparatively new nations should have preserved the only records of a people once ruling over nearly half the globe; and should now be able to teach the descendants of that people or those who have taken their place, where their cities and monuments once stood. There was more than enough to excite the astonishment of Abd-ur-rahman, and I seized this opportunity to give him a short lecture upon the advantages of civilization and of knowledge. I will not pledge myself, however, that my endeavors were attended with as much success as those of some may be, who boast of their missions to the East. All I could accomplish was, to give the Arab Sheikh an exalted idea of the wisdom and power of the Franks; which was so far useful to me, that through his means the impression was spread about the country, and was not one of the least effective guarantees for the safety of my property and person.

This night was, of course, looked upon as one of rejoicing. Abd-ur-rahman and his brother dined with me; although, had it not been for the honor and distinction conferred by the privilege of using knives and forks, they would rather have exercised their fingers with the crowds gathered round the wooden platters in the courtyard. Sheep were of course killed, and boiled or roasted whole;—they formed the essence of all entertainments and public festivities. They had scarcely been devoured before dancing was commenced. There were fortunately relays of musicians; for no human lungs could have furnished the requisite amount of breath. When some were nearly falling from exhaustion, the ranks were recruited by others. And so the Arabs went on until dawn. It was useless to preach moderation, or to entreat for quiet. Advice and remonstrances were received with deafening shouts of the

war-cry, and outrageous antics as proofs of gratitude for the entertainment, and ability to resist fatigue.

After passing the night in this fashion, these extraordinary beings, still singing and capering, started for the mound. Every thing had been prepared on the previous day for moving the bull, and the men had now only to haul on the ropes. As the sculpture advanced, the rollers left behind were removed to the front, and thus in a short time it reached the end of the trench. There was little difficulty in dragging it down the precipitous side of the mound. When it arrived within three or four feet of the bottom, sufficient earth was removed from beneath it to admit the cart, upon which the bull itself was then lowered by still further digging away the soil. It was soon ready to be dragged to the river. Buffaloes were first harnessed to the yoke; but, although the men pulled with ropes fastened to the rings attached to the wheels, and to other parts of the cart, the animals, feeling the weight behind them, refused to move. We were compelled, therefore, to take them out; and the Tiyari, in parties of eight, lifted by turns the pole, whilst the Arabs, assisted by the people of Naifa and Nimroud, dragged the cart. The procession was thus formed. I rode first, with the Bairakdar, to point out the road. Then came the musicians, with their drums and fifes, drumming and fifing with might and main. The cart followed, dragged by about three hundred men, all screeching at the top of their voices, and urged on by the Cawasses and superintendents. The procession was closed by the women, who kept up the enthusiasm of the Arabs by their shrill cries. Abd-ur-rahman's horsemen performed divers feats round the group, dashing backwards and forwards, and charging with their spears.

We advanced well enough, although the ground was very heavy, until we reached the ruins of the former village of Nimroud.* It is the custom, in this part of Turkey, for the

* The village was moved to its present site after the river had gradually receded to the westward. The inhabitants have been then left at a very inconvenient distance from water.

villagers to dig deep pits to store their corn, barley, and straw for the autumn and winter. These pits generally surround the villages. Being only covered by a light framework of boughs and stakes, plastered over with mud, they become, particularly when half empty, a snare and a trap to the horseman; who, unless guided by some one acquainted with the localities, is pretty certain to find the hind legs of his horse on a level with its ears, and himself suddenly sprawling in front. The corn-pits around Nimroud had long since been emptied of their supplies, and had been concealed by the light sand and dust, which, blown over the plain during summer, soon fill up every hole and crevice. Although I had carefully examined the ground before starting, one of these holes had escaped my notice, and into it two wheels of the cart completely sank. The Arabs pulled and yelled in vain. The ropes broke, but the wheels refused to move. We tried every means to release them, but unsuccessfully. After working until dusk, we were obliged to give up the attempt. I left a party of Arabs to guard the cart and its contents, suspecting that some adventurous Bedouins, attracted by the ropes, mats, and felts, with which the sculpture was enveloped, might turn their steps towards the spot during the night. My suspicions did not prove unfounded; for I had scarcely got into bed before the whole village was thrown into commotion by the reports of firearms, and the war-cry of the Jebour. Hastening to the scene of action, I found that a party of Arabs had fallen upon my workmen. They were beaten off, leaving behind them, however, their mark; for a ball, passing through the matting and felt, struck and indented the side of the bull. I was anxious to learn who the authors of this wanton attack were, and had organized a scheme for taking summary vengeance. But they were discovered too late; for, anticipating punishment, they had struck their tents, and had moved off into the desert.

Next morning we succeeded in clearing away the earth, and in placing thick planks beneath the buried wheels. After a few efforts the cart moved forwards amidst the shouts of the

Arabs; who, as was invariably their custom on such occasions, indulged, whilst pulling at the ropes, in the most outrageous antics. The procession was formed as on the previous day, and we dragged the bull triumphantly down to within a few hundred yards of the river. Here the wheels buried themselves in the sand, and it was night before we contrived, with the aid of planks and by increased exertions, to place the sculpture on the platform prepared to receive it, and from which it was to slide down on the raft. The tents of the Arabs, who encamped near the river, were pitched round the bull, until its companion, the lion, should be brought down; and the two embarked together for Baghdad. The night was passed in renewed rejoicings, to celebrate the successful termination of our labors. On the following morning I rode to Mosul, to enjoy a few days' rest after my exertions.

The bull having thus been successfully transported to the banks of the river, preparations were made, on my return to Nimroud, for the removal of the second sculpture. I ordered the trench, already opened for the passage of the bull, to be continued beyond the entrance formed by the lions, or about eighty feet to the north. It was then necessary to move the slabs from behind these sculptures. The slabs in hall Y were plain, having only the usual inscription. The bas-reliefs on those adjoining the lion, in chamber G, had been almost entirely destroyed, apparently by the action of water.

My preparations were completed by the middle of April. I determined to lower the lion at once on the cart, and not to drag it out of the mound over the rollers. This sculpture, during its descent, was supported in the same manner as the bull had been; but to avoid a second accident, I doubled the number of ropes and the coils of the cable. Enough earth was removed to bring the top of the cart to a level with the bottom of the lion. Whilst clearing away the wall of unbaked bricks, I discovered two small tablets, similar to those previously dug out in chamber B.* On both sides they had the usual stand-

* Vol. I. p. 111.

ard inscription, and they had evidently been placed where found, when the palace was built; probably as coins, and similar tablets, are now laid under the foundation-stones of edifices, to commemorate the period and object of their erection.

As the lion was cracked in more than one place, considerable care was required in lowering and moving it. Both, however, were effected without accident. The Arabs assembled as they had done at the removal of the bull. Abd-ur-rahman and his horsemen rode over to the mound. We had the same shouting, and the same festivities. The lion descended into the place I had prepared for it on the cart, and was easily dragged out of the ruins. It was two days in reaching the river, as the wheels of the cart sank more than once into the loose soil, and were with difficulty extricated.

The lion and bull were at length placed, side by side, on the banks of the Tigris, ready to proceed to Busrah, as soon as I could make the necessary arrangements for embarking them on rafts.

The sculptures, which I had hitherto sent to Busrah, had been floated down the river on rafts, as far only as Baghdad. There they had been placed in boats built by the natives for the navigation of the lower part of the Tigris and Euphrates. These vessels, principally constructed of thin poplar planks, reeds, and bitumen, were much too small and weak to carry either the lion or the bull; and indeed, had they been large enough, it would have been difficult, if not impossible, in the absence of proper machinery, to move such heavy masses into them. I resolved, therefore, to attempt the navigation of the lower, as well as of the upper, part of the river with rafts; and to embark the lion and bull, at once, for Busrah. The raftmen of Mosul, who are accustomed to navigate the Tigris to Baghdad, but never venture further, pronounced the scheme to be impracticable, and refused to attempt it. Even my friends at Baghdad doubted of my success; principally, however, on the ground that the prejudices and customs of the natives were against me—and every one knows how difficult

it is to prevail upon Easterns to undertake any thing, in opposition to their established habits. Such has been their nature for ages. As their fathers have done, so have they done after them, forgetting or omitting many things, but never adding or improving. As rafts meet with no insurmountable difficulties in descending, even from the mountainous districts of Diarbekir, to Baghdad, there was no good reason why they should not extend their journey as far as Busrah. The real obstructions would occur in the upper part of the river, which abounds in rapids, rocks, and shallows; and not in the lower, where there is depth of water, and nothing to impede the passage of large boats. The stream below Baghdad is sluggish, and the tide ascends nearly sixty miles above Busrah: these were the only objections, and they merely affected the time to be employed in the descent, and not its practicability.

It was impossible by the most convincing arguments, even though supported by the exhibition of a heap of coins, to prevail upon the raftmen of Mosul to construct such rafts as I required, or to undertake the voyage. I applied therefore to Mr. Hector, and through him found a man at Baghdad, who declared himself willing to make the great sacrifice generally believed to be involved in the attempt. He was indebted in a considerable sum of money, and being the owner of a large number of skins, now lying useless, he preferred a desperate undertaking to the prospect of a debtor's prison. It was not in any one's power to persuade him that his raft could reach its destination, or that even he could survive the enterprise; and it would have been equally impossible to convince him that my stake in the matter was greater than his own. As it was evident that no harm would come to him, but that, on the contrary, by entering into my service he would pay the greater part of his debts, and escape a prolonged residence in the gloomy subterranean abodes of hopeless debtors, I felt less compunctions of conscience in resorting to the last extremity. Indeed it was consoling to reflect that it was all for the man's own good. At any rate, I had to choose between leaving the

sculptures on the river bank near Mosul, the sport of mischievous Arabs, and seeing them safely transported to Busrah, and ultimately to England. I did not, therefore, long hesitate upon the course to be pursued.

Mullah Ali—for such was the name of my raft-contractor—at length made his appearance. He was followed by a dirty half-naked Arab, his assistant in the construction of rafts, and, like those who carried on his trade some two thousand years before, by a couple of donkeys laden with skins ready for use Like a genuine native of Baghdad, he had exhausted his ingenuity in the choice of materials for the composition of his garments. There could not have been a more dexterous mixture of colors than that displayed by his antari, cloak, and voluminous turban. He began, of course, by a long speech, protesting, by the Prophet, that he would undertake for no one else in the world what he was going to do for me; that he was my slave and my sacrifice, and that the man who was not, was worse than an infidel. I cut him short in this complimentary discourse. He then, as is usual in such transactions, began to make excuses, to increase his demands, and to throw difficulties in the way. On these points I declined all discussion, directing Ibrahim Agha to give him an insight into my way of doing business, to recommend him to resign himself to his fate, as the contract had been signed, and to hint that he was now in the power of an authority from which there was no appeal.

Mullah Ali made many vain efforts to amend his condition, and to induce, on my part, a fuller appreciation of his merits He expected that these endeavors might, at least, lead to an additional amount of bakshish. At last he resigned himself to his fate, and slowly worked, with his assistant, at the binding together of beams, and logs of wood, with willow twigs to form a framework for a raft. There were still some difficulties, and obstacles to be surmounted. The man of Baghdad had his own opinions on the building of rafts in general, founded upon immemorial customs, and the traditions of the

country. I had my theories, which could not be supported by equally substantial arguments. Consequently, he, who had all the proof on his side, may not have been wrong in declaring against any method, in favor of which, I could produce no better evidence than my own will. But, like many other injured men, he fell a victim to the "droit du plus fort," and had to sacrifice, at once, prejudice and habit.

I did not doubt that the skins, once blown up, would support the sculptures without difficulty as far as Baghdad. The journey would take eight or ten days, under favorable circumstances. But there they would be required to be opened and refilled, or the rafts would scarcely sustain so heavy a weight all the way to Busrah; the voyage from Baghdad to that port being considerably longer, in point of time, than that from Mosul to Baghdad. However carefully the skins are filled, the air gradually escapes. Rafts, bearing merchandise, are generally detained several times during their descent, to enable the raftmen to examine and refill the skins. If the sculptures rested upon only one framework, the beams being almost on a level with the water, the raftmen would be unable to get beneath them to reach the mouths of the skins, when they required replenishing, without moving the cargo. This would have been both inconvenient, and difficult to accomplish. I was therefore desirous of raising the lion and bull as much as possible above the water, so as to leave room for the men to creep under them.

It may interest the reader to know how these rafts, which have probably formed for ages the only means of traffic on the upper parts of the rivers of Mesopotamia, are constructed. The skins of full-grown sheep and goats are used. They are taken off with as few incisions as possible, and then dried and prepared. The air is forced in by the lungs. The aperture is then tied up with a string. A square framework, formed of poplar beams, branches of trees, and reeds, having been constructed of the size of the intended raft, the inflated skins are tied to it by osier and other twigs, the whole being firmly bound

together. The raft is then moved to the water and launched. Care is taken to place the skins with their mouths upwards, that in case any should burst, or require filling, they can be easily opened by the raftmen. Upon the framework of wood are piled bales of goods, and property belonging to merchants and travellers. When any person of rank, or wealth, descends the river in this fashion, small huts are constructed on the raft by covering a common wooden *takht*, or bedstead of the country, with a hood formed of reeds and lined with felt. In these huts the travellers live and sleep during the journey. The poorer classes bury themselves, to seek shade or warmth, amongst the bales of goods and other merchandise, and sit patiently, almost in one position, until they reach their destination. They carry with them a small earthen *mangal* or chafing-dish, containing a charcoal fire, which serves to light their pipes, and to cook their coffee and food. The only real danger to be apprehended on the river is from the Arabs; who, when the country is in a disturbed state, invariably attack and pillage the rafts.

The raftmen guide their rude vessels by long oars,—straight poles, at the end of which a few split canes are fastened by a piece of twine. They skilfully avoid the rapids; and, seated on the bales of goods, work continually, even in the hottest sun. They will seldom travel after dark before reaching Tekrit, on account of the rocks and shoals, which abound in the upper part of the river; but when they have passed that place, they resign themselves, night and day, to the sluggish stream. During the floods in the spring, or after violent rains, small rafts may float from Mosul to Baghdad in about eighty-four hours; but the large rafts are generally six or seven days in performing the voyage. In summer, and when the river is low, they are frequently nearly a month in reaching their destination. When the rafts have been unloaded, they are broken up, and the beams, wood, and twigs are sold at a considerable profit, forming one of the principal branches of trade between Mosul and Baghdad. The skins are washed, and afterwards

rubbed with a preparation of pounded pomegranate skins, to keep them from cracking and rotting. They are then brought back, either upon the shoulders of the raftmen or upon donkeys, to Mosul or Tekrit, where the men engaged in the navigation of the Tigris usually reside.

On the 20th of April, there being fortunately a slight rise in the river, and the rafts being ready, I determined to attempt the embarkation of the lion and bull. The two sculptures had been so placed on beams that, by withdrawing wedges from under them, they would slide nearly into the centre of the raft. The high bank of the river had been cut away into a rapid slope to the water's edge.

In the morning Mr. Hormuzd Rassam informed me that signs of discontent had shown themselves amongst the workmen, and that there was a general strike for higher wages. They had chosen the time fixed upon for embarking the sculptures, under the impression that I should be compelled, from the difficulty of obtaining any other assistance, to accede to their terms. Several circumstances had contributed to this manœuvre. As I have already mentioned, the want of rain had led to a complete failure of the crops; the country around Nimroud was one yellow barren waste; the villagers had been exposed to several years of tyranny and oppression; during which their small stock of grain, unrenewed by fresh harvests, had gradually diminished. Last autumn, encouraged by the liberal policy of the new Pasha, they had sown the small supply of corn that had been hoarded up, and now that the crops had failed, their last hopes had perished. If they remained in the country, they could only look forward to starvation. They were consequently leaving the plain and migrating to the Kurdish hills, or to the lands under Mardin watered by the Khabour; where, by dint of irrigation, they could hope to raise millet, and other grain, sufficient to meet their wants until the winter rains might promise better times. The country around Nimroud was deserted; not a human being was to be seen within some miles of the place. Abd-ur-rahman, whose crops

had failed like the rest, and who could no longer find pasture for his flocks in the Jaif, had followed the example of the villagers, and was moving northwards. Two or three days before, his Arabs, driving before them their sheep and cattle, and their beasts of burden laden with all the property they possessed, had passed under the mound, on their way to the territories of Beder Khan Bey. The Sheikh himself had spent the night in my house, to take leave of me prior to his departure. I consequently remained alone with my workmen, and the few Arabs who were cultivating millet along the banks of the Tigris. Not only, in case of a further emigration of the Jebour, should I have been left without the means of carrying on the excavations, but I should even have run considerable risk from the parties of Bedouins, who were now taking advantage of the absence of the Abou Salman to cross the river in search of plunder—scouring the country by night and by day. The time chosen by the Jebour to demand higher wages, and to threaten to leave me, was not, therefore, ill-chosen. They were persuaded that I should be compelled to agree to their demands, or to leave the lion and bull where they were. It was not, however, my intention to do either.

I found, on issuing from the house, that the Arabs had already commenced their preparations for departure. The greater part of the tents had been struck, the flocks were collected together, the donkeys were half loaded, and all, men and women, were actively and busily engaged, except half a dozen families who did not show any desire to leave me. A few of the Sheikhs were hanging about the door of my court-yard with gloomy expectant looks, anxious to learn my decision, and little doubting, that on seeing the signs of packing, I would at once yield. However reasonable their demands might have been, the unceremonious fashion in which they were urged was somewhat repugnant to my feelings. There are some bad characters in most societies, who, mischievous themselves, contrive to lead others into mischief; and I was aware that one or two of the chiefs, who did not work, but managed to

raise money from those who did, were the originators of the scheme. I ordered my Cawass and the Bairakdar to seize them at once, and then took leave of those who were preparing to depart. Their plans were somewhat disconcerted, and they went on sullenly with their arrangements. When at length their preparations for the march were completed, they moved off at a very slow pace, looking back continually, not believing it possible that I would obstinately persist in my determination to refuse a compromise. As a last attempt a deputation of one or two Sheikhs came to express a disinterested anxiety for my safety, should the Jebour leave the country. I did my best to quiet their alarms by employing the Tiyari to put my premises into a state of defence, and to reopen all the loop-holes, which Ibrahim Agha had industriously made in the walls surrounding my dwelling, when they had been first built Defeated in all their endeavors to make me sensible of the danger of my position, they walked sulkily off to join their companions, who took care to encamp for the night within sight of the village.

Many families, however, refusing to desert me, pitched their tents under the walls of my house. The wives, too, of those who were going, had been to me, sobbing and weeping, protesting that the men, although anxious to remain, were afraid to disobey their Sheikhs.

The tents of the Abou Salman were still within reach, and I dispatched a horseman, without delay, to Sheikh Abd-ur-rahman with a note, acquainting him with what had occurred, and requesting him to send me some of his Arabs to assist in embarking the bull. There was a rival tribe of the Jebour encamping at some distance from Nimroud, and I also offered them work.

In the evening, Abd-ur-rahman, followed by a party of horsemen, came to Nimroud. He undertook at once to furnish me with as many men as I might require to place the sculptures on the rafts, and sent orders to his people to delay their projected march.

Next morning, when the Jebour perceived a large body of the Abou Salman advancing towards Nimroud, they repented themselves of their manœuvre, and returned in a body to offer their services on any terms that I might think fit to propose. But I was well able to do without them, and wished to convince them, that the method they had chosen to put forward their demands was neither rational, nor likely to prove successful. I refused, therefore, to listen to any overtures, and commenced my preparations for embarking the lion and bull with the aid of the Chaldæans, the Abou Salman, and such of my Arab workmen as had remained with me.

The beams of poplar wood, forming an inclined plane from beneath the sculptures to the rafts, were first well greased. A raft, supported by six hundred skins, having been brought to the river bank, opposite the bull, the wedges were removed from under the sculpture, which immediately slided down into its place. The only difficulty was to prevent its descending too rapidly, and bursting the skins by the sudden pressure. The Arabs checked it by ropes, and it was placed without any accident. The lion was then embarked in the same way, and with equal success, upon a second raft of the same size as the first; in a few hours the two sculptures were properly secured, and before night they were ready to float down the river to Busrah.

Many slabs, including the large bas-reliefs of the king on his throne, between the eunuchs and winged figures, which formed the end of chamber G, the altar-piece in chamber B, and above thirty cases containing small objects discovered in the ruins, were placed on the rafts with the lion and bull.

After the labors of the day were over, sheep were slaughtered for the entertainment of Abd-ur-rahman's Arabs, and for those who had helped in the embarkation of the sculptures. The Abou Salman returned to their tents after dark. Abd-ur-rahman took leave of me, and we did not meet again: the next day he continued his march towards the district of Jezirah. I heard of him on my journey to Constantinople; the Kurds by

the road complaining, that his tribe were making up the number of their flocks, by appropriating the stray sheep of their neighbors. I had seen much of the Sheikh during my residence at Nimroud; and although, like all Arabs, he was not averse to ask for what he thought there might be a remote chance of getting by a little importunity, he was, on the whole, a very friendly and useful ally.

On the morning of the 22d, all the sculptures having been embarked, I gave two sheep to the raftmen to be slain on the bank of the river, as a sacrifice to insure the success of the undertaking. The carcasses were distributed, as is proper on such occasions, amongst the poor. A third sheep was reserved for a propitiatory offering, to be immolated at the tomb of Sultan Abd-Allah. This saint still appears to interfere considerably with the navigation of the river, and closed the further ascent of the Tigris against the infidel crew of the Frank steamer, because they neglected to make the customary sacrifice. All ceremonies having been duly performed, Mullah Ali kissed my hand, placed himself on one of the rafts, and slowly floated, with the cargo under his charge, down the stream.*

I watched the rafts until they disappeared behind a projecting bank forming a distant reach of the river. I could not

* It is not improbable that the great obelisk which, according to Diodorus Siculus (lib. ii. c. 1), was brought to Babylon from Armenia by Semiramis, was floated down on rafts supported by skins, in the same way that I transported the sculptures of Nineveh to Busrah. It was 130 feet in height, and 25 feet square at the base, and cut out of the solid rock, and must consequently, if the account be not a little exaggerated, have been of prodigious weight. The principal difficulty might probably appear to have been to place it on the raft; but this could have been accomplished by a simple method—by putting the beams forming the framework of wood, and fastening the skins under the obelisk, in some dry place, which would be overflowed during the periodical floods. When the water began to rise, by gradually removing the earth from beneath the skins, they could easily be filled with air; and when the stream had reached the raft they would lift up the obelisk, which could then be floated into the centre of the river. I should have adopted this method of moving the larger lions and bulls, had I been required to send them to Busrah without being provided with any mechanical contrivance, sufficiently powerful to embark such large weights by a simpler process.

forbear musing upon the strange destiny of their burdens; which, after adorning the palaces of the Assyrian kings, the objects of the wonder, and may be the worship, of thousands, had been buried unknown for centuries beneath a soil trodden by Persians under Cyrus, by Greeks under Alexander, and by Arabs under the first descendants of their prophet. They were now to visit India, to cross the most distant seas of the southern hemisphere, and to be finally placed in a British Museum. Who can venture to foretell how their strange career will end?

I had scarcely returned to the village, when a party of the refractory Jebour presented themselves. They were now lavish in professions of regret for what had occurred, and in promises for the future, in case they were again employed. They laid the blame of their misconduct upon their Sheikhs, and offered to return at once to their work, for any amount of wages I might think proper to give them. The excavations at Nimroud were almost brought to a close, and I had no longer any need of a large body of workmen. Choosing, therefore, the most active and well-disposed amongst those who had been in my service, I ordered a little summary punishment to be inflicted upon the captive Sheikhs, who had been the cause of the mischief, and then sent them away with the rest of the tribe.

After the departure of the Abou Salman, the plain of Nimroud was a complete desert. The visits of armed parties of Arabs became daily more frequent, and we often watched them from the mound, as they rode towards the hills in search of pillage, or returned from their expeditions driving the plundered flocks and cattle before them. We were still too strong to fear the Bedouins; but I was compelled to put my house into a complete state of defence, and to keep patrols round my premises during the night to avoid surprise. The Jebour were exposed to constant losses, in the way of donkeys or tent furniture, as the country was infested by petty thieves, who issued from their hiding-places, and wandered to and fro, like jackals,

after dark. Nothing was too small or worthless to escape their notice. I was roused almost nightly by shoutings and the discharge of firearms, when the whole encampment was thrown into commotion at the disappearance of a copper pot or an old grain sack. I was fortunate enough to escape their depredations.

The fears of my Jebour increased with the number of the plundering parties, and at last, when a small Arab settlement, within sight of Nimroud, was attacked by a band of Aneyza horsemen, who murdered several of the inhabitants, and carried away all the sheep and cattle, the workmen protested in a body against any further residence in so dangerous a vicinity. I found that it would not be much longer possible to keep them together, and I determined, therefore, to bring the excavations to an end.

After the departure of the lion and bull, I opened, in the high conical mound or pyramid, a very deep trench, or rather well, which reached nearly to the natural platform of river deposits, forming the basis of the artificial structure. The whole mass was built of sun-dried bricks. There were no remains of stone or alabaster, nor indeed even of baked bricks, except in the thin outer coating of earth and rubbish which had accumulated over the unbaked bricks. As to the use to which this pyramid was applied, I can only conjecture that being originally cased with stone or colored baked bricks, it may have been raised over the tomb of some monarch; or may have served as an ornament, marking the site of the city from afar; or that it was intended as a watchtower. It was opened on two sides, the trenches being carried completely into the centre; but no entrance, nor any traces of an interior chamber were found. It is possible, however, that on a more complete and extended examination than I was able to attempt, some discovery of great interest might be made, and that this may prove to be the very pyramid, raised above the remains of the founder of the city, by the Assyrian Queen—the "busta Nini" under which may still be some traces of the sepulchre

of the great king. Although the sides of this high conical mound have been worn away and rounded, it is evident that its original shape was pyramidical. As soon as the outer covering, whether of stone or of baked bricks, had fallen off, or had been removed, the structure of unbaked bricks would rapidly decay, and would naturally assume its present form. That it was not at any period hollow, there can be no doubt. To examine it completely, in order to ascertain whether any remains exist beneath it, would be a labor requiring considerable time and expense.

On the edge of the ravine, to the north of chamber B,* I discovered two enormous winged bulls, about seventeen feet in height, which had fallen from their places. They did not form an entrance, but each one stood alone, adjoining the great slabs with the colossal winged figures in chambers D and E. I was unable to raise them, and the sculptured face of the slab was downwards. They had evidently been long exposed to the atmosphere, and the heads had been greatly injured.

I now commenced burying in those parts of the ruins which still remained exposed, according to the instructions I had received from the Trustees of the British Museum. Had the numerous sculptures been left, without any precaution being taken to preserve them, they would have suffered, not only from the effects of the atmosphere, but from the spears and clubs of the Arabs, who are always ready to knock out the eyes, and to otherwise disfigure, the idols of the unbelievers. The rubbish and earth removed on opening the building, was accordingly brought back in baskets, thrown into the chambers, and heaped over the slabs until the whole was again covered over.

But before leaving Nimroud and reburying its palaces, I would wish to lead the reader once more through the ruins of the principal edifice, and to convey as distinct an idea as I am able of the excavated halls and chambers, as they appeared

* Plan 3.

when fully explored. Let us imagine ourselves issuing from my tent near the village in the plain. On approaching the mound, not a trace of building can be perceived, except a small mud hut covered with reeds, erected for the accommodation of my Chaldæan workmen. We ascend this artificial hill, but still see no ruins, not a stone protruding from the soil. There is only a broad level platform before us, perhaps covered with a luxuriant crop of barley, or may be yellow and parched, without a blade of vegetation, except here and there a scanty tuft of camel-thorn. Low black heaps, surrounded by brushwood and dried grass, a thin column of smoke issuing from the midst of them, may be seen here and there. These are the tents of the Arabs; and a few miserable old women are groping about them, picking up camel's dung or dry twigs. One or two girls, with firm step and erect carriage, are perceived just reaching the top of the mound, with the water-jar on their shoulders, or a bundle of brushwood on their heads. On all sides of us, apparently issuing from under-ground, are long lines of wild-looking beings, with dishevelled hair, their limbs only half concealed by a short loose shirt, some jumping and capering, and all hurrying to and fro, shouting like madmen. Each one carries a basket, and as he reaches the edge of the mound, or some convenient spot near, empties its contents, raising at the same time a cloud of dust. He then returns at the top of his speed, dancing and yelling as before, and flourishing his basket over his head; again he suddenly disappears in the bowels of the earth, from whence he emerged. These are the workmen employed in removing the rubbish from the ruins.

We will descend into the principal trench, by a flight of steps rudely cut into the earth, near the western face of the mound. As we approach it, we find a party of Arabs bending on their knees, and intently gazing at something beneath them. Each holds his long spear, tufted with ostrich feathers, in one hand; and in the other the halter of his mare, which stands patiently behind him The party consists of a Bedouin Sheikh

from the desert, and his followers; who, having heard strange reports of the wonders of Nimroud, have made several days' journey to remove their doubts, and satisfy their curiosity. He rises as he hears us approach, and if we wish to escape the embrace of a very dirty stranger, we had better at once hurry into the trenches.

We descend about twenty feet, and suddenly find ourselves between a pair of colossal lions, winged and human-headed, forming a portal. I have already described my feelings when gazing for the first time on these majestic figures. Those of the reader would probably be the same, particularly if caused by the reflection, that before those wonderful forms Ezekiel, Jonah, and others of the prophets stood, and Sennacherib bowed; that even the patriarch Abraham himself may possibly have looked upon them.

In the subterraneous labyrinth which we have reached, all is bustle and confusion. Arabs are running about in different directions; some bearing baskets filled with earth, others carrying the water-jars to their companions. The Chaldæans or Tiyari, in their striped dresses and curious conical caps, are digging with picks into the tenacious earth, raising a dense cloud of fine dust at every stroke. The wild strains of Kurdish music may be heard occasionally issuing from some distant part of the ruins, and if they are caught by the parties at work, the Arabs join their voices in chorus, raise the war-cry, and labor with renewed energy. Leaving behind us a small chamber, in which the sculptures are distinguished by a want of finish in the execution, and considerable rudeness in the design of the ornaments, we issue from between the winged lions, and enter the remains of the principal hall. On both sides of us are sculptured gigantic, winged figures; some with the heads of eagles, others entirely human, and carrying mysterious symbols in their hands. To the left is another portal, also formed by winged lions. One of them has, however, fallen across the entrance, and there is just room to creep beneath it. Beyond this portal is a winged figure, and two slabs with bas-

reliefs; but they have been so much injured that we can scarcely trace the subject upon them. Further on there are no traces of wall, although a deep trench has been opened. The opposite side of the hall has also disappeared, and we only see a high wall of earth. On examining it attentively, we can detect the marks of masonry; and we soon find that it is a solid structure built of bricks of unbaked clay, now of the same color as the surrounding soil, and scarcely to be distinguished from it.

The slabs of alabaster, fallen from their original position, have, however, been raised; and we tread in the midst of a maze of small bas-reliefs, representing chariots, horsemen, battles, and sieges. Perhaps the workmen are about to raise a slab for the first time; and we watch with eager curiosity, what new event of Assyrian history, or what unknown custom or religious ceremony, may be illustrated by the sculpture beneath.

Having walked about one hundred feet amongst these scattered monuments of ancient history and art, we reach another doorway formed by gigantic winged bulls in yellow limestone. One is still entire; but its companion has fallen, and is broken into several pieces—the great human head is at our feet.

We pass on without turning into the part of the building to which this portal leads. Beyond it we see another winged figure, holding a graceful flower in its hand, and apparently presenting it as an offering to the winged bull. Adjoining this sculpture we find eight fine bas-reliefs. There is the king hunting, and triumphing over, the lion and wild bull; and the siege of the castle, with the battering-ram. We have now reached the end of the hall, and find before us an elaborate and beautiful sculpture, representing two kings, standing beneath the emblem of the supreme deity, and attended by winged figures. Between them is the sacred tree. In front of this bas-relief is the great stone platform, upon which, in days of old, may have been placed the throne of the Assyrian

monarch, when he received his captive enemies, or his courtiers.

To the left of us is a fourth outlet from the hall, formed by another pair of lions. We issue from between them, and find ourselves on the edge of a deep ravine, to the north of which rises, high above us, the lofty pyramid. Figures of captives bearing objects of tribute,—ear-rings, bracelets, and monkeys,—may be seen on walls near this ravine; and two enormous bulls, and two winged figures above fourteen feet high, are lying on its very edge.

As the ravine bounds the ruins on this side, we must return to the yellow bulls. Passing through the entrance formed by them, we enter a large chamber surrounded by eagle-headed figures: at one end of it is a doorway guarded by two priests or divinities, and in the centre another portal with winged bulls. Whichever way we turn, we find ourselves in the midst of a nest of rooms; and without an acquaintance with the intricacies of the place, we should soon lose ourselves in this labyrinth. The accumulated rubbish being generally left in the centre of the chambers, the whole excavation consists of a number of narrow passages, panelled on one side with slabs of alabaster; and shut in on the other by a high wall of earth, half buried, in which may here and there be seen a broken vase, or a brick painted with brilliant colors. We may wander through these galleries for an hour or two, examining the marvellous sculptures, or the numerous inscriptions that surround us. Here we meet long rows of kings, attended by their eunuchs and priests,—there lines of winged figures, carrying fir-cones and religious emblems, and seemingly in adoration before the mystic tree. Other entrances, formed by winged lions and bulls, lead us into new chambers. In every one of them are fresh objects of curiosity and surprise. At length, wearied we issue from the buried edifice by a trench on the opposite side to that by which we entered, and find ourselves again upon the naked platform. We look around in

vain for any traces of the wonderful remains we have just seen, and are half inclined to believe that we have dreamed a dream, or have been listening to some tale of Eastern romance.

Some, who may hereafter tread on the spot when the grass again grows over the ruins of the Assyrian palaces, may indeed suspect that I have been relating a vision.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE chambers at Nimroud had been filled up with earth, and the sculptures thus preserved from injury. The surrounding country became daily more dangerous from the incursions of the Arabs of the desert, who now began to encamp even on the west bank of the Tigris. It was time, therefore, to leave the village. As a small sum of money still remained at my disposal, I proposed to devote it to an examination of the ruins opposite Mosul; particularly of the great mound of Kouyunjik. Although excavations on a small scale had already been made there, I had not hitherto had time to superintend them myself, and in such researches, the natives of the country cannot be trusted. It is well known that almost since the fall of the Assyrian Empire, a city of some extent, representing the ancient Nineveh, although no longer the seat of government, nor a place of great importance, has stood on the banks of the Tigris in this part of its course. The modern city may not have been built above the ruins of the ancient; but it certainly arose in their immediate vicinity, either to the east of the river, or to the west, as the modern Mosul. The alabaster slabs, which had once lined the walls of the old palaces, and still remained concealed by the earth forming the mound, had been frequently exposed by accident or by design. Those who were settling in the neighborhood, soon found that the ruins offered an inexhaustible mine of building materials. The alabaster was dug out to be either used entire in the construction of houses, or to be burnt for lime A few years ago a bas-

relief had been discovered in one part of the ruins, during a search after stones for the erection of a bridge across the Tigris. The removal of slabs, and the destruction of sculptures, for similar purposes, may have been going on for centuries. There was, therefore, good reason to doubt whether any edifice, even in an imperfect state, still existed in Kouyunjik. I knew that under the village, containing the tomb of the prophet Jonah, there were remains of considerable importance, probably as entire as those discovered at Nimroud. They owe their preservation to the existence, from a very remote period, of the tomb and village above them. Portions of sculpture, and inscriptions, had frequently been found, when the inhabitants of the place had dug the foundations of their dwellings. But the prejudices of the people of Mosul forbade any attempt to explore a spot so venerated for its sanctity.

The edifices at Nimroud, being far distant from any large town, when once buried were not disturbed. It does not appear that after the fall of the Empire any place of importance rose near them, except, perhaps, Selamiyah, which is now but an insignificant village, although it may formerly have been a small market town. It is three miles from the mound, and there are no remains near it to show that, at any time since the Assyrian period, it attained a considerable size. It may, consequently, be inferred that the great mound of Nimroud has never been opened, and its contents carried away for building purposes, since the destruction of the last palace, except, as it has already been mentioned, when a late Pasha of Mosul endeavored to remove one or two slabs to repair the tomb of a Mussulman saint.

By the middle of May, I had finished my work at Nimroud. My house was dismantled. The windows and doors, which had been temporarily fitted up, were taken out; and, with the little furniture that had been collected together, were placed on the backs of donkeys and camels to be carried to the town. The Arabs struck their tents and commenced their march I remained behind until every one had left, and then

turned my back upon the deserted village. We were the last to quit the plains of Nimroud; and, indeed, nearly the whole country to the south of Mosul, as far as the Zab, became, after our departure, a wilderness.

Half way between Mosul and Nimroud the road crosses a low hill. From its crest, both the town and the ruins are visible. On one side, in the distance, rises the pyramid, in the midst of the broad plain of the Jaif; and on the other may be faintly distinguished the great artificial mound of Kouyunjik, and the surrounding remains. The leaning minaret of the old mosque of Mosul, may also be seen springing above the dark patch which marks the site of the town. The river can be traced for many miles, winding in the midst of the plain, suddenly losing itself amongst low hills, and again emerging into the level country. The whole space over which the eye ranges from this spot, was probably once covered with the buildings and gardens of the Assyrian capital—that great city of three days' journey. At an earlier period, that distant pyramid directed the traveller from afar to Nineveh, when the limits of the city were small. It was then one of those primitive settlements which, for the first time, had been formed by the congregated habitations of men. To me, of course, the long dark line of mounds in the distance, were objects of deep interest. I reined up my horse to look upon them for the last time—for from no other part of the road are they visible—and then galloped on towards Mosul.

In excavating at Kouyunjik, I pursued the plan I had adopted at Nimroud. I resided in the town. The Arabs pitched their tents on the summit of the mound, at the entrances to the trenches. The Tiyari encamped at its foot, on the banks of the Khausser, the small stream which flows through the ruins. Here the men and women found a convenient place for their constant ablutions. They were still obliged, however, to fetch water, when required for other purposes, from the Tigris; that from the Khausser being considered heavy and unwholesome. It is rarely drunk by those who live near the

stream, if other water can be obtained from wells, or even from natural pools of rain water. The nearness of the ruins to Mosul, enabled the inhabitants of the town to gratify their curiosity by a constant inspection of my proceedings; and a great crowd of gaping Mussulmans and Christians was continually gathered round the trenches. I rode to the mound early every morning, and remained there during the day.

The French consul had carried on his excavations for some time at Kouyunjik, without finding any traces of building. He was satisfied with digging pits or wells, a few feet deep, and then renouncing the attempt if no sculptures or inscriptions were uncovered. By excavating in this desultory manner, if any remains of building were under ground, their discovery would be a mere chance. An acquaintance with the nature and position of the ancient edifices of Assyria, will at once suggest the proper method of examining the mounds which inclose them. The Assyrians, when about to build a palace or public edifice, appear to have first constructed a platform, or solid compact mass of sun-dried bricks, about thirty or forty feet above the level of the plain. Upon it they raised the monument. When the building was destroyed, its ruins, already half buried by the falling in of the upper walls and roof, remained of course on the platform; and were in process of time completely covered up by the dust and sand, carried about by the hot winds of summer. Consequently, in digging for remains, the first step is to reach the platform of sun-dried bricks. When this is discovered, the trenches must be opened to the level of it, and not deeper; they should then be continued in opposite directions, care being always taken to keep along the platform. By this means, if there be any ruins, they must necessarily be discovered, supposing the trenches to be long enough; for the chambers of the Assyrian edifices are generally narrow, and their walls, or the slabs which cased them if fallen, must sooner or later be reached.

At Kouyunjik, the accumulation of rubbish and earth was very considerable, and trenches were dug to the depth of twen-

ty feet, before the platform of unbaked bricks was discovered. Before beginning the excavations, I carefully examined all parts of the mound, to ascertain where remains of buildings might most probably exist; and at length decided upon continuing my researches where I had commenced them last summer, near the southwest corner.

The workmen had been digging for several days without finding any other remains than fragments of calcined alabaster, sufficient, however, to encourage me to persevere in the examination of this part of the ruins. One morning as I was in Mosul, two Arab women came to me, and announced that sculptures had been discovered. They had hurried from the mounds as soon as the first slab had been exposed to view; and blowing up the skins, which they always carry about with them, had swam upon them across the river. They had scarcely received the present claimed in the East by the bearers of good tidings, and the expectation of which had led to the display of so much eagerness, than one of my overseers, who was generally known from his corpulence as Toma Shishman, or fat Toma, made his appearance, breathless from his exertions. He had hurried as fast as his legs could carry him over the bridge, to obtain the reward carried off, in this instance, by the women.

I rode immediately to the ruins; and, on entering the trenches, found that the workmen had reached a wall, and the remains of an entrance. The only slab as yet uncovered had been almost completely destroyed by fire. It stood on the edge of a deep ravine which ran far into the southern side of the mound.

As the excavations at Kouyunjik were carried on in precisely the same manner as those at Nimroud, I need not trouble the reader with any detailed account of my proceedings. The wall first discovered proved to be the side of a chamber. By following it we reached an entrance formed by winged bulls, leading into a second hall. In a month nine chambers had been explored.

The palace had been destroyed by fire. The alabaster slabs were almost reduced to lime, and many of them fell to pieces as soon as uncovered. The places, which others had occupied, could only be traced by a thin white deposit, left by the burnt alabaster upon the wall of sun-dried bricks, and having the appearance of a coating of plaster.

In its architecture, the newly discovered edifice resembled the palaces of Nimroud, and Khorsabad. The chambers were long and narrow. The walls were of unbaked bricks, with a panelling of sculptured slabs. The bas-reliefs were, however, much larger in their dimensions than those generally found at Nimroud, being about ten feet high, and from eight to nine feet wide. The winged, human-headed bulls, forming the entrances, were from fourteen to sixteen feet square. The slabs, unlike those I had hitherto discovered, were not divided in the centre by a band of inscription, but were completely covered with figures. The bas-reliefs were greatly inferior in general design, and in the beauty of the details, to those of the earliest palace of Nimroud; but in many parts they were very carefully and minutely finished in this respect Kouyunjik yields to no other known monument in Assyria. The winged bulls resembled in their head-dress the animals forming the portals in the southern palace at Nimroud, and like them they had four legs.* In the costumes of the warriors, and in the trappings and caparisons of the horses, the sculptures were similar to those of Khorsabad.

Inscriptions were not numerous. They occurred between the legs of the winged bulls, above the head of the king, on bas-reliefs representing the siege or sacking of a city, and on the backs of many slabs; but they were all so much defaced, that I had great difficulty in copying even a few characters from some of them. Those on the bulls were long, the

* It has already been mentioned that the winged lions of the northwest palace at Nimroud were furnished with five legs, that the spectator, in whatever position he stood, might have a perfect front and side view of the animal.

same inscription being continued on the two sides of an entrance. As four pairs of these gigantic figures were discovered, each pair bearing nearly the same inscription, the whole may be restored out of the fragments copied.*

The name of the king, occurring both on the backs of slabs and on the bricks, resembles that occupying the second place in the genealogical list in the short inscriptions on the bulls and lions of the southern, or most recent, palace of Nimroud. He was the son of the builder of Khorsabad. The comparative epoch of the foundation of this edifice can thus be ascertained, and its positive date will probably be hereafter determined. Long before the discovery of the ruins, I had conjectured, from a hasty examination of a few fragments of sculpture and inscription picked up on the mound, that the building, which once stood there, must be referred to the time of the Khorsabad king, or of his immediate predecessors or successors. There are certain peculiarities in the forms of the figures, in the ornaments, and in some of the characters used in the inscriptions, which distinguish the sculpture, and connect them, at the same time, with those of Khorsabad.

In the earth, above the edifice at Kouyunjik, a few earthen vases and fragments of pottery were discovered; but no sarcophagi, or tombs with human remains, like those of Nimroud and Kalah Sherghat. The foundations of buildings, of roughly hewn stone, were also found above the Assyrian ruins. One or two small glass bottles entire, and many fragments of glass, were taken out of the rubbish; and on the floors of the chambers were several small oblong tablets of dark unbaked clay, having a cuneiform inscription over the sides. Detached slabs of limestone, covered with inscriptions, were also found in the ruins.†

I will now describe the subjects of such of the sculptures,

* It will be included in the collection published by the Trustees of the British Museum.

† The greater part of these small objects are on their way to the British Museum.

as could still be traced on the walls of the chambers. A continual reference to the accompanying plan will be necessary, to convey to the reader an idea of the nature and extent of the edifice partly uncovered.

The first chamber seen, on entering the trenches from the ravine, was that marked A, on the plan. The two slabs which once formed its entrance had been almost entirely destroyed. Upon the lower part of them could be distinguished the feet and claws of an eagle or vulture, and it is probable that the bas-relief, when entire, represented a human figure with the head and extremities of a bird. The relief must have been, I think, even higher than that of the sculptures of Khorsabad. All the slabs within the chamber had been as much injured as those at the entrance. The upper part of the wall had been completely destroyed; on the lower (about three feet of which remained) could be traced processions of warriors, and captives passing through a thickly wooded, mountainous country; the mountains being represented, as in the bas-reliefs of Nimroud, by a network of lines. On the fragment of a slab,* I could distinguish an altar or tripod, with vessels of various shapes near it. A eunuch, carrying an utensil resembling a censer, stood before the altar.†

The southern extremity of hall B, had been completely destroyed by the water-duct which had formed the ravine. Its width was about forty-five feet, and the length of the western wall from the entrance of chamber A (to the south of which it could not be traced), was nearly one hundred and sixty feet. The first and second slabs ‡ on the west side of the hall appear to have been occupied by one subject, the burning and sacking of a city. The bas-reliefs were divided into several parts by parallel lines. In the upper compartment, which occupied about half the sculpture, were represented houses, some two

* No. 11 in the plan.

† All the sculptures in this chamber were so much defaced that I was unable to make sketches of them.

‡ Nos. 1 and 2 in the plan.

and three stories high; they had been fired by the enemy, and flames were seen issuing from the windows and doors. Beneath were three rows of warriors, some marching in file—each corps or regiment being distinguished by the forms of the helmets, arms, and shields of the men. Others were carrying away the spoil, consisting of furniture, vases, chariots, and horses. On the bottom of the slabs were figured vines, bearing grapes. The captured city stood upon a mountain, and above it was a short inscription, probably containing its name, and a record of the event represented by the bas-relief. The legend was unfortunately almost illegible. The two slabs were greatly injured, and in many places had been entirely destroyed.*

On the adjoining slab was a mountain clothed with forests. Scattered amongst the trees were seen many warriors, some descending in military array, and leading prisoners towards a castle, the wall of which could be distinguished on the edge of the slab; others ascending the steep rocks with the aid of their spears, or resting, seated under the trees. The next slab probably contained a part of the same subject, but it had been completely destroyed.

The wall was here interrupted by an entrance into an inner hall, formed by two winged bulls, nearly 16½ feet square, and sculptured out of one slab. The human heads of these gigantic animals had disappeared. The inscription, which originally covered all parts of the slab not occupied by the relief, was so much defaced, that I was only able to copy a few lines of it. This entrance was narrow, scarcely exceeding six feet, differing in this respect from the entrances at Nimroud. The pavement was formed by one slab, elaborately carved with figures of flowers, resembling the lotus, and with other ornaments. Behind the bulls, was a short inscription, containing the name and titles of the king.

* Engravings from drawings of the bas-reliefs discovered at Kouyunjik will be included in my work on the monuments of Nineveh.

Beyond this entrance the walls of the great hall, to the distance of forty-five feet, had been destroyed. On the lower part of a slab,* could be traced the extremities of a human figure, but the remaining sculptures were completely defaced. Of the slabs forming the rest of the wall, to the end of the chamber, only two were sufficiently well preserved to be drawn, even in part—those numbered 5 and 13 in the plan. On the others I could trace, with difficulty, warriors descending and ascending thickly wooded mountains, as in the bas-relief already described. On No. 9 was the interior of a castle, the wall flanked by towers, and having angular battlements; the whole represented, as at Nimroud, by a kind of ground plan. The king, seated within, on a high chair or throne, was receiving his vizir, who was accompanied by his attendants. Behind the king stood two eunuchs, raising fans or fly-flappers over his head. Without the walls were prisoners, their hands confined by manacles; and within were represented the interiors of several houses and tents. In the tents were seen men apparently engaged in a variety of domestic occupations, and many articles of furniture—tables, couches, and chairs. To the tent-poles were suspended some utensils, perhaps vases thus hung up, as is still the custom in the East, to cool water. Above the head of the king was one line of inscription containing his name and titles. The castle was built on a mountain, and was surrounded by trees. It had probably been captured by the Assyrians, and the bas-relief represented the king celebrating his victory, and receiving his prisoners within the walls.

On slab No. 13 was recorded the conquest of a mountainous country. The enemy occupied the summit of a wooded hill, which they defended against the enemy. Numerous Assyrian warriors were seen scaling the rocks, supporting themselves with their spears and with poles, or drawing themselves up by the branches of trees. Others, returning from the com-

* Marked No. 5 in the plan.

bat, were descending the mountains driving captives before them; or carrying away the heads of those whom they had slain.

A spacious entrance at the upper end of the hall opened into a small chamber, which will be hereafter described. The bulls forming this portal were in better preservation than those discovered at the first entrance. The human heads, with the high and elaborately adorned cap, or head-dress of the later Assyrian period, although greatly injured, could still be distinguished. Of the inscription also a considerable portion remained entire.

Upon the two slabs beyond this entrance,* was a subject of considerable interest. Vessels filled with warriors, and females, were represented leaving a castle, built on the sea-shore, and on the declivity of a mountain. A man stood at the castle gate, which opened immediately upon the water. A woman, who had already embarked in one of the ships, was seen stretching out her arms to receive a child which the man was giving to her. The sea was indicated by wavy lines carried across the slab from top to bottom, and by fish, crabs and turtles. The vessels were of two kinds; some had masts and sails as well as oars, others were impelled by rowers alone. They were furnished with two decks. On the upper stood warriors armed with spears, and women wearing high turbans or mitres. On the lower (which was probably divided into two compartments) were double sets of rowers; eight, and sometimes ten men sitting on a side, making sixteen or twenty in all. The sides of the upper deck, as well as the battlements of the castle on the sea-shore, were hung with shields. From the costume of the figures, and the position of the city, it would appear that they were not Assyrians, but a conquered people, flying from the enemy. It will be shown that an Assyrian conquest of the Tyrians, or of some other nation occupying the coasts of the Mediterranean, was probably recorded by the bas-relief.

* Nos. 14 and 15 in the plan.

On the two slabs adjoining the sea-piece* was represented the besieging army. The upper part of both slabs had been destroyed; on the lower were still preserved a few Assyrian warriors, protected by the high wicker shield, and discharging arrrows in the direction of the castle. Rows of prisoners, with their hands bound, were also seen led away by the conquerors.

A third entrance, narrower than that on the opposite side of the hall, led into a chamber to the east. It was formed by two winged human-headed bulls and two slabs, with bas-reliefs representing a battle in a hilly country, wooded with pines or fir trees. All these sculptures had been greatly injured.

Beyond this entrance the slabs, to the distance of fourteen feet, had been completely destroyed. The first, partly preserved, was that numbered 20 in the plan. It was divided into six compartments. In the upper was represented the sack of a city, out of which men were dragging chariots, and driving horses and cattle; a second castle stood on a hill above. In the second and third compartments were combats between horsemen, and warriors on foot; and in the remainder, rows of chariots, drawn by two horses, and carrying each three warriors, preceded by horsemen armed with long spears. At the bottom of the slab, and between the warriors, were trees.

Two other slabs were uncovered, but the subjects upon them could not be ascertained. As the trench now approached the ravine, and there appeared to be no chance of finding any sculptures, even sufficiently well preserved to be drawn, I removed the workmen to another part of the ruins.

The doorway on the west side of the hall led into a second hall,† the four sides of which were almost entire. The bas-reliefs had unfortunately suffered greatly from the fire, and in many places the slabs had disappeared altogether. Mixed with

* Nos. 16 and 17 in the plan.

† Hall C in the plan.

the rubbish, which covered this part of the ruins, were fragments of alabaster, and remains of sculpture.

The three first slabs to the left* appear to have been each divided into three compartments. In the first and second, were rows of archers and slingers; and in the third, warriors marching in single file, and each carrying a spear and a shield. On the two following slabs was one subject—the taking by assault of a city or castle, built near a river in a mountainous country, and surrounded by trees. Warriors, armed with spears, were scaling the rocks, and archers, discharging their arrows at the besieged, stood at the foot of the mountain. The upper half of both slabs, containing the greater part of the castle and the figures of those who manned its walls, had been destroyed. On the sixth slab the same castle was continued. The walls were carried down the sides of the mountain to its foot; and houses were represented on the banks of the river. The archers, and spearmen of the besieging army, were assembled without the city. Some warriors had already mounted the walls, and were slaying the besieged on the house-tops; whilst others were leading off the captives they had taken. The river was full of fish, tortoises, and eels.

The adjoining corner stone† was divided into three compartments; the upper contained mountains and trees: in the centre were represented a eunuch, and a bearded scribe writing down, on rolls of parchment or leather, the number of heads of the enemy brought to them by two warriors, who were placing their trophies in a heap at the feet of the registrars. In the lower compartment were three warriors with spears and shields.

On No. 8 was the king in his chariot, preceded by warriors on foot. At the bottom of the slab was a river, and at the top, mountains and trees. This bas-relief was also much injured. On the five following slabs, which were almost en-

* Nos. 1, 2, and 3 in the plan. † No. 7 in the plan.

tirely defaced, could be traced one subject, the siege and sack of a city. The king appeared in his chariot, and warriors were seen driving off prisoners and cattle. The mountains and river still indicated the scene of the events recorded. On slab No. 14, men and women led off as prisoners, and flocks of sheep and goats, and herds of cattle, were better preserved than the figures on the preceding slabs.

From No. 14 to the entrance *b*, which opened into another hall, the bas-reliefs had been almost completely destroyed. Here and there I could trace warriors discharging their arrows, prisoners and cattle driven away, and a king or warrior in his chariot. There were also the outlines of castles, mountains and trees; but the whole series was far too much injured to be even sketched.

The winged bulls, forming the entrance into the hall to the west, were also in a very dilapidated condition, and the heads were wanting. Between them I discovered a lion-headed human figure, raising a sword or staff in one hand. It was sculptured on a small slab. Half the figure had been destroyed.

Beyond this entrance the walls were in no better condition. On slab No. 27 could be traced a double row of warriors, carrying spears and shields, separated by a river from horsemen riding amongst mountains. No. 28 had been entirely destroyed by a well, opened in this part of the mound, and carried through the wall. On No. 29 could be distinguished men leading horses, and warriors bringing the heads of the slain to the scribes. The bottom of the slab was occupied by horsemen ascending mountains, separated by a river from the figures above. No. 30 was better preserved than any of the preceding slabs. The king stood in a chariot, holding a bow in his left hand, and raising his right in token of triumph. He was accompanied by a charioteer, and by an attendant bearing an umbrella, to which was hung a long curtain falling behind the back of the king, and screening him entirely from the sun. The chariot was drawn by two horses, and was preceded by spearmen and

archers. Above the king was originally a short inscription, probably containing his name and titles, but it had been entirely defaced. Horsemen, crossing well-wooded mountains, were separated from the group just described, by a river abounding in fish.

The remaining bas-reliefs in this chamber appear to have recorded similar events,—the conquests of the Assyrians, and the triumphs of their king. Only four of them unfortunately were sufficiently well preserved to enable me to make drawings; the rest were almost completely destroyed. On Nos. 36 and 37 the taking by assault of a city was portrayed with great spirit. Warriors, armed with spears, were mounting ladders placed against the walls; those who manned them being held in check and assailed by archers who discharged their arrows from below. The enemy defended themselves with spears and bows, and carried small oblong shields. Above the castle, a small inscription recorded most probably the name of the city captured by the Assyrians; it had unfortunately suffered great injury, a few characters only being preserved. Under the castle walls were lines of captives, driven off by the conquerors; and at the bottom and top of the slab were mountains, trees, and a river, to indicate the nature of the country in which the event represented took place.

The entrance *b* of chamber C, formed by two winged bulls, led into a further chamber, a part only of which I was able to explore. The alabaster slabs had in many places completely disappeared, and I could not even trace the walls and form of the apartment. On slabs Nos. 1 and 2 was portrayed a mountainous country; a river ran through the midst of it. The higher parts of the mountains were clothed with a forest of pines or firs, the middle region by vineyards, and the lower by trees, resembling those sculptured on other slabs, probably the dwarf oak of the country. The king was seen riding through the forest in his chariot, accompanied by many horsemen.

The remaining slabs were covered from top to bottom with rows of warriors, spearmen, and archers, in their respective

costumes, and in military array. Each slab must have contained several hundred minute figures, sculptured with great care and delicacy.

I found only one outlet from this chamber, that at entrance *b*. The chambers to the west were discovered by digging through the wall at the upper end of chamber A. Here, too, the fire had raged, and whilst the walls had in many places completely disappeared, the few slabs that still remained in their places were broken into a thousand pieces, and could scarcely be held together whilst I sketched the bas-reliefs. The chambers were half filled by a heap of charcoal, earth, and fragments of burnt alabaster.

Upon the walls of chamber D, were the siege and capture of a city, standing on the banks of a river in the midst of forests and mountains. On one slab could be seen warriors cutting down trees, to form an approach to the castle, whilst others were combating with the enemy in the woods. On the adjoining slabs were warriors scaling the walls, slaughtering sheep, driving off captives and cattle, and carrying away the heads of the slain. Small figures, wearing high caps, and having their hands joined in front, were represented as sitting astride on poles, and borne on men's shoulders. They may have been the divinities, or idols, of the conquered people. The king in his chariot, the umbrella held over his head by a eunuch, was receiving the spoil.

On the bottom of slab No. 7 was a fisherman fishing with a hook and line in a pond. Upon his back was a wicker basket, containing the fish he had caught. This was almost the only fragment of sculpture that I was able to move and send to England, as a specimen of the bas-reliefs of Kouyunjik.

Of the walls of chamber E, the lower part, to the height of about four feet, alone remained. Upon it could be traced long lines of captives, amongst them women carrying their children, and riding on mules. The prisoners were brought by archers before warriors standing, to receive them, with their spears raised, and their shields resting on the ground.

The bas-reliefs on the walls of chamber F, recorded the victories and triumphs of the king in a mountainous country, and the siege of a city standing on the banks of a river. The king stood in his chariot, and around him were warriors leading away horses and captives, bringing heads to the scribes, and contending in battle with the enemy. All the slabs, however, were equally injured. The figures upon them could scarcely be distinguished.

The wide portal, formed by the winged bulls at the upper end of chamber B, opened into a small chamber, which had no other entrance. One side of it was completely destroyed. On the remaining slabs were represented the siege, and sack of a city, standing between two rivers, in the midst of groves of palm trees. From the absence of mountains, the nature of the trees, and the two rivers, it may be conjectured that the sculptures in this chamber recorded the conquest of some part of Mesopotamia, or the subjugation of a people, inhabiting that country, who had rebelled against the authority of the Assyrian king. Fortunately, a short inscription above the captured city has been preserved almost entire; and we may hope to find in it the name of the conquered nation. The king was represented, several times, in his chariot amidst groves of palm trees, and preceded and followed by warriors. The besiegers were seen cutting down the palms, to open and clear the approaches to the city.

A part only of chamber H was uncovered. Several of the slabs appear to have been purposely destroyed, as there were marks of the chisel upon them. One of the winged bulls, forming an entrance at the southern end of the chamber, had fallen from its place. On the slab adjoining it was a gigantic winged human figure, the upper part of which had been defaced. On slabs Nos. 4, 5, 6, and 7, could be traced warriors urging their horses at full speed; some discharging, at the same time, their arrows. Beneath the horsemen were rows of chariots and led horses. After my departure from Mosul, Mr. Ross continued the excavations along this wall for

a short time, and discovered several other slabs and the openings into three new chambers, one entrance having, it appears, been formed by four lion sphinxes, fragments of which were found amongst the rubbish. The subjects of the bas-reliefs appear to have been nearly the same as those preceding them. Mr. Ross could trace chariots, horsemen, archers, and warriors in mail. The country, in which the events recorded took place, was indicated by a river and palm trees. On one slab were the remains of two lions. This wall having ceased altogether, he first opened a trench in the same direction, but without coming upon other remains of building. Resuming the excavations at right angles to the end of the wall, he discovered, about eighteen feet from it, an immense square slab, which he conjectures to be a dais or altar, resembling that found in the great hall of the principal edifice at Nimroud.* The wall was continued beyond it. The lower part of a few slabs still remained, and it was evident that they had been sculptured; but this part of the building had been so completely destroyed by fire, that Mr. Ross soon renounced any further attempt to examine it.

This was the extent of my discoveries at Kouyunjik. The ruins were evidently those of a palace of great extent and magnificence. From the size of the slabs and the number of the figures, the walls, when entire and painted, as they no doubt originally were, must have been of considerable beauty, and the dimensions of the chambers must have added greatly to the general effect. At that time the palace rose above the river, which swept round the foot of the mound. Then also the edifice, now covered by the village of Nebbi Yunus, stood entire above the stream, and the whole quadrangle was surrounded by lofty walls cased with stone, their towers adorned with sculptured alabaster, and their gateways formed by colossal bulls. The position of the ruins proves, that at one time this was one of the most important parts of Nineveh; and

* See Vol. I. p. 123.

the magnificence of the remains shows, that the edifices must have been founded by one of the greatest of the Assyrian monarchs.

Mr. Ross having been requested, by the Trustees of the British Museum, to carry on the excavations, on a small scale, in Kouyunjik, he judiciously made experiments in various parts of the mound. His discoveries are of great interest, and tend to prove that there were more buildings than one on the platform; but whether they were all of the same epoch I have no means of judging; Mr. Ross not having yet sent me the copies of any inscriptions from the palace last explored by him. Unfortunately the building newly found owes its destruction to fire, like that in the southwest corner. Hitherto Mr. Ross has been unable to move any entire bas-reliefs, although there are fragments which, it is hoped, will be secured, and added to the collection of Assyrian antiquities to be brought to this country.

Mr. Ross, on abandoning the edifice that I had discovered removed the workmen to the opposite side of the mound. Here he has found a chamber formed by slabs divided in the centre, as at Khorsabad and Nimroud, by bands of inscription and having bas-reliefs in the two compartments. "The sculptures represent," writes Mr. Ross, "the return of an army in triumph, with chariots, led horses, and captives; marching along the banks of a river, upon which are groves of date trees in fruit. The river is full of fish, tortoises, and crabs. Beyond is a city (also on the banks of the river), out of the gates of which are proceeding men and women on foot, in carts drawn by oxen, and on mules, some bearing presents to the conquerors. Near the castle is a field of millet in ear. In the procession are carried two circular models of towns' (probably representing places captured by the king). "The accumulation of earth above the ruins is so great that the workmen are now tunnelling to reach the sculptures."

At the foot of the mound Mr. Ross has found a monument of considerable interest. It was first uncovered by a man

ploughing. In shape it somewhat resembles a tombstone, being about three feet high and rounded at the top. Upon it is a figure, probably that of a king, and a long inscription in the cuneiform character. Above the figure are various emblems, amongst which is the winged divinity in the circle. It was erect, and supported by brickwork when discovered; and near it was a sarcophagus in baked clay. Mr. Ross suggests that the whole may have been an Assyrian tomb; but I question whether there is sufficient evidence to prove that its original site was where it was found; or that it had not been used, as portions of slabs with inscriptions at Nimroud, by people who occupied the country after the destruction of the pure Assyrian monuments. This interesting relic is nearly perfect, one corner alone having been injured.

In a mound so vast as that of Kouyunjik, it is probable that many remains of the highest interest still exist. As it has been seen, the accumulation of rubbish is so great, that a mere superficial examination would not suffice to prove the absence of subterranean buildings. Hitherto only two corners of the mound have been partially explored; and in both have ruins, with sculptures and inscriptions, been discovered. They have been exposed to the same great conflagration which apparently destroyed all the edifices built upon the platform. It is possible, however, that other parts of these palaces may be found, which, if they have not escaped altogether the general destruction, may at least be sufficiently well preserved to admit of the removal of many important relics. Such was the case at Khorsabad in ruins of much less extent.

Although there may possibly be remains of more than one epoch in Kouyunjik, I much doubt whether there are any edifices earlier than that built by the monarch, who is mentioned in the inscriptions of the most recent palace of Nimroud, as the son of the founder of Khorsabad. His name occurs on all the bricks and monuments hitherto discovered (as far as I am aware) in Kouyunjik, in the neighboring mound of Nebbi Yunus, and in the smaller mounds forming the large quad-

rangle opposite Mosul. From the description given by Mr Ross of the sculptures he has recently found, I recognize in them, as well as in the bas-reliefs of the palace above described, the style and mode of treatment of Khorsabad and of the latter monuments of Nimroud.*

* In the winter of this year Mr. Ross visited the rock tablets of Bavian, which want of time had, to my great regret, prevented me examining. The account he has obligingly sent me of the result of his journey to these very remarkable remains is so interesting, that I venture to transcribe it. "I left Mosul," he writes, "a little before Asr," (the time of afternoon prayer,) "and reached Baazani after dark. During the night it rained heavily, and I started with rain and a high cutting cold wind, which lasted the whole day. After a very disagreeable ride over the Jebel Makloub and the Missouri hills, I reached Bavian an hour after sunset. The village stands on the Gomel, at the point where the high range of mountains, running behind Sheikh Adi, sinks into hills. It consists of three wretched houses, whose inhabitants" (Kurds) "are in an equally destitute condition. I had great difficulty in procuring any food for my horses and mules; and could find nothing but a little rice to give them—there being neither wheat nor barley in the place. Immediately opposite the village, on the west side of the Gomel, rise the cliffs, on which are the bas-reliefs. There are eight small tablets, each containing the portrait of a king, about four feet high; and one very large tablet with two kings, apparently worshipping two priest-like figures standing, the one on a lion, and the other on a griffin. Above this tablet rose a statue on two lions, but now only the paws of a lion are well preserved; the outline of the head of one can be traced, but the statue is reduced to a square oblong block. I fancy it may have been a sphinx like those of Nimroud. In the river are two masses of rock, with figures of priests or gods standing on the backs of animals, which must have originally been very beautiful. Other large masses of rock are in the water, and may once have borne bas-reliefs. There is also a tablet on which the body of a bull may be traced, but very much defaced. I could not find the figure of the gigantic horseman. It may be that it is so much injured that neither I nor the villagers could discover it. Some of the small tablets are on the perpendicular face of the rock, others are reached by a narrow ledge. Where any footing could be obtained, I trod with my Tiyari woollen shoes. Of all the tablets which I examined, either closely or from below, only one has an inscription. It is a tablet easily approached. The writing runs completely across it, even over the figure of the king; but it is greatly injured from holes having been bored in it, as well as from long exposure—so much so, that I was unable to copy it. On the body of the king, and in the centre of the writing, is an inscription inclosed within a triangle—I suppose a name. The large tablet, and that containing the bull, have chambers cut behind them. I am inclined to think that these chambers were excavated at the same time that the portraits were sculptured. Their use is obvious. They were tombs, and my idea is that the bas-reliefs outside are the portraits of the monarchs who were buried within. Picture to yourself a small room, square in

Further researches at Kouyunjik could scarcely fail to be productive of many interesting and important results. The inscriptions hitherto found amongst the ruins are few in number. The bas-reliefs evidently relate to great events,—to the conquest of distant kingdoms, and the subjugation of powerful nations. The identity of the name of the king who caused them to be executed, with that found on the well-known tablets near Beyrout, at the mouth of the Dog river, or the Nahr-el-Kelb, proves that the Assyrian Empire, at the time of the building of the Kouyunjik palaces, extended to the borders of the Mediterranean; and this, as well as several other circumstances, goes far to show, that the bas-reliefs in which the sea is represented, celebrate the conquest of Tyre or Sidon. But

shape, and with a flat vault. On either side, recesses or niches" (resembling a small oven) "are cut into the wall, evidently to hold a body. These niches, being only about four feet long, may be thought too small to receive a man; but I imagine that the corpse was crammed into a sarcophagus, similar to those discovered at Nimroud, which the recesses are well calculated to contain. These tombs must once have been closed; now they have small doors and even windows; those in the large tablet are numerous, and give the idea of a church. The whole cliff would have made an extremely pretty sketch. The windows of the large cave are close together in pairs, and arched. Being without a ladder, I could not get into them, and could not therefore ascertain whether they belonged to one large chamber, or to several adjoining chambers. I am inclined to think that the latter is the case. It would seem that these bas-reliefs covered royal tombs, with concealed entrances, which were, at a later period, broken open and pillaged, and afterwards converted into dwellings, and the windows opened. It is possible that chambers still unrifled might be found behind the smaller tablets. I suspect that the inscription has been injured by holes having been bored into it to make an opening, and that the attempt was subsequently abandoned. There are various signs and religious emblems scattered about—chiefly representations of the sun and moon." It is to be regretted that Mr. Ross was unable to take a copy of the inscription, which would probably have enabled me to ascertain the comparative epoch of the tablets, with reference to the ruins of the Assyrian palaces. His suggestion, with regard to these bas-reliefs marking places of sepulture, is well deserving of attention. It is possible that I may, at some future period, be able to examine these rock sculptures with the attention they deserve, and to determine their use. At present there is reason to believe that the chambers belong to a more recent period than the Assyrian bas-reliefs; but their date has not been satisfactorily determined, and they may after all have been what Mr. Ross conjectures.

I will defer to another chapter any further remarks upon the historical and other information afforded by the sculptures of Kouyunjik, and upon the importance of further researches.

My labors in Assyria had now drawn to a close. The funds assigned to the Trustees of the British Museum for the excavations had been expended, and from the instructions sent to me, further researches were not, for the present at least, contemplated. It now, therefore, only remained for me to wind up my affairs in Mosul, to bid adieu to my friends there, and to turn my steps homewards, after an absence of some years. The ruins of Nimroud had been again covered up, and its palaces were once more hidden from the eye. The sculptures taken from them had been safely removed to Busrah, and were now awaiting their final transport to England. The inscriptions, which promise to instruct us in the history and civilization of one of the most ancient and illustrious nations of the earth, had been carefully copied. On looking back upon the few months that I had passed in Assyria, I could not but feel some satisfaction at the result of my labors. Scarcely a year before, with the exception of the ruins of Khorsabad, not one Assyrian monument was known. Almost sufficient materials had now been obtained to enable us to restore much of the lost history of the country, and to confirm the vague traditions of the learning and civilization of its people, hitherto treated as fabulous. It had often occurred to me during my labors, that the time of the discovery of these remains was so opportune, that a person inclined to be superstitious might look upon it as something more than accidental. Had these palaces been by chance exposed to view some years before, no one would have been ready to take advantage of the circumstance, and they would have been completely destroyed by the inhabitants of the country. Had they been discovered a little later, it is highly probable that there would have been insurmountable objections to their removal. It was consequently just at the right moment that they were disinterred; and we have been fortunate enough to acquire the most convincing, and lasting

evidence of that magnificence and power which made Nineveh the wonder of the ancient world, and her fall the theme of the prophets, as the most signal instance of divine vengeance. Without the evidence that these monuments afford, we might almost have doubted that the great Nineveh ever existed, so completely "has she become a desolation and a waste."

Before my departure I was desirous of giving a last entertainment to my workmen, and to those who had kindly aided me in my labors. On the western side of Kouyunjik there is a small village. It belongs, with the mound, to a former slave of a Pasha of the Abd-el-Jelleel family, who had received his liberty, and the land containing the ruins, as a reward for long and faithful services. This village was chosen for the festivities, and tents for the accommodation of all the guests were pitched around it. Large platters filled with boiled rice, and divers inexplicable messes, only appreciated by Arabs, and those who have lived with them,—the chief components being garlic and sour milk,—were placed before the various groups of men and women, who squatted in circles on the ground. Dances were then commenced, and were carried on through the greater part of the night, the Tiyari and the Arabs joining in them, or relieving each other by turns. The dancers were happy and enthusiastic, and kept up a constant shouting. The quiet Christian ladies of Mosul, who had scarcely before this occasion ventured beyond the walls of the town, gazed with wonder and delight on the scene; lamenting, no doubt, that the domestic arrangements of their husbands did not permit more frequent indulgence in such gayeties.

At the conclusion of the entertainment I spoke a few words to the workmen, inviting any who had been wronged, or ill-used, to come forward and receive such redress as it was in my power to afford, and expressing my satisfaction at the successful termination of our labors without a single accident. One Sheikh Khalaf, a very worthy man, who was usually the spokesman on such occasions, answered for his companions

They had lived, he said, under my shadow, and, God be praised, no one had cause to complain. Now, that I was leaving, they should leave also, and seek the distant banks of the Khabour, where at least they would be far from the authorities, and be able to enjoy the little they had saved. All they wanted was each man a teskerè, or note, to certify that they had been in my service. This would not only be some protection to them, but they would show my writing to their children, and would tell them of the days they had passed at Nimroud. Please God, I should return to the Jebour, and live in tents with them on their old pasture grounds, where there were as many ruins as at Nimroud, plenty of plunder within reach, and gazelles, wild boars, and lions for the chase. After Sheikh Khalaf had concluded, the women advanced in a body and made a similar address. I gave a few presents to the principal workmen and their wives, and all were highly satisfied with their treatment.

A few days afterwards, the preparations for my departure were complete. I paid my last visit to Essad Pasha, called upon the principal people of the town, and on the 24th of June was ready to leave Mosul.

I was accompanied on my journey to Constantinople by Mr. Hormuzd Rassam, Ibrahim Agha, and the Bairakdar, and by several members of the household of the late Pasha; who were ready, in return for their own food and that of their horses, to serve me on the road. We were joined by many other travellers, who had been waiting for an opportunity to travel to the north in company with a sufficiently strong party. The country was at this time very insecure. The Turkish troops had marched against Beder Khan Bey, who had openly declared his independence, and defied the authority of the Sultan. The failure of the crops had brought parties of Arabs abroad, and scarcely a day passed without the plunder of a caravan and the murder of travellers. The Pasha sent a body of irregular horse to accompany me as far as the Turkish camp, which I wished to visit on my way. With this escort, and with my own party, all well armed and prepared to defend

themselves, I had no cause to apprehend any accident by the way.

Mr. and Mrs. Rassam, all the European residents, and many of the principal Christian gentlemen of Mosul, rode out with me to some distance from the town. On the opposite side of the river, at the foot of the bridge, were the ladies who had assembled to bid me farewell. Beyond them were the wives and daughters of my workmen, who clung to my horse, many of them shedding tears as they kissed my hand. The greater part of the Arabs insisted upon walking as far as Tel Kef with me. In this village supper had been prepared for the party. Old Gouriel, the Kiayah, still rejoicing in his drunken leer, was there to receive us. We sat on the house-top till midnight. The horses were then loaded and saddled. I bid a last farewell to my Arabs, and started on the first stage of our long journey to Constantinople.

PART II.

CHAPTER I.

I HAVE endeavored, in the preceding pages, to describe the manner in which excavations were carried on amongst the ruins of Nineveh, and the discoveries to which they gave rise. At the same time, I have sought to convey to the reader, by short descriptions of the Chaldæans, the Arabs, and the Yezidis, some idea of the people, who are now found within the limits of the ancient kingdom of Assyria Proper. This account of my labors would, however, be incomplete, were I not to point out the most important of their results; were I not to show how far the monuments and remains discovered tend to elucidate disputed questions of history or chronology, or to throw light upon the civilization, manners, and arts of a people, so little known as the Assyrians. It must, however, be remembered that our materials are as yet exceedingly incomplete. The history of this remarkable nation, as derived from its monuments, is a subject hitherto left untouched; and indeed within a very few months alone, have we possessed any positive data to aid us in such an inquiry. The meagre, and mostly fabulous, notices scattered through the works of ancient writers, scarcely afford us any aid whatever; for Nineveh had almost been forgotten before history began. The examination of remains existing on the banks of the Tigris has been but limited. Many extensive ruins are yet unexplored, and it can scarcely be doubted that there are still mounds inclosing records and monuments, the recovery of which would add greatly to our acquaintance with this long-lost people.

Only three spots have been hitherto examined, Nimroud, Kouyunjik and Khorsabad; and of the three, Khorsabad the smallest, alone thoroughly. Unfortunately in the Assyrian edifices, little but the sculptured slabs has been preserved. All the painted records which once covered the walls, in addition to the bas-reliefs of alabaster, have perished. Nor have we, as in Egypt, labyrinths of tombs, on the sides of which, as well as on the walls and columns of the temples, are most faithfully and elaborately portrayed the history, the arts, the manners, and the domestic life of the former occupiers of the land—so fully indeed, that, from these monuments alone, we are able to obtain a complete insight into the public and private condition of the Egyptians, from the remotest period to their final extinction.* Hitherto, no tombs have been discovered in Assyria, which can, with any degree of certainty, be assigned to the Assyrians themselves. It is not impossible that such tombs, even painted after the fashion of the Egyptians, do exist in the bosom of some unexplored hill; their entrances so carefully concealed, that they have escaped the notice of the subsequent inhabitants of the country. At present, however, the only sources from which we can obtain any knowledge of Assyria, are the bas-reliefs discovered in the ruins described in the previous pages. To these may be added a few relics, such as seals, and cylinders, and one or two inscriptions on stones, bricks, and tiles, to be found in the Museums of Europe. Still the sculptures do furnish us with very interesting and important details, both with regard to the arts, and to the manners of the Assyrians; and there is every reason to presume that the inscriptions, when deciphered, will afford positive historical

* I need scarcely mention the admirable work of Sir Gardner Wilkinson, in which he has availed himself of the paintings, sculptures, and monuments of the ancient Egyptians to restore their manners and customs, and to place their public and private life before us, as fully as if they still occupied the banks of the Nile. I shall frequently have occasion to refer to it in the course of this and the following chapters.

data, which may enable us to fix, with some confidence, the precise period of many events recorded in the bas-reliefs.

There are also other subjects, connected with the discoveries in Assyria requiring notice. Through them may be traced the origin of many arts, of many myths and symbols, and of many traditions afterwards perfected, and made familiar to us through the genius of the Greeks. The connection between the East and the West, and the Eastern origin of several nations of Asia Minor, long suspected, may perhaps be established by more positive proof than we have hitherto possessed. These considerations alone require a detailed account of the results of the excavations. I have endeavored to avoid statements which do not appear to be warranted by plausible evidence; and if I have ventured to make any suggestions, I am ready to admit that the corroboration of my views must depend upon an acquaintance with the contents of the inscriptions, and upon the future examination of ruins, in which additional monuments may exist.

As I have frequently alluded to the remote antiquity of the Assyrian edifices, it will naturally be asked upon what grounds we assign them to any particular period—on what data do the proofs of their early origin rest? In answering these questions, it will be necessary to point out the evidence afforded by the monuments themselves, and how that evidence agrees with the statements of ancient authors.

From our present limited knowledge of the character used in the inscriptions, and from a want of adequate acquaintance with the details of Assyrian art, which might lead to a satisfactory classification of the various remains, we can scarcely aim at more than fixing a comparative epoch to these monuments. It would be hazardous to assign any positive date to them, or to ascribe their erection to any monarch whose name can be recognized in any dynastic list of acknowledged authenticity, and the time of whose reign can be determined with any pretence to accuracy. Although a conjecture may be allowed, we can come to no positive conclusion upon the sub

ject. More progress is required in deciphering the character, more extensive researches must be carried on amongst the ruins of Assyria, and names of kings must be ascertained, by which we may connect the genealogical lists, undoubtedly of various epochs, that have hitherto been discovered. I will only point out facts which prove that the edifices described in the previous pages must belong to a very early period, without pretending to decide their exact age. The inquiry is one of considerable importance, for upon its results depend many questions of the highest interest connected with the history of civilization, in the countries watered by the Tigris and Euphrates, of its passage into the neighboring kingdoms, and of its ultimate effects upon the more distant regions of Asia, and even upon Greece.

The proofs to be adduced in support of the great antiquity of some of the monuments of Nimroud, are entitled to attention, and should not be rejected, merely because they are at variance with preconceived notions and theories. We are not justified in attempting to draw conclusions from the state of the arts, or sciences, amongst a people of whose history and capabilities, before the discovery of these monuments, we were totally ignorant. We knew nothing of the civilization of the Assyrians, except what could be gathered from casual notices scattered through the works of the Greeks. From their evidence, indeed, we are led to believe that the inhabitants of Assyria had attained a high degree of culture at a very remote period. The testimony of the Bible, and the monuments of the Egyptians, on which the conquests of that people over Asiatic nations are recorded, lead to the same conclusion. It will be shown, that in Assyria, as in Egypt, the arts do not appear to have advanced, after the construction of the earliest edifices with which we are acquainted, but rather to have declined. The most ancient sculptures we possess are the most correct and severe in form, and show the highest degree of taste in the details. The very great antiquity of the early monuments of Egypt, however much we may differ between

the highest and lowest date claimed for them, is now generally admitted. Few persons indeed would be inclined to ascribe them to a later epoch than that generally assigned to the foundation of Nineveh, about twenty centuries before Christ. At that time the arts had attained a very high degree of perfection in Egypt; and might obviously have attained even to a much higher, had not those who practised them been restricted by certain prejudices, and superstitions, to a conventional style, from which it was not lawful to depart. There is no reason to doubt, therefore, that at the same remote period, the Assyrians also may have excelled in them. Even the conventional forms of Egypt are accompanied by extreme beauty in the details, and in the shape of the domestic furniture and utensils; which proves that those who invented them were capable of the highest culture, and, if unfettered, might have attained to the greatest perfection. The Assyrians may not have been confined to the same extent as their rivals; they may have copied nature more carefully, and may have given more scope to their taste, and invention, in the choice and arrangement of their ornaments. But the subject will be more fully entered into when I come to speak of the arts of the Assyrians.* We have now to examine the evidences of the antiquity of their monuments.

The first ascertained date from which our inquiry must commence, is the destruction of Nineveh by the combined armies of Cyaxares, King of Persia and Media, and Nabopolassar, King of Babylon, or more probably governor of that city on behalf of the Assyrian monarch. We must needs go backwards, as we cannot with any degree of certainty fix the date of any earlier event.

It must, I think, be readily admitted that all the monuments hitherto discovered in Assyria are to be attributed to a period

* These remarks are necessary, as there is an impression that an approximate date can be assigned to the monuments discovered at Nimroud from the style of art of the sculptures. (See a letter of Mr. Westmacott in the Athenæum of 7th August, 1847.)

preceding the Persian conquest. In the first place, history and tradition unite in affirming that Nineveh was utterly destroyed by the conquerors. Although the earlier prophets frequently allude to the great city, and to its wealth and power before its fall, it will be observed that the latter rarely mention the name. If they do, it is in allusion to the heap of ruins—to the desolation which was spread over the site of a once great city, as a special instance of the divine vengeance. They pointed to it as a warning to other nations against whom their prophecies were directed.* When Xenophon passed over the remains of Nineveh, its very name had been forgotten, and he describes a part of it as a deserted city which had formerly been inhabited by the Medes.† Strabo says, that when Cyaxares and his allies took the city, they utterly destroyed it; its inhabitants, according to Diodorus Siculus, being distributed in the surrounding villages. Lucian speaks of Nineveh as so completely laid waste, that even its vestiges did not remain.‡ It is certain that even if Nineveh were not levelled with the ground, or deserted by its inhabitants, it was no longer the seat of government, nor held a high place amongst the cities of the East. If vast palaces and edifices are found amongst its ruins, it is much more reasonable to refer their construction to a period when Nineveh was the capital of the Eastern world, and the dwelling-place of the Assyrian monarchs, than to the time of its subjection to the kings of Persia, and of its degradation to a mere provincial town.

If these edifices—between the periods of the erection of which many years, even centuries, must have elapsed—were

* See particularly Ezekiel, ch. xxxi.

† Cyrop. l. iii. c. 4.—"After this defeat the Persians retired, and the Greeks, marching the rest of the day without disturbance, came to the river Tigris, where stood a large uninhabited city, called Larissa, anciently inhabited by the Medes."

‡ Strabo, lib. xvi. Herodotus appears to allude to it as a city that formerly existed. (Lib. i. c. 193.) Clement of Alexandria, in his commentaries on Nahum, confirms the account of Lucan of its utter destruction. The Nineveh of Tacitus (Annal. l. xii. 13) and Ammianus Marcellinus (l. xviii. c. 7), was a modern city built near or on the ruins of the ancient.

the work of the Persian conquerors, we should find some record of the fact. The peculiar variety of the cuneiform character adopted by the Persians is perfectly well known, and is found on all their monuments. It was even used in Egypt, accompanied by hieroglyphics, after their conquest of that country.* It occurs on all the monuments of the same period in Persia and Armenia, accompanied by translations, in parallel columns, in the Babylonian and Median† writing. Amongst the ruins of Assyria, this Persian variety of the cuneiform character had never been found. It can scarcely be doubted, that the bas-reliefs described in the previous pages, represent the victories and conquests of the kings who built the edifices in which they were contained; it is not probable that, had these kings been Persians, they would have omitted to record their deeds in their native tongue, when they have done so in all other places where they have caused similar monuments to be erected.

The date of the conquest of Nineveh by Cyaxares is well ascertained as 606 before Christ.‡ The city had then been

* I allude to the vases with the names of the Persian kings in hieroglyphics, as well as in cuneiform characters. One at Venice bears the name of Artaxerxes; that usually known as Caylus's vase, in the National Library, at Paris, the name of Xerxes.

† I use the term Median, however inapplicable, because it has generally been adopted.

‡ The evidence afforded as to the exact date of the destruction of Nineveh by the concurrent evidence of Scripture and Herodotus, is thus collected by Clinton (Fasti Hellenici, vol. i. p. 269): "The overthrow of Nineveh did not happen before the death of Josiah king of Judah in B. C. 609, because a king of Assyria is mentioned at that period; and Zephaniah, in the prophecy delivered in the reign of Josiah, predicts the destruction of Nineveh as a future event. The sum of the argument is this: From the age of Tobit it appears that Nineveh was standing in B. C. 610. For he became blind in the year 710, and survived that accident 100 years; and yet he died before the fall of Nineveh. But a prophecy of Jeremiah, written in the first year of the captivity, B. C. 605, seems to imply that the city was then destroyed; for in the particular enumeration of all the kings of the north far and near, and all the kingdoms of the world, &c., Assyria and Nineveh are not named. The testimony of Scripture, then, decides that the city was captured, and the Assyrian monarchy destroyed, certainly after B. C. 609, and probably before B. C.

scarcely a year in the hands of the Assyrians, after the expulsion of the Scyths, who, according to the testimony of Herodotus, held this part of Asia for twenty-eight years. We cannot attribute these vast monuments—evidences of a high state of civilization, and of taste and knowledge—to the wandering tribes; who, during their short occupation, did little, according to the historian, but oppress the inhabitants, pass their days in licentiousness amidst new luxuries, and destroy the records of former prosperity and power.* We have consequently the date of 634 years before Christ to go back from. No one will, I think, be inclined to assign these edifices to a later epoch.

It has already been seen that there are buildings of various periods in the mound of Nimroud, and I have mentioned that they contain the names and genealogies of several kings. The most recent palace was that discovered in the southwest corner; and it was principally built of slabs and materials taken from the edifices in the northwest, the centre, and other parts of the mound. This can be proved beyond a question; first, by identity in the style of the sculptures; secondly, by inscriptions, in which certain formulæ occur; thirdly, by the fact of the sculptured faces of the slabs being turned *against* the wall of sun-dried bricks, and smoothed on the opposite side preparatory to their being used a second time; and, fourthly, by the discovery of sculptured slabs lying in different parts of the

605. Herodotus brings the date to a narrower point. Cyaxares prepared to revenge his father's death upon the Assyrians, but was interrupted by the Scythians, who held Asia for twenty-eight years. After their expulsion Cyaxares conquered the Assyrians. But as the Scythians were not expelled till B. C. 607, the capture of Nineveh could not occur till B. C. 606; and this date, obtained from Herodotus, is remarkably consistent with the accounts of Scripture." According to the Seder-Olam (c. 24, 25), the fall of Nineveh would have occurred about this time; and upon its authority M. Freret (Mem. de Lit. tirés des Registres de l'Académie, vol. vii. p. 538) places the event in 608 B. C.

* "After possessing the dominion of Asia for twenty-eight years, the Scythians lost all they had obtained by *their licentiousness and neglect*."—*Herod.* lib. i. c. 106.

ruins, where they had evidently been left, whilst being removed to the new palace.

The only sculptures which can be attributed to the builders of this edifice are the bulls and lions forming the entrances, and the crouching sphinxes between them. But the arguments they afford will be the same, whether they were the work of those who founded the building, or whether they were brought from elsewhere. If the latter be the case, we should be furnished with additional proof in favor of the high antiquity of the earliest edifice. In the material, a kind of limestone, out of which they are sculptured, as well as in certain peculiarities of form (as, for instance, in being provided with four legs, and having small figures carved on the same slab), they differ from any others discovered amongst the ruins. It is not probable that they could have been moved in their finished state without injury; and, as it will be hereafter shown, it was evidently the custom of the Assyrians to sculpture their slabs, not before, but after they had been placed.

On the backs of these lions and bulls we have a short, but highly important, inscription, which has enabled me, as I have already had occasion to observe, to identify the comparative date of many monuments discovered in Assyria, and of tablets existing in other parts of Asia. Before submitting this inscription, as well as others from the ruins, to the reader, I must describe the process by which the names of the kings have been determined; as the arguments will mainly depend upon the proof which these names afford.

Two characters appear at one time to have been in use amongst the Assyrians. One, the cuneiform or arrow-headed, as in Egypt, was probably the hieroglyphic, and principally employed for monumental records;* the other, the cursive or hieratic, may have been used in documents of a private nature, or for records of public events of minor importance. The

* Democritus is said to have written on the *sacred* letters of Babylon "τὸ περὶ τῶν ἐν Βαβυλῶν ἱερῶν γραμμάτων." (Diog. Laert. lib. ix.) This appears to point to two forms of writing.

nature of the arrow-headed will be hereafter fully described. The cursive resembles the writing of the Phœnicians, Palmyrenes, Babylonians, and Jews; in fact, the character, which, under a few unessential modifications, was common to the nations speaking cognate dialects of one language, variously termed the Semitic, Aramæan, or, more appropriately, Syro-Arabian. There is this great distinction between the cuneiform and cursive,—that while the first was written from left to right, the second, after the fashion of the Hebrew and Arabic, ran from right to left. This striking difference would seem to show that the origin of the two modes of writing was distinct.*

It would be difficult, in the present state of our knowledge, to determine the period of the invention and first use of written characters in Assyria; nor is there any evidence to prove which of the two forms, the arrow-headed or the cursive, is the more ancient, or whether they were introduced at the same time. Pliny declares that it is to the Assyrians we owe the invention of letters, although some have attributed it to the Egyptians, who were said to have been instructed in the art of writing by Mercury;† or to the Syrians, who, in the passage in Pliny, are evidently distinguished from the Assyrians, with whom they are by ancient authors very frequently confounded.‡ Lucan ascribes their introduction to the Phœnicians, a Syrian people.§ On monuments and remains purely

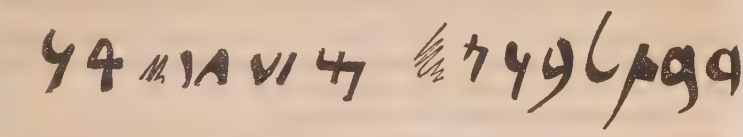
* The numerals, like the letters, were expressed by various combinations of the wedge. There appear to have been, at the same time, numbers for the cursive, as well as for the cuneiform writing, the former somewhat resembling the Egyptian. On the painted bricks of Nimroud I could, I think, trace several of these cursive numerals, each brick having apparently a number upon it. Dr. Hincks was, I believe, the first to determine the forms and values of the Assyrian numerals by an examination of the inscriptions of Van.

† This deity, under the name of Thoth, or Taut, was the Egyptian god of letters.

‡ "Literas semper arbitror Assyrias fuisse; sed alii apud Ægyptios à Mercurio, ut Gellius: alii apud Syros repertas volunt."—*Pliny*, lib. vii. c. 57.

§ "Phœnices primi famæ si creditur ausi
Mansuram rudibus vocem signare figuris."—Lib. iii. v. 220.

Syrian, or such as cannot be traced to a foreign people, only one form of character has been discovered, and it so closely resembles the cursive of Assyria, that there appears to be little doubt as to the identity of the origin of the two. If, therefore, the inhabitants of Syria, whether Phœnicians or others, were the inventors of letters, and those letters were such as exist upon the earliest monuments of that country, the cursive character of the Assyrians may have been as ancient as the cuneiform. However that may be, this hieratic character has not yet been found in Assyria on remains of a very early epoch, and it would seem probable that simple perpendicular and horizontal lines preceded rounded forms, being better suited to letters carved on stone tablets or rocks. At Nimroud, the cursive writing was found on part of an alabaster vase, and on fragments of pottery, taken out of the rubbish covering the ruins. On the alabaster vase it accompanied an inscription in the cuneiform character, containing the name of the Khorsabad king, to whose reign it was evident, from several circumstances, the vase must be attributed. It has also been found on Babylonian bricks of the time of Nebuchadnezzar. The following are parts of inscriptions in this character on fragments of pottery from Nimroud.



The cuneiform, however, appears to have been the character in general use in Assyria and Babylonia, and at various periods in Persia, Media, and Armenia. It was not the same in all these countries; the element was the wedge, but the combination of wedges, to form a letter, differed. The cuneiform has been divided into three branches; the Assyrian or Babylonian; the Persian; and a third, which has been named, probably with little regard to accuracy, the Median. To one of these three divisions may be referred all the forms of arrow-

headed writing with which we are acquainted; and the three together occur in the trilingual inscriptions, containing the records of the Persian monarchs of the Achæmenian dynasty.* These inscriptions are, as it is well known, repeated three times on monuments of this period, in parallel columns or tablets, in a distinct variety of the arrow-headed character; and, as it may be presumed, in a different language.

The investigation of the Persian branch of the cuneiform has now, through the labors of Rawlinson, Lassen, and others, been brought to a satisfactory conclusion. I presume that there are few unacquainted with the admirable memoirs by Major Rawlinson upon the great inscription at Behistun,† published in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society. Some, however, are still inclined to look upon the results of his labors with doubt, and even to consider his translation as little more than an ingenious fiction. That the sudden restoration of a language no longer existing in the same form, and expressed in characters previously unknown, should be regarded with considerable suspicion, is not surprising. But even a superficial examination of the ingenious reasoning of Professor Grotefend, which led to the first steps in the inquiry, the division of words and the discovery of the names of the kings, and an acquaintance with the subsequent discoveries of Rawlinson and other

* Major Rawlinson has suggested the use of the term Scythic instead of Median (the Persian Cuneiform Inscription at Behistun deciphered, part i. p. 20, vol. x. of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society). However, until the language of the inscriptions in this character can be determined beyond a doubt, we can scarcely venture upon adopting definitively either appellation. Major Rawlinson is of opinion that that language is a Scythic or Mongolian dialect; and from its use on monuments erected by the Persian kings, it is highly probable that it is so. The subjects of the Achæmenian monarchs included three great divisions of the human race, speaking respectively Semitic or Syro-Arabian, Indo-European or Arian, and Scythic or Mongolian languages; and when we find that two of the columns of the trilingual inscriptions are dialects of the first and second of these languages, we may consistently infer that the remaining version of the inscriptions is in the third.

† This name is generally written Bisutun in the maps; it is now given to a small village near Kirmanshah, on the frontiers of Persia.

eminent philologists, must at once remove all doubt as to the general accuracy of the results to which they have arrived. There may undoubtedly be interpretations, and forms of construction open to criticism. They will probably be rejected or amended, when more materials are afforded by the discovery of additional inscriptions, or when those we already possess have been subjected to a still more rigorous philological examination, and have been further compared with known dialects of the same primitive tongue. But as to the general correctness of the translations of the inscriptions of Persepolis and Behistun, there cannot be a question.* The materials are in every one's hands. The inscriptions are now accessible, and they scarcely contain a word the meaning of which may not be determined by the aid of dictionaries and vocabularies of the Sanscrit and other early Indo-European languages.†

Before the publication of the great inscription of Behistun, the monuments of Persia, containing little more than the names of kings and royal titles, afforded few materials for the investigation of cuneiform writing. That inscription was long known, and had been seen by many travellers. MM. Coste and Flandin, who accompanied M. de Sercey during his embassy to the court of Teheran, for the express purpose of examining and making drawings of ancient remains, were particularly directed to copy it. They lingered many days

* The transcription in cuneiform letters of a hieroglyphical legend on a vase at Venice, is a test of the general accuracy of the deciphering of both characters. The name of the king was found to be that of Artaxerxes, and was so read independently from the Persian and Egyptian texts, by Major Rawlinson and Sir Gardner Wilkinson.

† There is not a more attractive subject of investigation, nor one more delusive and uncertain in its results, unless carried on with the most rigorous regard to criticism, than the origin, derivation, and connection of languages. But whilst this is admitted, it must be remembered, that within the last few years this branch of study has been greatly facilitated by the discovery of rules, which are now generally recognized. They go far to guide those who engage in the inquiry, and to prevent a repetition, of the absurd speculations of the last century. Etymology may now take its place amongst the sciences, and no science is more important in any investigation connected with the history of the human race.

on the spot, making several fruitless endeavors to ascend to that part of the rock on which it is cut. At length they declared it to be inaccessible, and returned to France without this important historical record. Major Rawlinson, however, overcame all difficulties. During two visits he succeeded in copying all that remains of the three versions of the inscription; and thus, whilst we are indebted to his intrepidity and perseverance for the transcript of the record, we owe to his learning and research the translation of one of the most interesting fragments of ancient history.*

Of the second, or so called Median branch of the cuneiform, we know at present but little. It differs essentially, in the combination of the wedges, from the Persian, and resembles in many respects the Assyrian or Babylonian, many letters in both being identical in shape, if not in phonetic power.

Whilst the Persian and Median cuneiform offer each but one modification in the arrangement of the wedges, the third division, or Assyro-Babylonian, includes several varieties. It has been said to be the most complex in its forms of the three; but such is not exactly the case, as we have in the varieties both extremes: the primitive, or early Assyrian, containing the most simple and elementary combinations, beginning with the wedge standing alone, whilst the Babylonian is distinguished by the most intricate and complex. However, that the two are identically the same, has been proved beyond a doubt by a comparison of the monuments of Babylonia and Assyria, and by the existence of a transcript of a Babylonian record in Assyrian characters.† The variations appear to be mere cali-

* The contents of the Behistun inscription are of great importance to all interested in the study of ancient history, as they so fully confirm the statements of Herodotus, and afford fresh proofs of his veracity and accuracy.

† I particularly refer to the fragment of a cylinder given in vol. ii. of Ker Porter's Travels, and the celebrated inscription in the India House, supposed to contain the decrees of Nebuchadnezzar, of which the cylinder, when entire, appears to have been a transcript. Their identity was, I believe, discovered by Grotefend. It is on the tablets and cylinders of baked clay, that the Assyrian cuneiform character

graphical distinctions, and were purposely made, to mark the difference between the characters in use in the two countries. The introduction of a few complex forms in the pure Assyrian writing, may be attributed to the number of alphabetic signs required. The alphabet of the Persian cuneiform contains but thirty-nine or forty letters; in the Assyro-Babylonian inscriptions there are about three hundred different characters; the simpler forms would consequently soon be exhausted.*

Major Rawlinson has thus classed the Assyro-Babylonian cuneiform writing:—Primitive Babylonian; Achæmenian Babylonian; Medo-Assyrian; Assyrian; and Elymæan.

Whilst concurring in this division I would suggest, that early Assyrian and later Assyrian be substituted for Assyrian and Medo-Assyrian. By Medo-Assyrian, Major Rawlinson indicates the character used in the inscriptions of Van, belonging to a period preceding the Persian domination,† and in those at Palou,‡ and near Malatia, on the banks of the Euphrates. But at the time he made the distinction he was unacquainted with the earliest monuments of Nimroud, and had only examined inscriptions from Khorsabad, and a fragment from Nimroud, both belonging to the same period. The most ancient Assyrian letters are identical in form with those found in Armenia. The distinction lies between the earliest and latest Assyrian writing, and is amply sufficient to determine

is most complex. Besides the substitution of forms not used on the monuments, common letters are rendered more intricate by adding to the number of wedges:—thus becomes , , and .

* Many of these characters are undoubtedly what are termed "variants;" that is, merely a different way of forming the same letter; but even admitting a large number to be so, and to be interchangeable arbitrarily, still there are between 100 and 150 letters which appear to have each their distinct phonetic value.

† There is also a trilingual inscription of Xerxes on the rock at Van.

‡ The inscription at Palou, an ancient Armenian city, was first examined and copied by me on my return from Mosul last year. My attention was called to it by Dr. Smith, of the American Board of Foreign Missions. It closely resembles the inscription near Malatia, copied by Captain Van Mühlbach. (See Papers of the Syro-Egyptian Society, vol. i. part i.)

the comparative date of monuments, as the shape of our own letters marks the time of a document.

The primitive Babylonian is found on bricks, cylinders, and tablets from ruins in Babylonia; the Achæmenian Babylonian in the trilingual inscriptions of Persia. The former is well known from its frequent occurrence on relics, brought to this country, from the remains on the Euphrates near the modern Arab town of Hillah, hitherto believed to be those of primitive Babylon. It is the most intricate variety of the cuneiform yet discovered. Those who used it appear to have exhausted their ingenuity in complicating the simplest forms of the Assyrians.

By a comparison of many letters of the same power in the Assyrian and Babylonian alphabets, it is evident that their dissimilitude frequently arises from the manner of shaping the elementary wedge, either angle of which might be elongated according to the fancy of the writer or sculptor. Thus becomes or , and the simple Assyrian letter is identical with , a character of common occurrence in Babylonian inscriptions.

With regard to the relative antiquity of the several forms of cuneiform writing, it may be asserted, with some degree of confidence, that the most ancient hitherto discovered is the Assyrian. The three varieties found in the trilingual inscriptions are all of a comparatively recent period, the reigns of the Achæmenian dynasty. The inscriptions in the Babylonian character, from the ruins near Hillah, can be shown to belong to the time of Nebuchadnezzar, and consequently to a period subsequent to the fall of the Assyrian empire. The name of that monarch is found upon them all. Amongst the ruins of Niffer, to the south of Hillah, Major Rawlinson has discovered other inscriptions with a new royal name; but it is uncertain to what period they belong. That eminent antiquary, who was, I believe, the first to identify the name of Nebuchadnezzar on the bricks and tablets, from the ruins so long believed

to be those of the scriptural Babylon, inclines to the opinion that Niffer may represent its true site, whilst the mounds around Hillah are the remains of a more recent city of the same name.* Nor is this supposition of the existence of two Babylons inconsistent with history, and Eastern customs. Nebuchadnezzar declares that he built the city. "At the end of twelve months he walked in the palace of the kingdom of Babylon. The king spake, and said, '*Is not this great Babylon that I have built* for the house of the kingdom, by the might of my power, and for the honor of my majesty?'"† After the successful revolt of the Babylonians, and the fall of Nineveh, it is not improbable that Nebuchadnezzar, on founding a new empire which was to rival the Assyrian in power and extent, should have desired to build a capital worthy of it. During the Assyrian supremacy, the ancient capital of the Chaldæans may have partly fallen into ruins; and it was perfectly in accordance with the customs and prejudices of an Eastern people, to choose for rebuilding it a new site not far removed from

* None of the ruins in Babylonia have yet been properly examined, and there is little doubt that excavations in them would lead to very interesting results. The great obelisk ascribed to Semiramis, by Diodorus Siculus, may have been the pillar or column of Acicarus, seen and interpreted by Democritus in his travels in the commencement of the 4th century B.C (Laertius, in Vitâ Democriti, p. 650, ed. Casaubon, and Clemens Alexandrinus Stromata, lib. i. cxv. s. 69.) It was, there can be little doubt, a Babylonian monument; and it probably still exists somewhere in the ruins. Major Rawlinson, in a recent letter, informs me that, according to the Arabs, an obelisk has been seen at Niffer, and such reports have generally some foundation, as I have shown with regard to the sitting figure of Kalah Sherghat (see Chap. XII.). It may have been exposed to view for a short period, and have again been covered up by rubbish. Major Rawlinson is of opinion that all the most ancient remains of Chaldæa (previous to the reign of Nebuchadnezzar) must be looked for in the ruins to the south of Hillah, in southern Babylonia; those to the north being chiefly referable to that king. I have visited most of the remains in the province; but too hastily, and at times of too great danger to admit of a careful and prolonged examination. With proper means and support, researches might, however, be carried on.

† Daniel iv. 29. Josephus (cont. Ap. l. i.), quoting Berosus, says that Nebuchadnezzar repaired the city of Babylon which then existed, and added another city to it.

the old. Babylon affords more than one instance of this very custom. The successor of Alexander the Great in the empire of the East, seeking for a capital, did not rebuild Babylon, which had again fallen into decay. He chose a site near it on the banks of the Tigris, founded a new city, calling it Seleucia, after his own name, and partly constructing it out of materials taken from Babylon. Subsequently, when another change of dynasty took place, the Parthian succeeding to the Greek, the city was again removed, and Ctesiphon rose on the opposite side of the river. After the Persians came the Arabs, who, desiring to found a capital for their new empire, chose a different site; still, however, remaining in the vicinity of the old. Changing the locality more than once they at length built the celebrated city of Baghdad, which actually represents the ancient Babylon.* Such appears to have been the general practice in the East; and there is scarcely a place of any note which has not been rebuilt on a different site. The present inhabitants of the country, whether Turks or Arabs, either aware of this fact, or still laboring under the prejudices of the former people, generally seek in the neighborhood of a modern town some ancient remains, to which they attach the same name.†

It is probable, however, that the half-fabulous accounts of the walls, palaces, temples, and bridges of Babylon, whose foundation was attributed by Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, and other ancient authors, to two queens, Semiramis and Nitocris, related to the edifices of the second Babylon, built by Nebuchadnezzar. The Chaldees still nourished the traditions of their ancient greatness, and may have endeavored, in satisfying the curiosity of a stranger, to assign the highest antiquity to their monuments.

* Baghdad is frequently called Babylon by the early travellers, and even by the Arab geographers. The Church of Rome still gives the title of "Bishop of Babylon" to the prelate who is placed over the Roman Catholic Christians in the Pashalic of Baghdad.

† Thus, there is Mosul and Eski (old) Mosul, Baghdad and Eski (old) Baghdad, &c., &c.

It may be asked what proof have we that the name of Nebuchadnezzar exists on bricks, and fragments, from the ruins near Hillah? The name, written nearly as in our version of the prophecies of Ezekiel, appears to have been assumed by one of the rebels subdued by Darius Hystaspes. It consequently occurs in the trilingual inscription of Behistun. One Natitabires is there stated to have called himself *Nabokhodrossor*, the son of Nabonidus, the King of Babylon. As these names are transcribed in the Babylonian column, there is of course no difficulty in recognizing the letters composing them, and hence their identification when found elsewhere, as at Hillah, in the pure Babylonian writing. In inscriptions from that site, Nebuchadnezzar is called the son of Nabonassar, and king of the land of the Chaldees.*

Although Major Rawlinson has suggested a reading for the name on the bricks from Niffer, it is doubtful to what period they belong; and at present there is no evidence to show that they are older than the most ancient edifice of Nimroud. We may, therefore, fairly assume that the Assyrian is the earliest known form of the arrow-headed writing. The complex shapes of the Babylonian characters, and their apparent derivation by elongation of angles and other processes from the simpler Assyrian letters, undoubtedly point to a more recent invention. There cannot be a doubt that the characters as formed in the earliest palace of Nimroud long preceded those of the inscriptions of Khorsabad and Kouyunjik. This is an

* An extraordinary laxity in the use, omission, and interchange of certain consonants, as it will be shown, is one of the distinguishing features of the language expressed by this branch of the cuneiform character. The name of Nebuchadnezzar is written in many ways—in the Bisutum inscription, we have Nabokhodrossor, Nabukhadrachar, and Nabukhudrachar. In pure Babylonian inscriptions it undergoes even more numerous changes. In Daniel he is called Nebuchadnezzar, or Nabuchodonosor; in Ezekiel (ch. xxvi. v. 7) the name is written Nebuchadrezzar. The first component of the word, Nebo, was the name of a Babylonian divinity. (Isaiah ch. xlvi. v. 1.) The interchanges which take place in consonants is shown by the names of several Babylonian kings, as given by the Greeks. Thus, the Labunitus of Herodotus is called Nabunidus by Berosus.

important fact, as it proves that the most simple were the earliest, and that there was a gradual progression towards the more intricate. This progression may be very clearly traced in the inscriptions from different Assyrian ruins. We may, therefore, consistently conclude that the Babylonian, being the most complex, was the most modern of this branch of cuneiform writing.

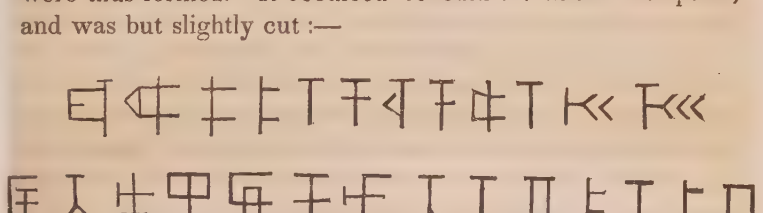
The question of prior antiquity now, therefore, lies between the monuments of Assyria, and the rock-tablets of Armenia. At present there is no positive evidence to decide their respective claims, but there are strong grounds for believing that the earliest inscriptions of Nimroud are the most ancient. We have the testimony of ancient authors, who attribute the invention of letters to the Assyrians, and give the name of Assyrian to the cuneiform writing, even when changed and modified by the Persians.* In the earliest inscriptions of Armenia, the royal titles resemble those of the first kings of Nimroud. In the latter inscriptions of the same Armenian dynasty, the titles are similar to those on the monuments of Khorsabad and Kouyunjik.† It may be inferred, therefore, that these Armenian kings lived between the erection of the earliest and latest monuments of Assyria proper. Whether there were contemporaneous Assyrian and Armenian dynasties, or whether the names at Van are those of kings who reigned at the same time over Armenia and Assyria, and are consequently to be included in the Assyrian dynastic lists, are questions which can only be determined when the contents of the inscriptions are known, and the ruins of Assyria more thoroughly examined.

Admitting, therefore, that the Assyrian is the most ancient known form of arrow-headed writing, it would be interesting

* Herodotus always calls this form of writing Assyrian. (See lib. iv. c. 87, &c.) According to Amyntas, the inscription on the tomb of Sardanapalus was written in Chaldæan letters (χαλδαϊκοῖς γράμμασιν) on a stone column. Aristobulus terms them Assyrian letters. (Athenæus, lib. xii.) Also Arrian. (Exp. Alex lib. ii. c. 5.)

† This was brought to my notice by Major Rawlinson.

to ascertain its origin. The epithets of cuneiform, cuneatic, wedge-shaped, and arrow-headed, tête-à-clou (nail-headed) in French, and keilförmig in German, have been variously assigned to it, because its component parts resemble either a wedge, the barb of an arrow, or a nail, according to the fancy of the describer. It is not improbable, however, that the original or primitive elements of the letters were merely simple lines, the wedge or arrow-head being a subsequent improvement or embellishment. On a slab at Nimroud, forming a part of a wall in the southwest palace, but brought from the most ancient edifice, I found one line of writing in which the characters were thus formed. It occurred beneath the usual inscription, and was but slightly cut :—

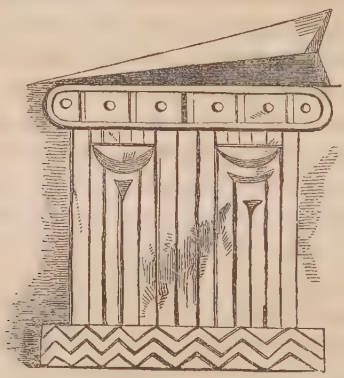


It is evident that, by substituting the wedge, or arrow-head, for the lines in the above inscription, the characters would resemble such as are found on the earliest Assyrian monuments. The simpler letters may have been used in documents, and could have been written easily and quickly, whilst the more elaborate monumental character would require both time and care. In the inscriptions on Babylonian bricks the wedges are also frequently replaced by mere lines, as for or ,* these characters being the same. Nor is the element of the most ancient form of Assyrian monumental writing always the arrow-head or the wedge ; it sometimes assumes

* The character thus formed occurs in the inscriptions of Susiana. The Assyrian letter, of which the three variants in the text are modifications, has been given, p. 138.

the shape of a hammer on painted bricks from the earliest palace at Nimroud.

The use of the wedge may have been suggested by the impression of the angular corner of a square rod on a surface of soft clay, which will produce this form very accurately. Even complicated characters and a short inscription might thus have been impressed on a tablet of any soft material. But this elementary figure appears to have been sacred; for we find it represented as placed upon an altar, amongst other religious emblems, on a Babylonian relic, usually known as the "Caillou de Michaux," in the National Library of Paris. Whether it became sacred from its employment in the written character, or whether it was adopted as an emblem, I will not attempt to determine.*



Wedge or Arrow-head on an Altar. (From a stone in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris.)

* It would not be difficult for those who are apt at discovering the hidden meaning of ancient symbols, to invest the arrow-head or wedge of the inscriptions, assuming, as it frequently does, the form of an equilateral triangle, with sacred and mythic properties; and to find in it a direct illustration of the sacred triad, the basis of Chaldæan worship and theogony, or of another well-known Eastern object of worship. (See Layard's elaborate Essays on the Worship of Venus, on the Cy-

Nor will I stop to inquire whether, in their original forms, the Assyrian letters were ideographic; whether, as it has been assumed with regard to the alphabets of Syria, their names were derived from things which they were meant to represent. It will require a much more intimate acquaintance with the nature and powers of these characters than we can hope to attain for some time to come, before we can determine whether the arrangement of the wedges depends upon any system, or whether it be merely accidental. At present there is no proof in support of either supposition.

The first records of the Assyrians, like those of most ancient nations, were probably monumental. They were cut either on the walls of temples, palaces, and other edifices, or upon the smoothed face of a rock. After the subjection of a distant nation, the limits of the conquest of the king were marked, or his triumphs celebrated, by an inscription in some conspicuous spot in the conquered country. The side of a lofty precipice was generally chosen. A tablet was first cut sufficiently deep into the rock to leave above it a projecting ledge, to protect the sculpture as much as possible from the effects of the weather, and from the water which might run down its face. A bas-relief, representing the king alone, or the king receiving captives, was then generally sculptured. Below the figures, or near, was explained in writing the event recorded by the bas-relief, and sometimes a short inscription on the dress,* or above the head, of each person, contained his name and titles. Such is the Assyrian monument at the mouth of the Nahr-el-Kelb, or Dog River, in Syria. Frequently an inscription, or a bas-relief was alone carved, as in parts of Asia Minor. The rock below the tablet was generally scarped, all access to the monument being cut off, to save it

press, and on the Religious Symbols of the Assyrians and Persians, in the "Memoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres," and in the "Annales de l'Institut Archéologique.")

* Across the breast of the figures in Ionia, attributed by Herodotus (lib. ii. c 106) to Sesostris, but which were probably Assyrian, was an inscription.

from injury or destruction. If no convenient rock could be found, or if the king wished to mark the boundaries of his dominions, a square pillar or slab was erected, as on the summit of the pass of Kel-i-Shin, in the high mountains dividing Assyria from Media.* The Persians, who appear to have closely imitated the Assyrians in all their customs, adopted the same method of recording their conquests and victories, as the rock sculptures of Behistun still testify. According to Herodotus, Darius in his Scythian expedition erected, on the shores of the Bosphorus, two columns of white marble, one having inscribed in Assyrian (cuneiform), and the other in Greek characters, the names of the different nations which composed his vast army. He placed a third on the Tearus, after crossing the straits into Thrace.†

When events were to be recorded more in detail, the inscriptions appear to have been engraved on the walls of their temples or palaces, as in Egypt, to accompany painted or sculptured representations of the scenes they described.

It is not improbable that during the early period of the Assyrian monarchy, stone and clay were the only substances on which private as well as public records were written. In the most ancient sculptures of Nimroud there are no representations of scribes. In the more recent, however, at Khorsabad, Kouyunjik, and Nimroud, we have eunuchs writing down the

* The custom of putting up tablets and pillars to fix the boundaries of an empire, is frequently alluded to in the monumental records of Egypt. (See Birch's Translation of the Obelisk at Constantinople, and Observations on the Statistical Tablet of Karnak, in the New Series of the Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature, vol. ii.)

† Herod. lib. iv. c. 87 and 91. This appears also to have been the most ancient method of chronicling events and keeping records. Josephus, following an ancient tradition, declares that Seth erected in the land of Siriad, two pillars, one of brick, the other of stone, and inscribed upon them the principal antediluvian arts and sciences. (Antiq. Jud. lib. i. c. 3.) Sesostris, according to Herodotus, erected pillars and carved tablets in the places which he conquered. The Greek historian mentions those he had seen in Palestine (probably the tablets still existing near the Nahr-el-Kelb) and in Asia Minor. (Lib. ii. c. 102 and 106.)

number of heads, and the amount of spoil, on rolls of leather, or some other flexible material.*

Scribes writing down the number of heads of the slain and the amount of the spoil. (Kouyunjik.)

The material generally used cannot be determined from the sculptures. At the time of the close intercourse between Assyria and Egypt, probably existing, as it will be shown, at the period to which these bas-reliefs belong, the papyrus may have been an article of commerce between the two countries; or rolls of leather manufactured in Assyria may have been the only substance employed. The reed growing in the marshes formed by the Tigris and Euphrates may have served, as it does to this day, for a pen; and the cursive or hieratic characters, on the fragments of vases from Nimroud, appear to have been written with some such instrument.

But the most common mode of keeping records in Assyria and Babylonia was on prepared bricks, tiles, or cylinders of

* It could scarcely have been papyrus, as that substance is too brittle to be rolled or bent, as represented in the sculptures. Parchment was not invented until a much later period. Mr. Birch inclines to the idea of leather, which the Egyptians used occasionally as early as the 18th dynasty.

clay, baked after the inscription was impressed. The characters appear to have been formed by an instrument, or may sometimes have been stamped. The Chaldæan priests informed Callisthenes that they kept their astronomical observations on bricks baked in the furnace ;* and we have the testimony of Epigenes to the same effect.† Ezekiel, who prophesied near the river Chebar in Assyria, was commanded *to take a tile* and portray upon it the city of Jerusalem.‡ Of such records we have many specimens. The most remarkable are two hexagonal cylinders, one in the possession of Colonel Taylor, late political agent at Baghdad, and the other given by me to the British Museum. They were both discovered in the ruins opposite Mosul, and, I believe, in the mound of Nebbi Yunus.§ On each side there are about sixty lines of writing, in such minute characters that the aid of a magnifying glass is required to ascertain their forms. Habit, and long practice have enabled me to analyze and copy the inscription on my own cylinder ; that on Colonel Taylor's has not yet been examined. I find in it the name of the Kouyunjik king, with those, I think, of his father and son. Other royal names are frequently repeated, and the whole appears to be some public document or historical record.‖ The identification of the frag-

* Simplicius, Aristot. de Cœlo, l. ii.

† "E diverso Epigenes, apud Babylonios dccxx. annorum observationes siderum coctilibus laterculis inscriptas, docet gravis auctor in primis, qui minimum, Berosus et Critodemus cccxc. annorum. Ex quo apparet æternum literarum usum." —*Plin. Hist. Nat.* l. vii. c. lvi. s. 57. ed. Sillig. In some editions of Pliny a thousand years is added to both these periods ; but this appears to have been an error of Brottier, rectified in the last edition, as quoted.

‡ "Thou also, son of man, take thee a tile, and lay it before thee, and portray upon it the city, even Jerusalem."—Ch. iv. 1.

§ That formerly in my possession was used as a candlestick by a respectable Turcoman family living in the village, on the mound of Nebbi Yunus near the tomb of the prophet. The cylinder is hollow, and was probably closed at both ends: only one extremity is now perfect. A hole in the centre of one of the ends received the tallow candle. To such base uses are now turned the records of the Assyrians! I also found half of another cylinder of the same kind.

‖ The inscription will be included in the collection brought by me from Assyria, now in the course of publication by the Trustees of the British Museum

ment (probably of a similar cylinder) published in Ker Porter's Travels, with the inscription on the stone in the Museum of the East India Company, containing decrees or annals of Nebuchadnezzar, renders it highly probable that these cylinders were generally used for such purposes.

In many public and private collections there are inscriptions on tiles, and on barrel-shaped cylinders of baked clay. On a tile formerly in the possession of Dr. Ross of Baghdad, and afterwards, I believe, in that of the late Mr. Steuart, there are many lines of writing, accompanied by the impression of seals, probably of attesting witnesses.*

The inscriptions on the Babylonian bricks are generally inclosed in a small square, and are formed with considerable care and nicety. They appear to have been impressed with a stamp, upon which the entire inscription, and not isolated letters, was cut in relief. This art, so nearly approaching to the modern invention of printing, is proved to have been known at a very remote epoch to the Egyptians† and Chinese. The characters on the Assyrian bricks were made separately. Some letters may have been impressed singly by a stamp, but from the careless and irregular way in which they are formed and grouped together, it appears more probable that they were all cut with an instrument, and by the hand.‡ The characters, however, on the cylinders, particularly on one or two fragments discovered at Nimroud, are so elaborately minute,§

* On a fragment brought by me from Nimroud, in the most minute letters, are parallel columns apparently of words and numbers, perhaps an account. On a rectangular tile, also formerly in the possession of Mr. Steuart, a small engraved cylinder of stone or metal appears to have been rolled or passed completely round the edges, probably to prevent enlargement or counterfaction of the document.

† The Egyptian monarchs also stamped their names on bricks. The stamps used were of wood, and several are preserved in European collections. The characters are, I believe, generally *incised*, so that the impression, unlike that on the Babylonian bricks, is in relief.

‡ The stamp being used in Babylonia, and not in Assyria, may furnish an additional argument in favor of the greater antiquity of the Assyrian writing.

§ Particularly on a very beautiful fragment of baked clay now in the British Museum.

and at the same time so accurately made, that only an instrument of the most delicate construction could have produced them.

The great antiquity of carving documents on stone, is shown by the Bible. The divine commands were first given to mankind on stone tablets, and amongst all primitive nations this appears to have been considered the most appropriate and durable method of perpetuating records. The letters were evidently cut with a sharp instrument of iron, or of prepared copper. From the passage in Job,* "Oh that my words were written! that they were graven with an iron pen and *lead* in the rock for ever!" it has been conjectured that the incised letters were filled up with lead. No remains of metal were found by me in the inscriptions; but M. Botta states, that in letters in the pavement slabs of Khorsabad, traces of copper were still evident, the stone being colored by it.†

The cuneiform characters on most of the monuments of Assyria and Persia are formed with great neatness and care. Major Rawlinson states, that on the surface of the rock at Behistun could still be traced the remains of varnish, or some transparent substance, which appears to have been laid over the whole tablet to preserve it, as far as possible, from injury, by exposure to the atmosphere. No kind of letter can be better adapted to resist the ordinary process of decay than the Assyrian when well sculptured. Simple horizontal or perpendicular lines, deeply incised, will defy for ages the effects of decay. When an inscription is so much injured, that a person unaccustomed to the examination of similar monuments, would either fail to distinguish it, or would soon abandon an attempt to copy it as hopeless, it is frequently possible, by watching the shadows thrown by the sun, to transcribe the whole. Some

* Ch. xix. 23 and 24.

† Botta's letters in the Journal Asiatique and Flandin's memoirs in the Revue des deux Mondes. I discovered at Khalah Sherghat a fragment of a copper tablet with cuneiform letters.

inscriptions, visible at certain periods of the day, entirely vanish at others, and would escape even the most experienced eye.*

The foregoing remarks will, it is hoped, have given the reader some insight into the writing of the Assyrians. It only remains for me to add that the great trilingual record of Behistun, the inscription over the tomb of Darius near the ruins of Persepolis, and various shorter and less important inscriptions in other parts of Persia, have afforded a groundwork for the investigation of the Assyrian character. From the progress already made, there is every reason to hope, that within a short period we shall be able to ascertain the general contents, if not to give accurate translations, of the numerous inscriptions which have, within the last three years, been added to the written records of the ancient world. The labor of deciphering an unknown character, probably representing an extinct dialect, if not an extinct language, is however very great. Not only is an intimate acquaintance with etymology and philology absolutely required, but at the same time considerable ingenuity, a vast deal of mere mechanical investigation, and a tedious comparison of all known inscriptions in the same character. I have already alluded to the extreme laxity prevailing in the construction, and orthography, of the language of the Assyrian inscriptions, and to the number of distinct characters which appear to make up its alphabet. Letters differing widely in their forms, and evidently the most opposite in their phonetic powers, are interchangeable. The shortest name may be written in a variety of ways; every character in it may be changed, till at last the word is so altered, that a person unacquainted with the process which it has undergone, would never suspect that the two were in fact the same.

* Such are the inscriptions in the Babylonian character discovered by Major Rawlinson near Holwan, to the west of Kirmanshah, and also to a certain extent the inscription partly copied by me at Palou. I was unable to distinguish the letters in one corner of the tablet which, during my visit, was thrown into the shade by a projecting ledge. Dr. Smith, who first saw the tablet, was doubtful whether there were still any remains of the inscription upon it.

These changes will be pointed out hereafter in the name of the king who appears to have been the founder of the earliest edifice at Nimroud.

By a careful comparison of inscriptions more than once repeated, it will be found that many characters, greatly or even altogether differing in form, are only varieties or variants of the same letter. If we determine, by a process of comparison, the number of characters which have evidently the same phonetic power, and admit that many letters have, to a certain extent, a syllabic value, consonants being differently formed according to the vowel sound attached to them, the number of letters may be reduced within the compass of an alphabet.*

We derive another important aid in deciphering from the well-proved fact, that in Assyrian monumental writing it was never the custom to divide a word at the end of a line. To avoid doing so, the sculptor would carry it beyond the limits of the rest of the inscription, or would prefer finishing it on the side, or even back, of the slab. This appears also to have been frequently the case when inscriptions were carried across figures, the word not being divided, when an interruption from drapery, or other portions of the sculpture, took place. The knowledge of this fact has enabled me, by a careful comparison of the inscriptions of similar import, which are repeated on almost every slab in the earliest palace of Nimroud, to determine nearly all the words in them.† Several proper names, in the trilingual inscriptions, particularly those of kings and countries, have given us the undoubted value of many letters, and have enabled us to find corresponding geographical names

* A table, drawn up by the careful comparison of several hundred inscriptions, will be included in the work published by the Trustees of the British Museum. It shows a large number of variants and marks the division between words. M. Botta has also published a highly useful table of variants in the "Journal Asiatique" for October 1847.

† In the Persian cuneiform inscriptions each word was separated by a slanting wedge; hence one of the principal difficulties in deciphering is avoided. But such is not the case either in the Assyro-Babylonian or in the Median.

on the Assyrian monuments. We are able at the same time to prove that the name of a man* is generally, if not always, preceded by a simple wedge, and to determine the character representing "son of," as well as that meaning a country, or denoting that the following name belongs to a people or to a nation. The names of cities, above their sculptured representations in the bas-reliefs, are also always preceded by a determinative sign.†

Such are the materials for inquiry. They are considerable; quite sufficient indeed to warrant the hope of future success, when the investigation is pursued by such men as Rawlinson, Birch, or Norris, and others, in France and Germany, no less distinguished for extensive philological acquirements, than for eminent abilities, perseverance, and ingenuity.‡

I have thus placed before the reader the principal steps made towards deciphering the Assyrian inscriptions, and pointed out the amount of knowledge we possess. I will now return to the inscriptions of Nimroud, and resume the arguments afforded by them as to the comparative dates of the various buildings.

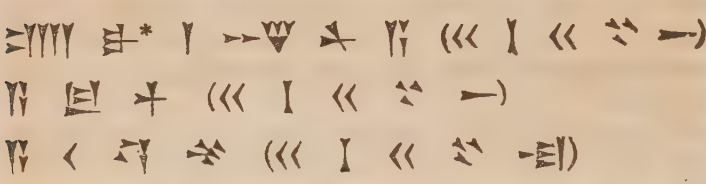
I have had frequent occasion to observe that there is scarcely a kiln-burnt brick or a stone employed in the ancient edifices of Assyria without an inscription upon it. In buildings of various epochs we find different formulæ; but in every mound where there are remains of but one building, as at Khorsabad

* And sometimes the personal pronoun.

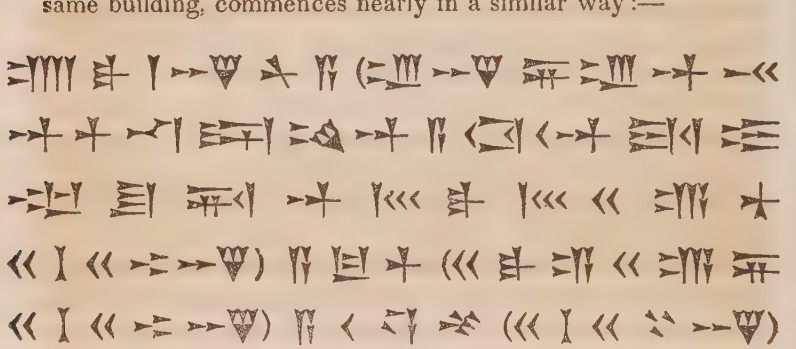
† The character preceding the proper name, and those signifying "son of" and "king," are given elsewhere. That denoting country is or , a city or its variant . There is reason to believe that precedes the name of a divinity. is the sign of the plural.

‡ Since writing the above I have learnt from Major Rawlinson that he has succeeded in deciphering the inscription on the obelisk described in the preceding pages. It contains, according to him, the annals of the reign of the son of Ninus. He has obtained, moreover, fifteen royal names.

for instance, one formula is constantly repeated, with a few unessential variations. The inscription on the bricks of the earliest palace at Nimroud, that in the northwest corner, is as follows:—



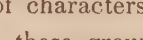
The inscription, which is found on almost every slab in the same building, commences nearly in a similar way:—



On the bricks discovered in the centre palace we have the following inscription:—

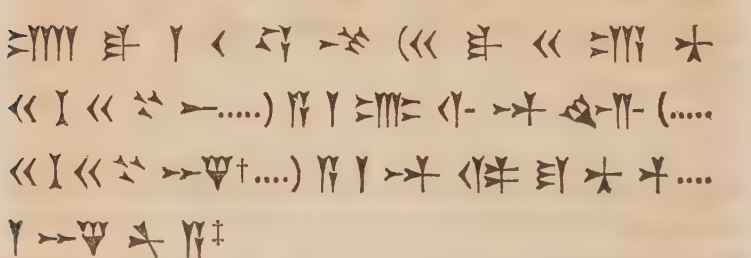
* It has been conjectured that these two characters signify "the great house" or palace; but there appears to me to be objections to this interpretation. They are sometimes replaced by .

† Characters, in which perpendicular wedges are placed between two horizontal wedges, are formed, in the oldest inscriptions, by carrying one horizontal wedge across the perpendicular. I have not made this distinction in the text.

It is evident that in these inscriptions a certain formula is repeated three times,* preceded on each occasion by a different group of characters. In the inscriptions from the earliest palace, these groups are and —in those from the centre  , and . It will also be observed that, in both inscriptions, the groups before the second and third repetition of the formula, are preceded either by or by alone. On comparing the Persian trilingual inscriptions, it is found that in the Babylonian column, the names of the kings, as well as all proper names, are preceded by a simple perpendicular wedge ( ) ; and further, that replaces the "son of" of the Persian. We have, therefore, in the inscriptions given above, three names in direct descent, the last being the builder or founder of an edifice, and his name occurring on every stone and nearly every brick in it. It will also be perceived that in the inscription from the second palace, the position of two of the names occurring in the first are changed, and that the other no longer appears. The son in fact becomes the father, and the father the grandfather; whilst the last in the list, or the builder of the new edifice, is a name not found in the first series.

* I have placed this formula within brackets.

On a pavement slab in the upper chambers, to the south of the northwest palace,* we have a further list of names of considerable importance; for not only do four appear in genealogical series, thus confirming our first conjecture, but two new names are added.



We have thus six generations, three kings—the third, the fourth, and the sixth, having been founders of buildings at Nimroud.

There can be little doubt that the names are those of kings. In the first place, the groups following them can be shown, by referring to the trilingual inscriptions, to be royal titles; and secondly, the interpretation of the legends on the Babylonian bricks, and analogous discoveries in Egypt, prove that it was customary to impress the name of the king upon the materials used in public edifices. Besides, a name of such common and general occurrence can hardly be that of a private individual.

In the inscription on the slab opposite wall *k*, in the southwest palace,§ we have a new name accompanied by royal

* See page 20 of this vol. This slab is on its way to the British Museum.

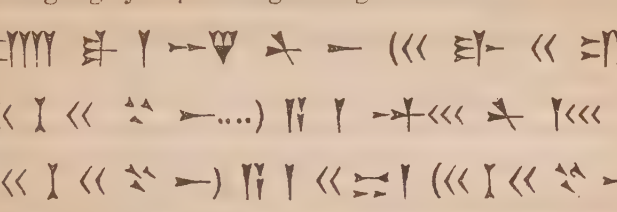
† and are interchangeable characters.

‡ The other names (and) occur after in this inscription, but are not placed, as far as I can ascertain, in genealogical series. A further knowledge of the character is necessary before it can be determined how they are used.

§ See p. 32 of this vol.

titles, ;* and I think I can distinguish that of the father, if not that of the grandfather also, of the monarch. The inscription, however, from the injuries the slab has sustained, requires a more careful examination than I have yet been able to give it. There can be no doubt that it was brought from elsewhere, with other materials used in the construction of the building in which it was found. It did not belong to either the palace in the northwest, or in the centre of the mound; for not only is the name new, but the peculiar arrangement of the wedges in the characters, point to a different and more recent period than that of the erection of those edifices.

Behind the bulls and lions in the southwest palace, as well as on baked bricks from the same building, we have the following highly important genealogical series.



The first name is identical with that of the king who founded the earliest palace at Nimroud, but those of his father and grandfather do not occur elsewhere in the ruins. The name of the father is, however found on the bricks, and in the inscriptions from Kouyunjik, and that of the grandfather on

* appears to be equivalent to . This character evidently means "King."

† There appears to be a name in the body of this inscription between the first and second in the genealogical series in the text, viz. , accompanied, I think, by a royal title, which certainly seems to belong to the list: it may have been that of a brother, or of one not in the line of descent, but still succeeding to the throne; if so, we should have in this inscription the names of four monarchs following one another.

the monuments of Khorsabad.* We are consequently able to fix the comparative period of both these buildings, with reference to the most recent palace at Nimroud. And this direct proof afforded by the genealogy is confirmed by the identity of style in the sculptures, and in the form of the letters used in the inscriptions from the three buildings—so much so, that long before the discovery of the ruins of Kouyunjik, and those in the southwest palace of Nimroud, I conjectured, from the

* The name of the Khorsabad king is also written ; for the name of the Kouyunjik king we have the following variation , that is to say, that whilst the name, as given in the text, is inscribed on the backs of the slabs, and over the head of the king in the sculptures, as well as on all the bricks I have yet discovered in the ruins opposite Mosul, it occurs in the above form at the commencement of the inscriptions on the front of the bulls (being written, as in the text, on the back). The inference, therefore, naturally is, that the name is the same, or that it may be a title or a prænomen. The well-known laxity of the Assyrian writing admits either supposition. There are other variations, but not so essential, in the orthography of the name. I am aware that Dr. Hincks (on the Inscriptions of Van, Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society) denies that the two names found on the bricks and slabs from Khorsabad are identical ; believing one (that found at Nimroud, in the short inscription from the southwest palace) to be the name of a king who may have partially built the Khorsabad edifice, and the other to be that of a successor of even the last king mentioned at Nimroud. He reads the first Nishar, and identifies the others with Sennacherib, Essarhaddon, and Chinilidan. Between the last two kings, according to the astronomical canon, there must have been a lapse of more than sixty years. If Dr. Hincks's view, therefore, be correct, we have an additional argument in favor of the antiquity of the earliest palace at Nimroud. But I may observe, that there are very strong grounds for suspecting the identity of the two names occurring on the monuments of Khorsabad. It will be remembered that on the alabaster vases discovered in the ruins of Nimroud *both* occur ; and if the Nimroud edifices were finally buried whilst the last palace was building—as I have shown there are good reasons for suspecting —no doubt will any longer remain as to their identity. Dr. Hincks infers, from the names of the father and son occurring in the Khorsabad inscriptions, that the building could not have been completed, although founded, by the father ; but that it was customary also to insert the name of the son, is shown by the existence of the name, even accompanied by a royal title, of the son of the founder of the earliest palace of Nimroud, in some of the inscriptions from that building. If the two names are not those of the same persons, we must add them to our royal list.

examination of mere fragments from them, that they belonged to the same period as Khorsabad

We have thus, in the foregoing inscriptions, the names of ten, if not twelve, kings; the first six in genealogical series, the seventh standing by itself, and the last three again showing a direct descent, but unconnected with any of the previous. I have already mentioned the tablet in the tunnel of Negoub, which was unfortunately destroyed before I was able to obtain an accurate copy of the inscription upon it.* On examining, after my return to England, the fragment that the little light in the place permitted me to transcribe, and which before appeared to be almost unintelligible, I find a genealogical list, and I think I recognize the names of the Kouyunjik king, of the founder of Khorsabad, and of his father,† and perhaps even his grandfather. But the ends of the lines have been destroyed, and the series is consequently interrupted. The two additional names are (?) (?) (?) (line interrupted,) and ‡ The forms of the characters are those of the late Assyrian period.

Although the evidence afforded by the two additional names in this inscription is entitled to considerable weight, I will not dwell upon it. Placing only one name between each of the kings in the three distinct series given above, and supposing these kings to have succeeded one another, we have eight generations between the founder of the first edifice and

* See Vol. I. p. 84.

† It is worthy of observation that the name of the father of the builder of Khorsabad has not yet been found in any inscription from that building.

‡ The whole fragment will be given in the collection of Assyrian inscriptions, published by the Trustees of the British Museum. I may observe, that since writing the above, I have received a letter from Major Rawlinson, to whom I sent a copy of the fragment, and that he is inclined to doubt the identification of the names with those of the Khorsabad and Kouyunjik kings, and to believe that this is a distinct royal series; if so, we have still more important evidence of the antiquity of the earliest edifice of Nimroud.

the last, or in all ten. If we allow, as is usual, thirty years to a generation, we have a lapse of 300 years. The first palace could not, therefore, have been founded later than about 900 years before Christ.

But there are several circumstances which seem to prove, that a very long interval elapsed between the construction of the palaces in the north and centre of the mound, and that at the southwest corner. The latter is chiefly built, as I have had frequent occasion to remark, of slabs taken from the others; but there are, at the same time, sculptures and inscriptions in this edifice evidently coming from some ruin not yet discovered, and differing in many respects from those known to exist in any other building at Nimroud. These edifices appear, from the frequent repetition of the figures of the gods, to have been either temples, or, as there is reason to believe was the case in Egypt, royal residences combined with those of the gods. It may, therefore, reasonably be conjectured that a considerable period elapsed before a monarch pulled down the sacred buildings of kings of his own race and faith, to raise out of the materials a new habitation for himself or his divinities. A contrary supposition would be opposed to all we know of the religious feelings and prejudices of the ancients. The buildings destroyed must either have belonged to so remote a period, that not only all remembrance of those who erected them had passed away, which was not likely to have been the case in Assyria, as the written character was still preserved or a new religion had been introduced with a new dynasty.

That a new race, with new forms of worship, had succeeded to the original inhabitants of the country; or, what is more probable, that a new dynasty had taken the place of the old, seems to be shown by the monuments themselves. There are remarkable differences between the sculptures from the earliest palace of Nimroud, and those from Khorsabad. The costumes change; the forms of the chariots, the trappings of the horses, the helmets and armor of the warriors are no longer the same. The mode of the treatment of the subjects, the nature of the

sculpture, and the forms of the characters used in the inscriptions, vary essentially. At Khorsabad, and Kouyunjik, we find no traces of the religious emblems so frequent in the sculptures of the northwest palace of Nimroud. The emblem of the great divinity, the winged figure within the circle, has never been found at Khorsabad, Kouyunjik, or in the latest palaces of Nimroud. From the frequent representations of the fire-altar in the bas-reliefs from those ruins, and on cylinders evidently of the same period, there is reason to believe that a fire-worship had succeeded to the purer forms of Sabæanism. The language, too, of the earliest inscriptions, appears to vary essentially from that used in the latest. Major Rawlinson is of opinion that, whilst the language spoken by the builders of the most ancient Assyrian monuments was far removed from the Chaldee of a known historic period, that of the inscriptions of Khorsabad approaches very closely to the Babylonian dialect; which again is nearly allied to the Chaldee of sacred literature, and of the Sadr of the Sabæans. Indeed it may be foreseen, that the reading of the early Nimroud inscriptions will be a task of no easy accomplishment, and will be best arrived at by a prior knowledge of the contents of those of Khorsabad.

All these facts lead to the belief that the palaces at Khorsabad and Kouyunjik, and in the southwest corner of the mound of Nimroud, were built by a later race or dynasty of kings. It is not indeed impossible, but on the contrary there are circumstances to lead to the conjecture, that the edifices in one part of the mound of Nimroud were already in ruins, and buried under ground, before those in another part were founded. The flooring, or foundations, of the southwest palace is *on a level* with the tops of the walls of the northwest, and of the centre palaces. It is not probable that an edifice should have been erected adjoining the ruins of a more ancient, and so much above it, that the artificial mound must have been carried up to the level of the roof of the ruined building. It would moreover appear, from a peculiar depression in the

mound, that when the slabs of the northern wall of the great hall (B, in plan 3,) were carried away for the construction of the southwest palace, excavations were made to reach them. It may be mentioned as a curious fact to corroborate this supposition, that two of the slabs* had fallen *back* from their places, not into the room, but into the place where the wall of sun-dried bricks, of which they had originally formed the casing, ought to have been ; so that this wall must have been removed. On examining the ruins carefully, it appeared to me as if the builders of the most recent palace, having found a suitable position for an edifice on the artificia elevation at Nimroud, and discovering that remains were buried in it, enlarged the mound by adding to it on the south side. Having raised this new platform to the height of the ruins, covered, as they then were, with earth, they built upon it, digging, for their materials, into the old palaces. And it may be remarked, as almost conclusive evidence that the palaces of different periods were not standing at the same time, that whilst the most recent building at Nimroud had been completely destroyed by fire, *the northwest and centre palaces had not been exposed to a conflagration*, nor are there any traces of smoke, or of the action of fire, in any part of these buildings. It will be remembered that Khorsabad, Kouyunjik, and the southwestern palace of Nimroud, all edifices of the same period, owe their destruction to the same cause. It would appear, therefore, that the monuments of the latter dynasty were destroyed at a different time, and altogether in a different manner from those of the first, which must have been concealed to escape the same fate. These are important facts in our inquiry, and may be connected with the assertion of Diodorus, that on the taking of Nineveh by the Medes, under Arbaces, the city was destroyed ; or with the usual historical account of the death of Sardanapalus, about 876 or 868 years before Christ.†

* Nos. 27 and 28, ch. B, plan 3.

† There is much confusion with regard to the dates of these events, which Clinton (Fasti Hellenici, vol. i.) has endeavored to clear up. By some the destruc-

The northwest palace, if already in ruins or buried, must have been partly uncovered, perhaps excavated for materials, in the time of the Khorsabad king; because there was in one of the chambers, as I have already mentioned,* an inscription commencing with his name, cut above the usual standard inscription. It has every appearance of having been placed there to commemorate the reopening, discovery, or reoccupation of the building. Moreover, the vases bearing the name of this king, and found in the rubbish above the chambers, must be of the same period. The ivory ornaments I conjecture to be contemporaneous with the vases, and so also most of the small objects found in the edifice. And if this fact be established, we may obtain important chronological data; for if the name in the cartouche could be satisfactorily deciphered, and identified with that of any Egyptian king, or with that of any Assyrian king whose place in history can be determined, we should be able at once to decide the period of the reign of the Khorsabad king, and of his successors.

As the name cannot yet be determined, Mr. Birch, in a memoir read before the Royal Society of Literature, has endeavored to fix the age of the ivories by "their artistic style, by philological peculiarities, and by the political relations between Egypt and Assyria."† He well observes, that the style is not purely Egyptian, although it shows very close imitation of Egyptian workmanship, and this must strike any one who examines these fragments. The solar disc and plumes surmounting the cartouche, appear to have been first used in the time of the 18th dynasty, in the reign of Thothmes III., and are found above the names of kings as late as the Persian oc-

tion of Nineveh and the revolt of the Medes are looked upon as distinct events, which have been confounded. But the city may have been twice destroyed; or rather, once merely depopulated, and its principal buildings overthrown, and then, subsequently, at a much later period, burnt to the ground; this is consistent with the change of dynasty which is presumed to have taken place on the first occasion, and the utter extinction of the Assyrian empire, which followed on the second.

* P. 16 of this volume.

† For engravings from the ivories, see my work on the Monuments of Nineveh.

cupation of Egypt. The head attire of the king bears some resemblance to that of Amenophis III. at Karnak, and the kheppr, or helmet, also appears at the commencement of the 18th dynasty; the absence of peaked sandals, and the masses of locks of side hair, may possibly have been the fashion of the 22d dynasty.

As to the evidence afforded by the philological construction, and the employment of certain letters, all the symbols, except one, appear to have been in use from the earliest period in Egypt; the exceptional symbol, the u, was introduced generally in the time of the 18th dynasty. Mr. Birch concludes, that the time of the 22d dynasty would well suit the cartouche, if stress may be laid upon certain philological peculiarities.

We have next the evidence of political intercourse between the two countries, as showing at what period it is likely that by trade or otherwise, articles of Egyptian manufacture may have been carried into Assyria, or Egyptian workmen may have sought employment in the Assyrian cities. It has already been shown that from the commencement of the 18th dynasty a close intercourse had already commenced—chiefly, it would appear, by conquest; as the monuments of that period frequently allude to the subjugation of the countries on the borders of the Euphrates.* But it is about the time of the 21st dynasty of Tanite kings, that the relations between the two countries seem to have been most fully established, and that more than a common connection had sprung up between them. Mr. Birch has discovered, and pointed out, the remarkable evidence afforded by the names of male and female members of this, and the following dynasty, which are evidently of Semitic, and even of Assyrian origin. Those of many of the kings of the 22d, or Bubastite, dynasty, are the most remarkable instances. We have Sheshank, his sons Shapud and

* See Mr. Birch's paper on the statistical tablet of Karnak, and on the hieroglyphical inscriptions on the obelisk at Constantinople of the reign of Thothmes III. (Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature, new series.)

Osorchon, Nimrot, the son of Osorchon II., Takilutha or Takellothis, Nimrot, the son of Takellothis II., and the names of queens, Lekamat or Rekamat,* Karmam or Kalmim, daughter of the Prince Nimroud and Tatepor. The two first, Sheshank and Shapud, and the names of the queens, Mr. Birch shows, are not referable to Egyptian roots, but follow the analogy of Assyrian names. Osorchon he identifies with the Assyrian Sargon,† Nimrot with Nimrod, and Takilutha with Tiglath; a word which enters into the composition of the name of the Assyrian monarch, Tiglath Pileser.

It is highly probable, therefore, that at this period, the reign of the 22d dynasty, very intimate relations existed between Egypt and the countries to the northeast of it. Solomon had married a daughter of an Egyptian monarch,‡ and Jeroboam fled to the court of King Shishak.§ The same alliances, therefore, may have been formed between the most powerful monarchs of the time—those of Assyria and Egypt. The two countries appear then to have been at peace, and in friendly communication; for we have no notice in the Bible of wars between the Assyrians and Egyptians at this period, nor does Naharaina appear amongst the numerous conquests of Shishak. As their battle-ground would probably have been some part of Syria, and the troops of one of the two nations would have marched through the Jewish territories, some record of the event would have been preserved by the sacred writers. The monuments of this dynasty do not contain any notice of triumphs and conquests to the east of the Euphrates. During

* Mr. Birch conjectures that this name may be derived from the Hebrew "Rikamut," an embroidered garment; "a Semitic word, which, considering the renown of the Assyrian looms, might have been conferred on an Assyrian female."

† In Isaiah (ch. xx. v. 1), Sennacherib appears to be so called; but it has been conjectured that Essarhaddon, who is called Sarchedon in the book of Tobit, is meant.

‡ About 1014 B. C.—1 Kings c. iii. v. 1.

§ 1 Kings c. xi. v. 40, and, according to some versions of the Septuagint, he married a relation (the Syncellus says a sister) of the Egyptian monarch. (Böckh. Manetho, s. 315.)

this period of intimate alliance, the Assyrian monarchs may have adopted Egyptian names or prenomens, or may have employed Egyptian artists to record their names and titles in the sacred characters of Egypt. It is even possible that this connection may account for the appearance of Egyptian names in the lists of Assyrian kings.*

Thus the evidence afforded by the artistic style of the cartouches, and by their philological peculiarities, as well as by the principal period of political and commercial intercourse between the two people, appears to coincide, and points to the 22d dynasty, or 980 B. C., as the most probable period of the ivories. At the same time it must be observed that there is no argument against their being attributed to the 18th dynasty.

Mr. Birch reads the name upon the entire cartouche, Aubnu-ra, or Auvnu-ra,† which, if a mere Egyptian word, would mean the shining sun. He observes, "There is no especial deity of the Egyptian pantheon called Ubnu; yet, as this word is constructed in the same manner as the names of Egyptian deities, it may be that of an Assyrian deity, translated or transcribed into hieroglyphics. The name of Oannes, the Chaldæan god, half man, half fish, is the nearest approximation to it of the Assyrian names that have reached us. . . . . There is another hypothesis applicable to this cartouche: that it represents the name of an Assyrian king transcribed into hieroglyphics. In order to identify it, if possible, with such a name, I have collated it carefully with the lists of names of Assyrian monarchs which have reached us, from Eusebius, the Syncellus, Moses of Chorene, and other chronographists of a later period." But he has been unable to identify it with any authentic name in those lists. "The name," Mr. Birch concludes, "is not philologically composed like the name of a king; and if it is supposed to be a prenomen, which the As-

* As for instance, Sethos and Horus.

† There are six symbols, or hieroglyphics: the reed A, the cord or boat-head U, the leg B, water N, the duckling U, the sun's disk and the determinative bar.

syrian monarch might have assumed in imitation of his Egyptian contemporaries, there is scarcely one in the whole Egyptian series constructed in the same manner; for in these the disk of the sun is universally placed first. It is much more probable that it is a prenomen, than a name; in which case the fragment of the other name, in the second cartouche, might be the name of the monarch."

Unfortunately only half the panel containing this second cartouche has been preserved. Three symbols, reading NTA, or NATH, as the end of some Assyrian name, alone remain. On a fragment of ivory, not belonging to either of the cartouches, are two hieroglyphics, a duckling and the water-line, which Mr. Birch reads UN, and conjectures to be part of the name of the Assyrian deity.

In conclusion, Mr. Birch admits that the names of two Egytian kings correspond, in a remarkable degree, with those in the Nimroud cartouches—the one being Ra-ubn, the shining sun, and the word *ubn* forming part of the other. But the following objections to their identity occur to him, viz.: "that the monarchs of this dynasty are anterior to the 18th, and were ephemeral rulers, whose reigns varied from a few months to only four years, showing either an epoch of political confusion, or a series of reigns improperly recorded. Now the Nimroud cartouche can hardly be referred to so early a period, although the Hykshos invasion is considered by some to be represented by this part of the canon. These kings cannot be connected with the shepherds. There is one period which cannot be omitted in the consideration of these Assyrian cartouches—that of the worship of the *Aten*, or sun's disk, introduced during the 18th dynasty; but there is no internal evidence that the kings of this dynasty were Assyrians." May not this very confusion indicate a foreign conquest—one of the Assyrian occupations of Egypt hinted at by Chaldee and Greek authors? And is it not a remarkable coincidence, that we have continual representations of the disk of the sun, as an object of worship, on the earliest monuments of Nineveh?

The attempt to connect the names of many Egyptian and Assyrian divinities has already been frequently made.* I will only allude to one, whose Assyrian origin is generally admitted, and whose appearance on the monuments of Egypt affords important evidence in an inquiry into the date of the Assyrian edifices. I mean the goddess Ken,† the Astarte, Astaroth, Mylitta, and Alitta of the Assyrians, Syrians, and Arabs ‡ This divinity appears to have been introduced into the Egyptian pantheon in the time of the 18th dynasty, or at the commencement of the close connection between Assyria and Egypt. On comparing a representation of the goddess in the rock sculptures of Malthaiyah, with an Egyptian bas-relief in the British Museum, it will be seen that the mode of treating the subject is nearly the same. In both we have a female standing on a lion. The Egyptian figure holds two snakes and a flower, the stalks of which are twisted into the form of a ring; the Assyrian carries a ring alone. The flower resembles that borne by the winged figures in the palace of Khorsabad, and is not found in the edifices of the first Assyrian period—where the flowers in the hands of similar figures are of a different shape.§

* For instance, the goddess Athor or Athyr. Dr. Hincks, I believe, reads the same name, as that of the presiding divinity, on the monuments of Assyria. Mr. Birch admits, in his observations on the cartouches, that the introduction of the Assyrian gods, Baal and Astarta, of Renpu or Reseph, of Ken, and Anata or Anaitis, can be traced to the 18—19 dynasty, and is coeval with the epoch of the great conquests of Egypt in central Asia.

† This is probably the Kiun of the prophet Amos. (Ch. v. ver. 26.)

‡ According to M. Fresnel (Journal Asiatique, iv^e^ série, t. v. p. 211), the goddess Athtor is mentioned in the Himyaritic inscriptions.

§ This will be perceived at once by comparing the engravings in the French work on the monuments of Khorsabad, with those from the sculptures of Nimroud in my large work. As it will be shown hereafter, this lotus-shaped flower was evidently introduced into Assyria during the time of, or immediately preceding the time of, the builders of Khorsabad. There are other representations in the British Museum of this Egyptian form of the Assyrian goddess. On a fragment (Egyptian Room, No. 308) she is seen worshipped by Ramesses II. On a tablet at Turin she is called Atsh, or Adesh, the name of the chief city of the Khitæ, a Mesopotamian people attacked by the Ramessids. (Prisse. Mon. Pl. xxxvii.) She usu-

The Egyptian Goddess Ken.
From a tablet in the British Museum.

Assyrian Deity (? the Astarte of the Assyrians and the Ken of the Egyptians).
From a rock tablet at Malthaiyah, near Mosul.

In the Egyptian bas-relief, of which I give a woodcut, the goddess is naked; but she is sometimes found clothed, as in Assyria. In the earliest palace of Nimroud, I discovered two representations of the same divinity, both differing entirely from those of the rock sculptures of Malthaiyah. The figure was not placed upon a lion; but the posture clearly pointed out the peculiar form of worship over which the goddess presided, the lower part of the person being obviously exposed. The Egyptian Ken appears, therefore, to be connected with the second, and not the first, mode of representation which prevailed in Assyria.*

But if the Egyptians borrowed from the Assyrians, the

ally appears in a triad with Renpu and Khen, or Chamno, also deities of Semitic extraction.

* Since writing the above I have found, in M. Lajard's great work on the worship of Venus (plate 28), the engraving of an Assyrian cylinder, on which this goddess is represented naked, and in the same posture as on the Egyptian monuments. The two, in fact, are nearly identical. From the dress of the accompanying figures (one of which carries a hatchet), I have little hesitation in ascribing this cylinder to the later Assyrian period.

emblems of Egypt were also carried to the eastward; and, it would appear, about the same time. The monuments of the second Assyrian period are characterized by more than one Egyptian peculiarity. The crux ansata, the tau or sign of life, is found on the sculptures of Khorsabad,* on the ivories from Nimroud, which, as I have shown, are of the same age, carried too by an Assyrian king, and on cylinders evidently of the later Assyrian period.† At Kouyunjik the lotus was introduced as an architectural ornament upon pavement slabs, between the bulls forming the entrances, and apparently on cornices, fragments of which were found in the rubbish at the foot of the mound. In the latest palace at Nimroud, were the crouching sphinxes with the beardless human head;‡ we have also the vases of Egyptian form, inscribed with the name of the Khorsabad king. About the same time were probably introduced the scarabæi, engraved with Assyrian emblems and characters, not unfrequently found in Assyrian ruins.§ It is probable also that the singular grotesque head carved in a yellow silex, placed by me in the British Museum, and discov-

* Botta's letters in the Journal Asiatique for 1843. I am aware of the ingenious arguments of M. Lajard (Observations sur l'Origine et la Signification du Symbole appelé la Croix Ansée, Paris, 1847), to derive the crux ansata from the Assyrian symbol of the divinity, the winged figure within the circle; but Egpytian antiquaries reject the connection altogether, not even deeming it worthy of a serious investigation. Without venturing to offer an observation on the subject, I may perhaps be allowed to suggest that the monuments already discovered, and hereafter to be discovered in Assyria, may throw new light upon many subjects connected with Egypt, and may perhaps tend to shake many received opinions.

† Their comparative date can be shown beyond a doubt, I think, by a comparison with the monuments of Khorsabad.

‡ It is doubtful whether this sphinx be male, or female, in the Assyrian monuments. I am inclined to think the latter. (See a representation of the figure, Vol. I. p. 284.) It is well known that the Egyptian sphinx is always male.

§ There are several such scarabæi in the collection of the British Museum. That the obelisk was common to the two nations, at a very early period, is proved by the one in black marble, discovered at Nimroud; and by the mention of the great obelisk said to have been erected by Semiramis at Babylon. Theophrastus (de Lapidibus, c. xliv.) also speaks of an obelisk of emerald, four cubits high and three broad, presented by a king of Babylon to a king of Egyp .

ered in the mound of Nebbi Yunus, near Kouyunjik, is of the same period; and an imitation of the head of the Egyptian deity, which some believe to represent death.*

Before leaving the subject of the connection between Egypt and Assyria, it may not be out of place to allude to the insertion of names, apparently of Egyptian origin, in the lists of Assyrian kings. In the dynastic list of the Syncellus, for instance, we have a Sethos; and Pliny mentions an Assyrian king called Horus.† It is difficult to say how these lists were drawn up; but it is not impossible that there may have been some traditionary evidence at least to support them, and that this appearance of Egyptian names may point to a closer connection with Egypt than history has recorded. If, in the dynasties of Egypt, whose authenticity is admitted, we find Assyrian names, why should we altogether reject Egyptian names, merely because they are Egyptian, when they occur in the dynasties of Assyria?‡

The various statements of ancient authors, as to the epoch of Ninus, remain to be considered. According to the frag-

* Wilkinson's Ancient Egyptians, plate 41, vol. iv. This head has an inscription in cuneiform letters on the crown and back; it might otherwise be mistaken for a Mexican relic. Mr. Birch suggests that, as a similar head is frequently represented on Egyptian monuments, on vases brought as tribute by an Asiatic people; and is, moreover, found on the Phœnician coins of Abusus, as that of the deity, it may be the Semitic Baal, or Typhon.

† Lib. vi. c. 30. This may be the Thurus of Cedrenus, who, according to a tradition, erected the first *stela* or pillar in Assyria. (Selden, Proleg. de Dis Syris, c. 3.)

‡ The continual confusion in sacred and profane authors between the Kushites, or Ethiopians of Asia and Africa, is worthy of remark. We have a *Memnon* commanding the armies of the Assyrian king at the siege of Troy, coming from Susa, and followed by the Kushites, or inhabitants of Susiana (Khuzistan). Although Virgil, falling into the common error of supposing Memnon to have been an African, calls him black (Æneid, l. iii.), Eustathius (in Dionys. Perieg. v. 248), and Triclinius, the scholiast of Pindar, say, that both he and his brother were white, although those whom they commanded were black. The birth of Memnon from Tithon and Aurora, according to the Greek mythology, evidently points to his eastern origin. Both Suidas and Pausanias (in Phocid.) state that he came from Susa. According to some, Tithon, his father, was the brother of Priam.

ments of Ctesias, preserved by Diodorus Siculus, there were thirty-three kings from the accession of that monarch to the fall of the empire, whose reigns occupied 1306 years, and ended 876 B. C. Diodorus himself acquiesces in this date, and Ctesias is followed by many writers, amongst them Strabo and Abydenus. Castor brings the empire down to 843 before Christ; and he reckons 1280 years from the first Ninus, to a second who succeeded Sardanapalus. According to Eusebius, 1240 years elapsed between Ninus and Sardanapalus, during which time reigned thirty-six Assyrian kings, fixing the fall of the empire at 819 B. C. The Syncellus places that event 826 years B. C., after the duration of the empire for 1460 years.* The fall of Nineveh mentioned by these authors occurred, therefore, much earlier than the destruction of the city recorded in Scripture, which must be attributed to the joint expedition of Cyaxares and Nabopolassar; undertaken, as it has been shown, about 606 B. C. The event alluded to by Ctesias and his followers may refer to the revolt of the Medes, and not to the final overthrow of the Assyrian empire. Some violent political convulsion probably took place when Arbaces enabled the Medes to assert their independence—the reigning Assyrian dynasty may have been changed, and the old Assyrian empire really brought to an end.†

Clinton, after a careful examination of the statements of the Greek writers, and after comparing them with the Scriptures, thus fixes the dates of the principal events of Assyrian history :—

* I follow Clinton's Fasti Hellenici in these dates (vol. i. p. 263.) In the chronology of ancient authors, we find the extraordinary discrepancy of 1535 years between the various dates assigned to Semiramis.

† Polyhistor distinctly alludes to this change of dynasty; and the names of the latter Assyrian kings, as recorded in the Bible, evidently differ materially in their construction from those of the earlier monarchs; so much, indeed, that they appear to belong to a distinct race. According to Bion and Polyhistor, the Dercelades, or descendants of Semiramis, were dethroned by Beletaras, about the nineteenth in direct succession from Ninus.

	Years.	B. C.
(Ninus, B. C. 2182.)		
Assyrian monarchy 1306 years before the Empire	675	1912
During the Empire, 24 Kings	526	1237
(Sardanapalus, B. C. 876.)		
After the Empire, 6 Kings	105	711
	1306	
Capture of Nineveh		606*

There are indeed sufficient grounds for the conjecture that there were two, if not more, distinct Assyrian dynasties—the first commencing with Ninus, and ending with a Sardanapalus of history; and the second, including the kings mentioned in the Scriptures, and ending with Saracus, Ninus II., or the king, under whatever name he was known, in whose reign Nineveh was finally destroyed by the combined armies of Persia and Babylon. In history we have apparently twice recorded the destruction of the Assyrian capital; and two monarchs, first Sardanapalus, and then Saracus, are declared to have burnt themselves in their palaces† rather than fall into the hands of their enemies.‡

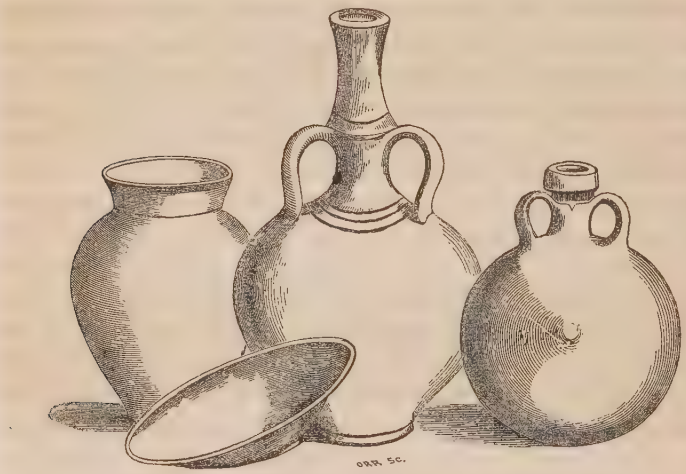
To the tombs, in the earth covering the remains of the northwest, centre, and southeast edifices at Nimroud, I cannot at present assign any date; and, until the vases, and other objects, found in them are examined in England, I would hesitate to found an argument upon their presence. They un-

* See an elaborate Essay, in the Memoires of the Académie des Inscriptions (vol. vii. of the abridged ed.), by M. Freret, on Assyrian Chronology, in which all the authorities are carefully collected. His results agree nearly with those of Clinton.

† Saracus, according to Abydenus, in a palace called Evorita, which Major Rawlinson conjectures (Behistun Inscription deciphered, Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society) to be represented by the ruins of Khorsabad.

‡ According to Herodotus (lib. i. c. 176), the people of Xanthus, rather than submit to the arms of Cyrus, burnt themselves and their wives. The same thing occurred in this city when besieged by Alexander and Brutus. (Appian. de Bello Civili.) The anecdote is also related by Plutarch.

doubtedly prove that, at a very early period, the ruins were completely buried, and the contents of the mounds unknown.* The cartouches, ivory ornaments, and other objects, found still lower in the ruins, are sufficient to mark the period of the destruction of the building. I will only allude to the resemblance between the vases, necklaces, and ornaments from the sepulchres of Nimroud, and those discovered in Egyptian tombs. The small crouching lion in lapis lazuli, a sitting



Forms of Pottery found in the Tombs above the Ruins at Nimroud.†

figure of the same material, the beads, the forms of the vases, are all purely Egyptian.‡ Had they been placed in the hands of any antiquary, not acquainted with the circumstances of their discovery, he would not, I am convinced, have hesitated

* It is probable that when Strabo (lib. xvi.) describes the vast mounds of earth erected by Semiramis, containing subterraneous passages or communications, tanks for water and staircases of stone, he alludes to these very Assyrian ruins, a part of the contents of which might casually have been exposed by the falling in of earth, or when the winter rains formed ravines down their sides.

† This sketch was made from some Egyptian pottery in the British Museum, as I have no drawings of that found in the Nimroud tombs. The shapes, however are identical.

‡ All these small objects will be deposited in the British Museum.

to assign to them an Egyptian origin. Two or three purely Assyrian cylinders were also discovered in the tombs. Who the people were that buried their dead above the Assyrian palaces, I cannot venture at present to decide. They were not Christians, nor did they profess the Magian doctrines as taught in the time of the Sassanian kings. The inhabitants of ancient Assyria, neither during the supremacy of the Parthian Arsacidæ, of the Romans, or of the Greeks, maintained that close connection with Egypt which would have led to such general use of Egyptian symbols, or objects of Egyptian manufacture. Nor is the mode of burial Egyptian; it more nearly resembles that adopted by the early Persians. Cyrus and Darius were buried in sarcophagi, or troughs; Darius in one of Egyptian alabaster.* From the fact that tombs were found in all the most ancient ruins of Assyria, over the northwest, centre, and southeast edifices at Nimroud, at Kalah Sherghat, and Baasheikha, and not at Khorsabad, Kouyunjik, or over the southwest palace at Nimroud, it might be conjectured that they belonged to an intermediate people or race, who occupied Assyria after the building of the most ancient palaces, and before the foundation of the most recent. The close connection between Assyria and Egypt, during the time of the 18th, and four subsequent Egyptian dynasties, is naturally called to our recollection. But in the present state of our knowledge, it would be too hazardous to assign so remote an antiquity to these remains; for by doing so we must, of course, assume, that the ruins beneath are even some centuries more ancient. I will, however, attempt to show, that there is nothing inconsistent with either history or tradition in the supposition, that these buried edifices belong to a very early pe-

* The alabaster πυελος, or tub, in which Darius was buried, is mentioned by Theophrastus. The Assyrians, like the early Persians, may have buried their dead entire, and preserved their bodies in honey or wax. (Herod. lib. i. c. 140. Arian, de Bello Alex. Theoph. de Lapid. c. xv.) According to Ælian, when Xerxes opened the tomb of Belus, he found the body in a coffin, filled, nearly to the brim, with oil.

riod. I will not lay any stress upon the contents of the tombs; they may have been brought from elsewhere; and it is not impossible that they may belong to the time of the first Persian occupation, or perhaps even to the second; although the absence of coins and gems of that period is opposed to this supposition.*

It may, I think, be proved, from the facts which I have stated, that a very considerable period elapsed between the construction of the earliest and latest palaces, discovered at Nimroud. On the most moderate calculation, we may assign a date of 1100 or 1200 years before Christ, to the erection of the most ancient; but the probability is, that it is much more ancient. As I have already observed, there is nothing in history, either sacred or profane, or in the traditions handed down to us, against attributing the highest antiquity to the Assyrian empire. In the land of Shinar, in the country watered by the Tigris and Euphrates, the Scripture places the earliest habitations of the human race. Whether we look upon that statement as the result of divine inspiration, or whether we consider it as the record of a tradition, or an historical fact received by the Hebrew legislator from elsewhere, still we have the evidence that at the very earliest period, the belief was generally current, both amongst Egyptians and Jews, that the first settlements were in Assyria; and that from Chaldæa, civilization, and the arts and sciences were spread over the world.†

* It may be observed that remains of the Greek occupation of Assyria are not unfrequently found. At Nimroud a small female figure in terra cotta, evidently of that period, was discovered in the rubbish on the edge of the southeast corner of the mound.

† Berosus (or Berossos) mentions the first settlement of the human race in Chaldæa. The testimony of this author is entitled to some respect, as he was a Babylonian, living in the time of Alexander. As a priest of Belus he may be supposed to have been well acquainted with the records contained in the temple, and to have been versed in the learning for which those of his order were so distinguished. In his time the walls were probably still covered with the paintings representing the ancient deeds of the people. We know from the Scriptures how carefully public records were kept in Babylon; even those of the Assyrian empire existing after the Persian occupation. (Ezra, c. iv.) The traditions or history, preserved

Abraham and his family, above 1900 years before Christ, migrated from a land already thickly inhabited, and possessing great cities. According to Josephus, the four confederate kings, who marched in the time of the patriarch against the people of Sodom, and the neighboring cities, were under a king of Assyria, whose empire extended over all Asia.* Most of the early Greek authors, and those who have followed them, recognizing a tradition which appears to have been generally prevalent, agree in assigning to the first kings of Nineveh the remotest antiquity; and in this they are confirmed by the Armenian historians. Their united testimony even tends to identify or to confound Ninus, the first king, with Nimrod himself, or with one of the immediate descendants of the scriptural Noah.† Herodotus, who is quoted to disprove the antiquity of Ninus, merely states that the Assyrians had been *in possession of Upper Asia* for a period of 520 years, when the

by Berosus, may therefore be presumed to have been generally current in his time, amongst the Babylonians. Moses of Chorene calls him a most learned Chaldæan: "Vir Chaldaicus omnis doctrinæ peritissimus."

* Antiq. Jud. l. i. c. 9.

† Particularly that of Berosus. Αὐτὸν Νῖνον τὸν Νεβρώθ οἱ Ἀσσύριοι προσηγόρευσαν. (Apoll. Fragmenta, 69, ed. Muller.) To limit the foundation of the Assyrian empire to 900 B. C., because Pul, the first Assyrian king mentioned in Scripture, can be proved to have lived about that time, as the authors of the Ancient Universal History and others have done, is, I conceive quite inconsistent, not only with all historical and traditionary evidence, but with that afforded by the Bible itself. Before the time of Pul, the Jews having no intimate dealings with Assyria, may not have been affected by events occurring in that country: this would be sufficient to account for there being no earlier mention of it, and would seem to confirm the supposition that Herodotus dates, not from the foundation of the Assyrian empire, but from its spreading over Asia. The fragments which have been handed down to us of Armenian history, through the native early Christian historians who possessed materials now lost, equally tend to fix the date of the reign of Ninus at the time usually assigned to it by the Greek authors. His cotemporary on the Armenian throne was Aram, whose son Aræus was slain by Semiramis. St. Martin, probably after a careful examination of Armenian and Greek history, placed the reign of Semiramis from 1997 to 1957, B. C. (Biog. Universel de Michaud, art. Sanchoniathon) "Primus omnium Ninus Rex Assyriorum, veterem, et quasi avitum gentibus morem novâ imperii cupiditate mutavit. Hic primus intulit bella finitimis," &c. (Just. l. i. c. 1.)

Medes first revolted and established their independence.* If we place this event about B. C. 710, and assume that Herodotus alludes to the founding of Nineveh, when he fixes the date of 520 years to the Assyrian domination in Upper Asia, then we must conclude that the Ninus who gave his name to the city did not flourish earlier than the 13th century before Christ.† But the meaning of the historian is doubtful; for he appears to reckon, not from the first establishment of a monarchy in Assyria, but from the time the Assyrians were sufficiently powerful to extend their empire over other parts of Asia. I may mention as a curious fact, first called to my attention by Major Rawlinson, but which, it must be admitted, requires further corroboration, that—whilst, in the inscriptions from the earliest edifices at Nimroud, Assyria alone is included in the dominions of the king,—in those from Khorsabad and subsequent edifices, Babylonia, Armenia, and other countries are enumerated.

But if the inscriptions of Egypt are correctly interpreted, we have distinct evidence that Nineveh was standing long before the period assigned to its foundation, on the supposed evidence of Herodotus. The name is found in the celebrated statistical tablet of Karnak. Mr. Birch, in his observations on that tablet,‡ observes: "The word Nen-i-iu has been recognized as the celebrated Nineveh on the Tigris, by Champollion. The identification of this name is not perfectly satisfactory; for as it commences the line, it is possible that it may be the termination of the name of some fort or place. As it stands, it coincides with this city, while the return of the king southwards, towards Naharaina,§ quite concurs with its

* Herod. lib. i. c. 95. Thallus, as quoted by Theophilus of Antioch, places Belus 322 years before the siege of Troy, thus appearing to agree with Herodotus.

† Or if the Median revolt took place in 876 B. C., or in 819 according to Moses of Chorene, then in the 14th century.

‡ Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature, vol. ii. p. 29, new series.

§ This name is evidently identical with the Neharajim of the Scriptures—in Syriac, Nahrim; it is a pure Semitic word, signifying the country between the two rivers, the Mesopotamia of the Greeks, the Jezirah, or island, of the Arabs.

position." It may be further mentioned, in support of the reading, tha in the same tablet we have the name of Babylon, which has not been found in any other Egyptian inscription. If this name, therefore, be that of Nineveh, it occurs on a monument of the reign of Thothmes III., about 1490 years before Christ; and the arguments, founded upon the apparent testimony of Herodotus, at once fall to the ground.*

There is no reason why we should not assign to Assyria the same remote antiquity we claim for Egypt. The monuments of Egypt prove that she did not stand alone in civilization and power. At the earliest period we find her contending with enemies, already nearly, if not fully, as powerful as herself; and amongst the spoil from Asia, and the articles of tribute brought by subdued nations from the northeast, are vases as elegant in shape, stuffs as rich in texture, and chariots as well adapted to war as her own. It is not improbable that she herself was indebted to the nations of Western Asia for the introduction of arts in which they excelled, and that many things in common use were brought from the banks of the Tigris. In fact, to reject the notion of the existence of an independent kingdom in Assyria, at the very earliest period, would be almost to question whether the country were inhabited; which would be directly in opposition to the united testimony of Scripture and tradition. A doubt may be entertained as to the dynasties, and extent of the empire, but not as to its existence. That it was not peopled by mere wandering tribes, appears to be proved by the frequent mention of expeditions against Naharaina (Mesopotamia), on the earliest monuments of Egypt, and the nature of the spoil brought from the country. Fourteen hundred years before Christ, Chushan-rishathaim, a king of Mesopotamia,† subdued the Israelites. Other kings

* If there be no interpolation in the book of Genesis, we have mention of Nineveh at least 1500 years B. C.

† Judges iii. 8: and, 1450 years before Christ, Balaam, prophesying of the Kenites, describes the power of the Assyrians. (Numbers xxiv. 22.) The Arioch

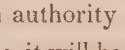
were established in the surrounding countries; all perhaps tributaries to the Assyrians. But Naharaina appears to have been the extent of the Egyptian conquests, the Egyptian kings being frequently declared to have put up the tablets of the boundaries of their empire in that country. That the Assyrian kingdom may not have been known much beyond its limits until the time of its greatest prosperity, when it had extended its rule over the greater part of Asia, is highly probable; and this would account for the silence of the Jewish writers, and for the absence of its name in most ancient Egyptian inscriptions.

With our present limited knowledge of the Assyrian character, it would be hazardous to attempt the identification of the names in the Greek and Armenian list of kings, with those in the Assyrian inscriptions; nor would I venture upon an experiment so often tried, as that of constructing a system of chronology upon these dynastic lists. I will only allude to the assertion of many writers of antiquity, that Troy was an Assyrian dependency. Memnon was at the siege of that city, with the 20,000 men, and 200 chariots, sent by the Assyrian king to the assistance of the Trojans. This king, according to Ctesias, Eusebius, and the commentators, was Teutames; whom Diodorus makes the 20th, Eusebius the 26th, and Ctesias the 25th in direct descent from Ninus. Their evidence again leads back to the earlier date for the foundation of Nineveh, to about 2100 years before Christ. According to Plato, Troy was within the dominions of the king of Assyria.* Eusebius, quoting from

king of El-Assar, mentioned in Genesis (xiv. 1), has been conjectured to be a king of Assyria; the name bearing some resemblance to Arius, the son, or Aralius, the grandson, of Ninyas. (Lenglet du Fresnoy, Methode, &c., vol. i. p. 258.) According to Manetho, Salathis, the first shepherd king, fortified the eastern provinces of Egypt against the Assyrians.

* De Legibus, lib. iii. He may, as it has been conjectured, have followed Ctesias, who declares that Ninus conquered, amongst other countries, Phrygia, Lydia, and the Troad. (Diodorus Siculus, lib. ii.) According to Herodotus, Agron, the first king of Lydia, was the son of Ninus, and reigned 505 years before Candaules; and, however little worthy of credit this assertion may be, it proves at least

the works of ancient authors, mentions its dependency upon that monarch. On the authority of Cephalion, he even relates the terms in which Priam applied to his Assyrian suzerain for assistance.*

An attempt to prove that the earliest palace of Nimroud was founded by the Ninus who gave his name to the Assyrian capital, might not be altogether unsupported by plausible arguments. I hesitate at present to decide upon Major Rawlinson's identification of the name which occurs in the inscriptions, with that of the Ninus of history; although any suggestion coming from such an authority must be entitled to the greatest respect. This name, it will be remembered, is  .

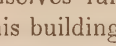
When the ruins at Nimroud were first discovered, I conjectured, from the frequent recurrence of these characters both on the sculptures and on the bricks, that they must represent the name of the king. I submitted them to Major Rawlinson, and he was led to believe, from a nearly similar word corresponding in the Babylonian column of the trilingual inscriptions, to the name of Assyria in the Persian, that in the inscriptions of Nimroud the country also was meant, and that they began, "I, the king of Assyria," or with some such formula. When the genealogical series commencing the inscriptions was determined, it became evident that this was a name, and it was not unnatural to connect it with the Asshur of Genesis.† Subsequently I found, from a comparison of numerous inscriptions, that the word was written indifferently—

that, in his time, there was still a tradition of the ancient dominion of the Assyrians in Asia Minor.

* Diod. Sic. l. ii. c. 22. Cephalion says that Priam applied to the Assyrian king in these terms: "Militari vi in *regione tuâ* a Græcis irruentibus appellitus sum, belloque certatum est varia fortuna. Nunc vero et filius meus Hector extinctus erat, et aliorum multa proles ac strenua. Copiarum igitur valido sub duce nobis suppetias mitte." (Euseb. ex. Interp. Armen. a Mai, p. 41.) Dares Phrygius also mentions the auxiliaries sent to Priam under Perses and Memnon.

† Chap. x. ver. 11. "Out of that land went forth Asshur, and builded Nineveh;" although the approved reading is "the Assyrian," as given in the margin.

the first and last of the three letters being resolvable into the same letter. The power of is from independent sources conjectured to be that of an *n*, and appears to have nearly the same phonetic power.†

The ruins themselves furnish additional evidence in support of assigning this building to the Ninus to whom tradition, at least, attributes the foundation of the Assyrian capital, and from whom the city took its name. It may be mentioned, in the first place, that the northwest edifice at Nimroud, built by  , is the most ancient hitherto discovered in

* This character is sometimes replaced by . As to the use of all these characters indifferently in this word, there cannot be a doubt. Dr. Hincks is convinced that is either the name, or an abbreviation of the name of Athur, the country of Assyria. It is possible that Nineveh, or Athur, may be indiscriminately used in speaking of the country. Dr. Hincks appears to admit that also stands for the city of which the historical name is Nineveh.

† Dr. Hincks has conjectured that when a letter for a consonant and a vowel sound combined is used, the letter expressing the pure consonant may also be added: this might account for the presence of three characters having the power of *n* in this word. The substitution of one character for another, as in the name given in the text, is one of the most difficult questions in the investigation of the Assyrian writing. That the letters, thus frequently found interchanging, are not always pure variants, that is, having the same phonetic value, may be shown from the example in the text, having, there can be little doubt, the value of *a*. Letters, partly syllabic, *i. e.* having a vowel sound united with a consonant, appear to be interchangeable with pure consonants, or to be replaced by two distinct signs; but hitherto no rule to regulate any such interchanges has been discovered. They are so frequent, and numerous, that an entire inscription might almost be written in two distinct ways.

Assyria; and as all the great ruins on the site of Nineveh have now been partially explored, it may be presumed that no earlier building of this nature exists. 2dly, According to Castor, the last Assyrian king, or one of the last, of the second dynasty, perhaps the Saracus of Abydenus, was called Ninus II.* It will be remembered, that the names of the builders of the most ancient and recent edifices discovered in Assyria, are identical; and from the appearance of the southwestern building of Nimroud, there is every reason to believe that it was destroyed before completed. It may, consequently, be conjectured to have been the last of the Assyrian palaces. 3dly, Diodorus Siculus states, that in the palace of Ninus or Semiramis, at Babylon, were represented various hunting scenes, in which the queen was seen throwing a javelin at a panther, and Ninus as transfixing a lion with a lance. It is remarkable that whilst at Khorsabad and Kouyunjik such representations have not been discovered, they abound in the earliest palace at Nimroud; not only forming separate bas-reliefs, but being constantly introduced into the embroideries on the robes of the principal figures. 4thly, Ctesias, and several writers, speak of the Bactrian, and Indian expedition of Ninus and Semiramis. The obelisk discovered at Nimroud belongs to the period of the earliest palace, having, it appears, been erected by the son of the founder of that building; upon it are represented the Bactrian camel, the elephant, and the rhinoceros, all animals from India and central Asia, brought as tribute by a conquered people to the king.

Even if his father and grandfather were called in the inscriptions "kings of Nineveh," Ninus himself may still have founded and given his name to the city.† Eusebius, after

* This second Ninus is also mentioned in the Excerpta Chronologica Euseb. apud Scal. See authorities collected in notes to p. 265, Appendix, vol. i. of Clinton's Fasti Hellenici.

† Dr. Hincks, as it has been mentioned, reads the title of these early kings, 'King of Assyria."

Abydenus, names six kings as the predecessors of this Ninus;* although by giving the name of Nineveh to the capital, he evidently assigns its foundation to him. This king may have been the first to build monuments, such as those recently discovered; or, he may have first used inscriptions and sculptures for monumental records; or, as Moses of Chorene states, Ninus may have displaced a more ancient dynasty, and, jealous of its glory, and wishing to appear to posterity as the founder of the race, and the origin of its arts and civilization, may have destroyed all the monuments of his predecessors.† This statement of the Armenian historian, from the advanced state of art shown in the most ancient edifices of Assyria, is not altogether unworthy of credit.

In conclusion, it may appear from the preceding remarks—

1st. That there are buildings in Assyria which so far differ in their sculptures, in their mythological and sacred symbols, and in the character and language of their inscriptions, as to lead to the inference that there were at least two distinct periods of Assyrian history. We may moreover conclude, that either the people inhabiting the country at those distinct periods were of different races, or of different branches of the same race; or that by intermixture with foreigners, perhaps Egyptians, great changes had taken place in their language, religion, and customs, between the building of the first palace of Nimroud, and that of the edifices at Khorsabad and Kouyunjik.

2d. That the names of the kings on the monuments, show

* They are Belus, Babius, Anebus, Arbelus, Chaalus, and Arbelus. I believe Major Rawlinson is satisfied with the reading of Arbel and Aneb, for the father and grandfather of the king in the inscriptions.

† Moses Chorenensis, lib. i. c. 13. "Item et alias ejus rei rationes affert, utique Ninum superbiâ inflatum, suæque gloriæ cupidissimum, cum se unum summæ potestatis et fortitudinis ac bonitatis fontem atque originem haberi vellet, complures libros et historias antiquas rerum ubicunque egregiè gestarum jussisse concremari; et de se tantum suisque temporibus conscribi." The same is recorded of Nabonasser when he ascended the throne at Babylon.

a lapse even of some centuries, between the foundation of the most ancient and most recent of these edifices.

3d. That from the symbols introduced into the sculptures of the second Assyrian period, and from the Egyptian character of the small objects found in the earth, above the ruins of the buildings of the *oldest* period, there was a close connection with Egypt, either by conquest or friendly intercourse, between the time of the erection of the earliest and latest palaces; and that the monuments of Egypt, the names of kings in certain Egyptian dynasties, the ivories from Nimroud, the introduction of several Assyrian divinities into the Egyptian Pantheon, and other evidence, point to the 14th century as the probable time of the commencement, and the 9th as the period of the termination, of that intercourse.*

4th. That the earlier palaces of Nimroud were already in ruins, and buried before the foundation of the later; and that it is probable they may have been thus destroyed about the time of the 14th Egyptian dynasty.

5th. That the existence of two distinct dynasties in Assyria, and the foundation, about two thousand years before Christ, of an Assyrian monarchy, may be inferred from the testimony of the most ancient authors; and is in accordance with the evidence of Scripture, and of Egyptian monuments.

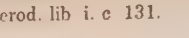
I cannot pretend to draw any positive conclusions from the data that I have attempted to bring together. It has been my object to place before the reader the facts which have been afforded by the examination of the ruins—facts, which, it must be admitted, will go far towards enabling us ultimately to form some opinion as to the comparative, if not the positive date of these newly discovered monuments. I trust that I have at least succeeded in showing, that there are grounds for admitting the possibility of the very early origin of some of these edifices; and that there is nothing in the discoveries hitherto

* I do not, of course, include the Assyrian conquests of Egypt, by kings of the latter dynasty, which are proved by positive historical evidence, and the effects of which are well known and traceable.

made inconsistent with the early date which the dynastic lists, and the statements of ancient authors, would assign to the foundation of Nineveh. The subject is new, and has not yet been illustrated by the remains of the people themselves. The vast ruins of Egypt—its written and sculptured records—have enabled the antiquarian to enlarge, and rectify, the notices preserved to us through the Greeks and Romans; but hitherto Assyria has furnished no such materials. Their very absence has compelled us to neglect a branch of inquiry, replete with interest as connected with Biblical study, and with the history of the human race. Further researches will probably lead to the discovery of additional monuments and inscriptions, adding to the great mass of materials which in the last three years has been placed in our possession. It would scarcely be reasonable or consistent, after what has already been done, to discard all evidence of the antiquity of the Assyrian empire, because there are discrepancies in the statements of such authors as Ctesias, Eusebius, and the Syncellus; and at the same time to found arguments against that antiquity upon an isolated and doubtful passage in Herodotus, or upon the absence of the mention of an early Assyrian king in the Scriptures.

CHAPTER II

IT has been assumed in the previous chapter that the language of the Assyrian inscriptions is a Semitic, or Syro-Arabian, dialect; but the question of what race the Assyrians were, may still be considered by some as open to doubt. It may be questioned, perhaps, whether we have sufficient knowledge of the inscriptions to decide, with certainty, the language of their contents. There are, however, as it has been shown, good grounds for believing that it is closely allied to the Chaldee; or, to use a term which has become familiar, that it is a branch of the Semitic. Such, it is generally admitted, is the language of the Babylonian column of the Persian trilingual inscriptions; which, it can be shown, contains the same formulæ as the inscriptions of Assyria. For instance, the personal pronoun as used before the proper name of the king at Persepolis, is found precisely in the same position at Nimroud.* We are aware, moreover, that the names of the Assyrian gods, as Baal, or Belus (the supreme deity amongst all the Semitic races), Nisroch, and Mylitta (known by a nearly similar name to the Arabians),† of members of the family of the king, such as Adrameleck (son of Sennacherib), and of many of the princi-

* Thus  : "I ——" (the name of the king).

If, as Dr. Hincks conceives, the language of the Van inscriptions is an Indo-European dialect, then the Assyro-Babylonian form of arrow-headed character would not be limited to any particular branch of languages—such as the Semitic.

† Viz. Alitta, Herod. lib i. c 131.

pal officers of state mentioned in Scripture, such as Rab-saris, the chief of the eunuchs, and Rab-shakeh, the chief of the cup-bearers, were purely Semitic.* The language spoken by Abraham when he left Mesopotamia closely resembled the Hebrew; and his own name was Semitic.† Moreover, a dialect of the same tongue is still spoken by the Chaldæans of Kurdistan; who, there is good reason to suppose, are the descendants of the ancient Assyrians.‡

* It is, however, possible that these may be mere Hebrew translations of Assyrian titles. An argument has been founded on the 26th verse of the 18th chapter of 2d Kings. Eliakim says to the officers of the Assyrian king,—"Speak, I pray thee, to thy servants in the Syrian language; for we understand it." From this passage it has been inferred that the language of the Assyrians was similar to that which prevailed in Syria, and consequently a Semitic dialect.

† The name of Mesopotamia on the Egyptian monuments is Naharaina, *i. e.* the country between the two rivers. This is not only a pure Semitic word, but has a Semitic plural form. We may infer, therefore, that the people inhabiting that district, at least, were of Semitic origin. The Hebrew name of Mesopotamia was Aram Naharaim.

‡ The question of the origin of the Chaldæans, the Casdim of Scripture, has been the subject of much discussion of late years. I confess that after carefully examining the arguments in favor of their Scythic and Indo-European descent, I see no reason to doubt the old opinion, that they were a Semitic or Syro-Arabian people. The German philologists were the first to question their Semitic origin. Michaëlis made them Scyths; Schloezer, Sclavonians. According to Dicæarchus, a disciple of Aristotle, and a philosopher of great reputation, they were first called Cephenes from Cepheus, and afterwards Chaldæans from Chaldæus, an Assyrian king, fourteenth in succession from Ninus; this Chaldæus built Babylon near the Euphrates, and placed the Chaldæans in it. (Stephanus, Dict. Hist. Geog.) This appears to confirm the passage in Isaiah, which has chiefly given rise to the question as to the origin of the Chaldees. "Behold the land of the Chaldæans; *this people was not, till the Assyrian founded it for them that dwelt in the wilderness:* they set up the towers thereof, they raised up the palaces thereof." (Ch. xxiii. ver. 13.) The use of the term Chaldæan, like that of Assyrian, was very vague. It appears to have been applied at different periods to the entire country watered by the rivers Tigris and Euphrates, south of the mountainous regions of Armenia, to only a part of it, to a race, and ultimately to a class of the priesthood. That the Chaldees were at a very early period settled in cities, we learn from Genesis (ch. xi. ver. 31), for Abraham came from Ur of the Chaldees; but the position of Ur, whether to the north or south of Nineveh, whether Edessa (the modern Orfah) or Orchoe, or any other city whose geographical position can be conjectured, is still a disputed question, which is not likely to be soon, if ever, settled. It is right to observe

There is something, at the same time, if I may so express myself, peculiarly Semitic in the genius and taste of the Assyrians, as displayed by their monuments. This is undoubtedly a mere conjecture; but the peculiar characteristics of the three great races which have, at different periods, held dominion over the East, cannot fail to strike every reflecting traveler. The distinctions between them are so marked, and are so fully illustrated even to this day, that they appear to be more than accidental—to be consequent upon certain laws, and to be traceable to certain physical causes. In the first place, there is the Shemite, whether Hebrew, Arab, or Syrian, with his brilliant imagination, his ready conception, and his repugnance to any restraint, that may affect the liberty of his person or of his intellect. He conceives naturally beautiful forms, whether they be embodied in his words or in his works; his poetry is distinguished by them, and they are shown even in the shape of his domestic utensils. This race possesses, in the highest degree, what we call imagination. The poor and ignorant Arab, whether of the desert or town, moulds with clay the jars for his daily wants, in a form which may be traced in the most elegant vases of Greece or Rome; and, what is no less remarkable, identical with that represented on monuments, raised by his ancestors, 3000 years before. If he speaks, he shows a ready eloquence; his words are glowing and apposite; his descriptions true, yet brilliant; his similes just, yet most fanciful. These high qualities seem to be innate in him; he takes no pains to cultivate or to improve them: he knows nothing of reducing them to any rule, or measuring them by any standard. As it is with him, so it has been from time unknown with those who went before him: there has been little change—no progress.

Look, on the other hand, at the so-called Indo-European

however, that the name may be a gloss of a later version of Genesis, a substitution, after the captivity, for the name of some obsolete city. The passage in Judith (chap. v. ver. 6 and 7), in which the Jews are spoken of as descendants of the Chaldæans, is remarkable.

races—at the Greek and Roman. They will adopt from others the most beautiful forms: it is doubtful whether they have invented any of themselves. But they seek the cause of that beauty; they reduce it to rules by analysis and reasoning; they add or take away—improve that which they have borrowed, or so change it in the process to which it is subjected, that it is no longer recognized as the same thing. That which appeared to be natural to the one, would seem to be the result of profound thought and inquiry in the other. Let the untaught man of this race model a vase, or address his fellows, he produces the rudest and most barbarous forms; or, whilst speaking roughly and without ease, makes use of the grossest images.

We have next the Mongolian, whether Scyth, Turk, or Tartar—without imagination, or reasoning powers—intrepid in danger, steady in purpose, overcoming all opposition, despising his fellows, a great conqueror. Such has been his character as long as history has recorded his name: he appears to have been made to command and to oppress. We find him in the infancy of the human race, as well as at later periods, descending from his far distant mountains, emerging from the great deserts in central Asia, and overrunning the most wealthy, the most mighty, or the most civilized of nations. He exercises power as his peculiar privilege and right. The solitary Turkish governor rules over a whole province, whose inhabitants, whilst they hate him as an intruder and a barbarian, tremble at his nod. It is innate in his children—the boy of seven has all the dignity and self-confidence in rule, which characterizes the man. The Mongolian must give way before the civilization of Europe, with its inventions and resources; but who can tell whether the time may not come when he may again tread upon the other races, as he has done, at intervals, from the remotest ages? But observe the absence of all those intellectual qualities which have marked the Shemite and the Indo-European. If the Mongolian nations were to be swept from the face of the earth, they would leave scarcely a monu-

ment to record their former existence: they have had no literature, no laws, no art to which their name has attached. If they have raised edifices, they have servilely followed those who went before them, or those whom they conquered. They have depopulated, not peopled. Whether it be the Scythic invasion recorded by Herodotus, or the march of Timourleng, we have the same traces of blood, the same desert left behind; but no great monument, no great work.

These may be but theories; yet the evidence afforded to this day, by the comparative state of the three races, is scarcely to be rejected. In no part of the world is the contrast, between the peculiar qualities of each, more strikingly illustrated than in the East, where the three are brought into immediate contact; forming, indeed mixed up together, yet still separate in blood, the population of the land. The facts are too palpable to escape the most casual observer; they are daily brought to the notice of those who dwell amongst the people; and whilst the Arab, the Greek, and the Turk, are to be at once recognized by their features, they are no less distinctly marked by their characters and dealings.*

But, to return from this digression, let us inquire whether

* Dr. Pritchard, in his valuable and learned "Researches into the Physical History of Mankind," has pointed out the peculiar characteristics of one of these great branches of the human race. "The Syro-Arabian nations," he observes, "are amongst the races of men who display the most perfect physical organization. A well-known modern writer, who has had extensive opportunities of research into the anatomical and other corporeal characters of various nations, has maintained that the bodily fabric belonging to the Syro-Arabian tribes, manifests even a more perfect development in the organic structure, subservient to the mental faculties, than that which is found in other branches of the human family. It is certain that the intellectual powers of the Syro-Arabian people have, in all ages, equalled the highest standard of the human faculties." (Vol. iv. p. 548.) And again: "It is remarkable that the three great systems of theism which have divided the civilized world, came forth from nations of Shemite origin, among whom arose the priests or prophets of all those nations, who hold the unity of God." (Vol. iv. p. 549.) If this be true of the Syro-Arabian or Shemite races, we may, without inconsistency, seek for similar characteristics in the other branches of the human family; and I believe that a careful examination of the subject will show, that the history and condition of the three great races, justify the remarks in the text.

the site of Nineveh is satisfactorily identified. That it was built on the eastern bank of the Tigris, there can be no doubt. Although Ctesias, and some who follow him, place it on the Euphrates, the united testimony of Scripture, of ancient geographers, and of tradition, most fully proves that that author, or an inaccurate transcriber or commentator of his text, has fallen into an error.* Strabo says that the city stood between the Tigris and the Lycus, or Great Zab, near the junction of these rivers; and Ptolemy places it on the Lycus. This evidence alone is sufficient to fix its true position, and to identify the ruins of Nimroud.

The tradition, placing the tomb of the prophet Jonah on the left bank of the river opposite Mosul, has led to the identification of the space comprised within the quadrangular mass of mounds, containing Kouyunjik and Nebbi Yunus, with the site of ancient Nineveh. These ruins, however, taken by themselves, occupy much too small a space to be those of a city, even larger, according to Strabo, than Babylon.† Its dimensions, as given by Diodorus Siculus, were 150 stadia on the two longest sides of the quadrangle, and 90 on the opposite, the square being 480 stadia, or about 60‡ miles. In the book of Jonah, it is called "an exceeding great city of three days' journey;"§ the number of inhabitants, who did not know their right hand from their left, being six score thousand. I will not stop to inquire to what class of persons this number applied; whether to children, to those ignorant of right and wrong, or o the whole population.‖ It is evident that the city was one of very considerable extent, and could not have been comprised in the space occupied by the ruins opposite Mosul,

* Herodotus, l. i. c. 193, and l. ii. c. 159; Pliny, lib. xvi. c. 13; Strabo, l. xvi.; Ammianus Marcell. l. xxiii. c. 20.

† Strabo, lib. xvi.

‡ Or, according to some computations, 74 miles.

§ Chap. iii. ver. 3.

‖ The numbers of Jonah have frequently been referred to children, who are computed to form one fifth of the population; thus giving six hundred thousand inhabitants for the city

scarcely five miles in circumference. The dimensions of an Eastern city do not bear the same proportion to its population as those of an European city. A place as extensive as London, or Paris, might not contain one-third of the number of inhabitants of either. The custom, prevalent from the earliest period in the East, of secluding women in apartments removed from those of the men,* renders a separate house for each family almost indispensable. It was probably as rare, in the time of the Assyrian monarchy, to find more than one family residing under one roof, unless composed of persons very intimately related, such as father and son, as it is at present in a Turkish city. Moreover, gardens and arable land were inclosed by the city walls. According to Diodorus and Quintus Curtius, there was space enough within the precincts of Babylon to cultivate corn for the sustenance of the whole population, in case of siege, besides gardens and orchards.† From the expression of Jonah, that there was much cattle within the walls,‡ it may be inferred that there was also pasture for them. Many cities of the East, such as Damascus and Isphahan, are thus built; the amount of their population being greatly disproportionate to the site they occupy, if computed according to the rules applied to European cities. It is most probable that Nineveh and Babylon resembled them in this respect.

The ruins hitherto examined have shown, that there are remains of buildings of various epochs, on the banks of the

* We learn from the book of Esther that such was the custom amongst the early Persians, although the intercourse between women and men was much less circumscribed than after the spread of Mohammedanism. Ladies were even admitted to public banquets, and received strangers in their own apartments, whilst they resided habitually in a kind of harem, separate from the dwellings of the men.

† Diod. Sic. lib. ii. c. 9. Quintus Curtius, v. cap. 1; "Ac ne totam quidem urbem tectis occupaverunt; per xc. stadia habitatur; nec omnia continua sunt: credo quia tutius visum est, plurimis locis spargi; cetera serunt coluntque, ut, si externa vis ingruat, obsessis alimenta, ex ipsius urbis, solo subministrentur."

‡ Chap. iv. ver, 11.

Tigris, near its junction with the Zab; and that many years, or even centuries, must have elapsed between the construction of the earliest and the latest. That the ruins at Nimroud were within the precincts of Nineveh, if they do not alone mark its site, appears to be proved by Strabo, and by Ptolemy's statement that the city was on the Lycus, corroborated by the tradition preserved by the earliest Arab geographers. Yakut, and others mention the ruins of Athur, near Selamiyah, which gave the name of Assyria to the province; and Ibn Said expressly states, that they were those of the city of the Assyrian kings who destroyed Jerusalem.* They are still called, as it has been shown, both Athur and Nimroud. The evidence afforded by the examination of all the known ruins of Assyria, further identifies Nimroud with Nineveh. It would appear from existing monuments,† that the city was originally founded on the site now occupied by these mounds. From its immediate vicinity to the place of junction of two large rivers, the Tigris and the Zab, no better position could have been chosen. It is probable that the great edifice, in the northwest corner of the principal mound, was the temple or palace, or the two combined; the smaller houses were scattered around it, over the face of the country. To the palace was attached a park, or paradise as it was called, in which was preserved game of various kinds for the diversion of the king. This inclosure,

* Yakut, in his geographical work called the Moejem el Buldan, says, under the head of "Athur," "Mosul, before it received its present name, was called Athur, or sometimes Akur, with a *kaf*. It is said that this was anciently the name of el Jezireh (Mesopotamia), the province being so called from a city, of which the ruins are now to be seen near the gate of Selamiyah, a small town, about eight farsakhs east of Mosul; God, however, knows the truth." The same notice of the ruined city of Athur, or Akur, occurs under the head of "Selamiyah." Abulfeda says, "To the south of Mosul, the lesser (?) Zab flows into the Tigris, near the ruined city of Athur." In Reinaud's edition (vol. i. p. 289 note 11,) there is the following extract from Ibn Said:—"The city of Athur, which is in ruins, is mentioned in the Taurat (Old Testament). There dwelt the Assyrian kings who destroyed Jerusalem." I am indebted for these notices to Major Rawlinson.

† See the previous chapter as to the identification of the names and genealogies of kings.

formed by walls and towers, may perhaps still be traced in the line of low mounds branching out from the principal ruin. Future monarchs added to the first building, and the centre palace arose by its side. As the population increased with the duration and prosperity of the empire, and by the forced immigration of conquered nations, the dimensions of the city increased also. A king founding a new dynasty, or anxious to perpetuate his fame by the erection of a new building, may have chosen a distant site. The city, gradually spreading, may at length have embraced such additional palaces. This appears to have been the case with Nineveh. Nimroud represents the original site of the city. To the first palace the son of its founder added a second, of which we have the ruins in the centre of the mound. He also built the edifice now covered by the great mound of Baasheikha, as the inscriptions on the bricks from that place prove. He founded, at the same time, a new city at Kalah Sherghat. A subsequent monarch again added to the palaces at Nimroud, and recorded the event on the pavement slabs, in the upper chambers of the western face of the mound. At a much later period, when the older palaces were already in ruins, edifices were erected on the sites now marked by the mounds of Khorsabad, and Karamles. The son of their founder built the great palace at Kouyunjik, which must have exceeded those of his predecessors in extent and magnificence. His son was engaged in raising one more edifice at Nimroud; the previous palaces, as it has been shown, having been long before deserted or destroyed, when some great event, perhaps the fall of the empire and destruction of the capital, prevented its completion.

The city had now attained the dimensions assigned to it by the book of Jonah, and by Diodorus Siculus. If we take the four great mounds of Nimroud, Kouyunjik, Khorsabad, and Karamles, as the corners of a square, it will be found that its four sides correspond pretty accurately with the 480 stadia or 60 miles of the geographer, which make the three days'

journey of the prophet.* Within this space there are many large mounds, including the principal ruins in Assyria, such as Karakush, Baasheikha, Baazani, Husseini, Tel-Yara, &c. &c.; and the face of the country is strewed with the remains of pottery, bricks, and other fragments.

The space between the great public edifices was probably occupied by private houses, standing in the midst of gardens, and built at distances from one another; or forming streets which inclosed gardens of considerable extent, and even arable land. The absence of the remains of such buildings may easily be accounted for. They were constructed almost entirely of sun-dried bricks, and, like the houses now built in the country, soon disappeared altogether when once abandoned, and allowed to fall into decay. The largest palaces would probably have remained undiscovered, had there not been the slabs of alabaster to show the walls. There is, however, sufficient to indicate, that buildings were once spread over the space above described; for, besides the vast number of small mounds every where visible, scarcely a husbandman drives his plough over the soil, without exposing the vestiges of former habitations. Each quarter of the city may have had its distinct name; hence the palace of Evorita, where Saracus destroyed himself, and the Mespila and Larissa of Xenophon applied respectively to the ruins at Kouyunjik and Nimroud.†

* From the northern extremity of Kouyunjik to Nimroud, is about eighteen miles; the distance from Nimroud to Karamles, about twelve; the opposite sides of the square the same: these measurements correspond accurately with the elongated quadrangle of Diodorus. Twenty miles is the day's journey of the East, and we have consequently the three days' journey of Jonah for the circumference of the city. The agreement of these measurements is remarkable. Within this space was fought the great battle between Heraclius and Rhazates (A. D. 627). "The city and even the ruins of the city, had long since disappeared: the vacant space afforded a spacious field for the operations of the two armies." (Gibbon, Decline and Fall, ch. xlvi.)

† I have already shown that the account given by Xenophon of Larissa, as well as the distance between it and Mespila, agree in all respects with the ruins of Nimroud, and their distance from Kouyunjik. (Vol. I. p. 27) The circuit of the walls

Existing ruins thus show, that Nineveh acquired its greatest extent in the time of the kings of the second dynasty; that is to say, of the kings mentioned in Scripture. It was then that Jonah visited it, and that reports of its size and magnificence were carried to the west, and gave rise to the traditions from which the Greek authors mainly derived the information handed down to us.

I know of no other way, than that suggested, to identify all the ruins described in the previous pages with Nineveh; unless, indeed, we suppose that there was more than one city of the same name; and that, like Babylon, it was rebuilt on a new site, after having been once destroyed.* In this case Nimroud and Kouyunjik may represent cities of different periods, but of the same name, for, as I have shown, the palace of Kouyunjik must have been built long after the foundation of the Nineveh of well-authenticated history. The position of Khorsabad, its distance from the river, and its size, preclude the idea that it marks alone the site of a large city. As the last palace at Nimroud must have been founded whilst those at Kouyunjik and Khorsabad were standing, it is most probable that the city at that time embraced the remains of the old town, although the earlier buildings may have been destroyed.

Having thus pointed out the evidence as to the site and extent of Nineveh, it may not be uninteresting to inquire how it was built, and what knowledge the Assyrians possessed of the science of architecture.

The architecture of a people must naturally depend upon the materials afforded by the country, and upon the objects of their buildings. The descriptions, already casually given in the course of this work of the ruined edifices of ancient Assyria, are sufficient to show that they differ, in many respects,

of Larissa, two parasangs, also nearly coincides with the extent of the quadrangle at Nimroud.

* The attempt to identify Larissa and Nimroud with Resen, will, I presume, be now renounced.

from those of any other nation with which we are acquainted. Had the Assyrians, so fertile in invention, so skilful in the arts, and so ambitious of great works, dwelt in a country as rich in stone and costly granites and marbles as Egypt or India, it can scarcely be doubted that they would have equalled, if not excelled, the inhabitants of those countries in the magnitude of their pyramids, and in the magnificence and symmetry of their rock temples and palaces. But their principal settlements were in the alluvial plains watered by the Tigris and Euphrates. On the banks of those great rivers, which spread fertility through the land, and afford the means of easy and expeditious intercourse between distant provinces, they founded their first cities. On all sides they had vast plains, unbroken by a single eminence until they approached the foot of the Armenian hills.

The earliest habitations, constructed when little progress had been made in the art of building, were probably but one story in height. In this respect the dwelling of the ruler scarcely differed from the meanest hut. It soon became necessary, however, that the temples of the gods, and the palaces of the kings, depositories at the same time of the national records, should be rendered more conspicuous than the humble edifices by which they were surrounded. The means of defence also required that the castle, the place of refuge for the inhabitants in times of danger, or the permanent residence of the garrison, should be raised above the city, and should be built so as to afford the best means of resistance to an enemy. As there were no natural eminences in the country, the inhabitants were compelled to construct artificial mounds. Hence the origin of those vast, solid structures, which have defied the hand of time; and, with their grass-covered summits and furrowed sides, rise like natural hills in the Assyrian plains.*

* The custom of erecting an artificial platform, and building an edifice on the summit, existed amongst the Mexicans, although they inhabited a hilly country.

Let us picture to ourselves the migration of one of the primitive families of the human race, seeking for some spot favorable to a permanent settlement, where water abounded, and where the land, already productive without cultivation, promised an ample return to the labor of the husbandman. They may have followed him who went out of the land of Shinar, to found new habitations in the north;* or they may have descended from the mountains of Armenia; whence came, according to the Chaldæan historian, the builders of the cities of Assyria.† It was not until they reached the banks of the great rivers, if they came from the high lands, or only whilst they followed their courses, if they journeyed from the south, that they could find a supply of water adequate to the permanent wants of a large community. The plain, bounded to the west and south by the Tigris and Zab, from its fertility, and from the ready means of irrigation afforded by two noble streams, may have been first chosen as a resting place; and there were laid the foundations of a city, destined to be the capital of the eastern world.

The materials for building were at hand, and in their preparation required neither much labor nor ingenuity. The soil, an alluvial deposit, was rich and tenacious. The builders moistened it with water, and, adding a little chopped straw that it might be more firmly bound together, they formed it into squares, which, when dried by the heat of the sun, served them as bricks. In that climate the process required but two or three days. Such were the earliest building materials; and they are used to this day almost exclusively in the same country. This mode of brick-making is described by Sanchoniathon;‡

* Genesis x. 11.

† Xithurus and his followers. Berosus, apud Euseb. The similarity between the history of this Chaldæan hero and that of the Noah of Scripture is very singular.

‡ According to Sanchoniathon (Cory's Fragments), the people of Tyre invented the art of brick-making, and of building huts. "Hypouranius," he says, "invented in Tyre the making of huts of reeds and rushes, and the papyri. After the generation of Hypouranius were Agreus and Halieus, inventors of the arts of hunt-

and we have an allusion to it in Exodus;* for the Egyptians, to harass their Jewish captives, withheld the straw without which their bricks could not preserve their form and consistency.

Huts for the people were speedily raised, the branches and boughs of trees from the banks of the river serving for a roof.

They now sought to build a place of refuge in case of attack, or a habitation for their leader, or a temple to their gods. It was first necessary to form an eminence, that the building might rise above the plain and might be seen from afar. This eminence was not hastily made by heaping up earth, but regularly and systematically built with sun-dried bricks. Thus a platform, thirty or forty feet high, was formed; and upon it they erected the royal, or sacred edifice.†

Sun-dried bricks were still the principal, but could not in this instance, for various reasons, be the only materials employed. The earliest edifices of this nature appear to have been at the same time public monuments, in which were preserved the records or archives of the nation, carved on stone. In them were represented in sculpture the exploits of the kings, or the forms of the divinities; whilst the history of the people, and invocations to their gods, were also inscribed in written characters upon the walls.

ing and of fishing. After them came two brothers; one of them, Chrysor or Hyphæstus, was the first who sailed in boats; his brother invented the way of making walls with bricks. From this generation were born two youths, one called Technites, and the other Genius Autochthon. *They discovered the method of mingling stubble with the loam of the bricks, and drying them in the sun;* they also invented tiling."

* Chap. v.

† Such is the custom still existing amongst the inhabitants of Assyria. When some families of a nomad tribe wish to settle in a village, they choose an ancient mound; it being no longer necessary to form a new platform, for the old abound in the plains. On its summit they erect a rude castle, and the huts are built at the foot. This course appears to have been followed since the Arab invasion, and perhaps long previous, during the Persian occupation. There are few ancient mounds containing Assyrian ruins which have not served for the sites of castles, cities, or villages built by Persians or Arabs. Such are Arbela, Tel Afer, Nebbi Yunus, &c., &c.

It was necessary, therefore, to use some material upon which figures and inscriptions could be carved. The plains of Mesopotamia, as well as the low lands between the Tigris and the hill-country, abound in a kind of coarse alabaster or gypsum. Large masses of it every where protrude in low ridges from the alluvial soil, or are exposed in the gullies formed by winter torrents. It is easily worked, and its color and transparent appearance are agreeable to the eye. Whilst offering few difficulties to the sculptor, it was an ornament to the edifices in which it was placed. This alabaster, therefore, cut into large slabs, was used in the public buildings.

The walls of the chambers, from five to fifteen feet thick, were first constructed of sun-dried bricks. The alabaster slabs were used as panels. They were placed upright against the walls, care being first taken to cut on the back of each an inscription recording the name, title, and descent of the king undertaking the work. They were kept in their places and held together by iron, copper, or wooden cramps and plugs. The cramps were in the form of double dovetails, and fitted into corresponding grooves in two adjoining slabs.* The corners of the chambers were generally formed by one angular stone; and all the walls were either at right angles, or parallel to each other.

The slabs having been fixed against the walls, the subjects to be represented upon them were designed and sculptured, and the inscriptions carved. That the Assyrian artists worked

* Every slab has this groove of a dovetail shape on the edges: but there were besides three round holes at equal distances between them. I am unable to account for their use—whether to receive plugs which were in some way connected with the superstructure, or rods of metal which may have extended through the wall to the slab in the adjoining chamber. Only one of the dovetails (of iron) remained in its place. These cramps appear to have been used (according to Diodorus Siculus) at Babylon; the stones of the bridge, said to have been built by Semiramis, being united by them. Herodotus (lib. i. c. 186) also states that the stones of the bridge built over the Euphrates by Nitocris were joined by iron and lead. Similar cramps made of lead and wood, inscribed with the name of the king, are found in Egyptian buildings as early as the xviii—xix dynasty.

after the slabs had been fixed, appears to be proved beyond a doubt, by figures and other parts of the bas-reliefs being frequently finished on the adjoining slab; and by slabs yet unsculptured being found, placed in one of the buildings at Nimroud.*

The principal entrances to the chambers were, it has been seen, formed by gigantic winged bulls and lions with human heads. The smaller doorways were guarded by colossal figures of divinities, or priests. No remains of doors or gates were discovered, nor of hinges; but it is probable that the entrances were provided with them. The priests of Babylon "made fast their temples with doors, with locks and bars, lest their gods be spoiled by robbers,"† and the gates of brass of Babylon are continually mentioned by ancient authors. On all the slabs forming entrances, in the oldest palace of Nimroud, were marks of a black fluid, resembling blood, which appeared to have been daubed on the stone. I have not been able to ascertain the nature of this fluid; but its appearance cannot fail to call to mind the Jewish ceremony, of placing the blood of the sacrifice on the lintel of the doorway. Under the pavement slabs, at the entrances, were deposited small figures of the gods, probably as a protection to the building.‡ Sometimes, as in the early edifices, tablets containing the name and title of the king, as a record of the time of the erection of the building, were buried in the walls, or under the pavement.

* This mode of sculpturing the stone after placing it appears to have been generally the custom in Egypt and India.

† Epistle of Jeremy. Baruch, vi. 18.

‡ It has already been mentioned, that these small figures in unbaked clay, were found beneath the pavement in all the entrances at Khorsabad. They were only discovered at Nimroud in the most recent palace, in the southwest corner of the mound. See p. 36 of this volume. M. Botta conjectures that the copper lion, discovered at Khorsabad between the bulls forming the entrance, was chained to the large sculptures by a chain of copper or bronze, fastened to the ring on the back of the animal. But the size of the smallest of those found at Nimroud (Vol. I. p. 120) seems to preclude this supposition. It is remarkable, however, that almost every slab forming an entrance has a hole in the centre, as if intended for a ring or bolt.

The slabs used as a panelling to the walls of unbaked brick rarely exceeded twelve feet in height; and in the earliest palace of Nimroud were generally little more than nine; whilst the human-headed lions and bulls, forming the doorways, vary from ten to sixteen. Even these colossal figures did not complete the height of the room; the wall being carried some feet above them. This upper wall was built either of baked bricks, richly colored, or of sun-dried bricks covered by a thin coat of plaster, on which were painted various ornaments. It could generally be distinguished in the ruins. The plaster which had fallen, was frequently preserved in the rubbish, and when first found the colors upon it had lost little of their original freshness and brilliancy. It is to these upper walls that the complete covering up of the building, and the consequent preservation of the sculptures, may be attributed; for when once the edifice was deserted they fell in, and the unbaked bricks, again becoming earth, incased the whole ruin. The principal palace at Nimroud must have been buried in this manner, for the sculptures could not have been preserved as they were, had they been covered by a gradual accumulation of the soil. In this building I found several chambers without the panelling of alabaster slabs. The entire wall had been plastered and painted, and processions of figures were still to be traced. Many such walls exist to the east and south of the same edifice, and in the upper chambers.*

The roof was probably formed by beams, supported entirely by the walls; smaller beams, planks, or branches of trees, were laid across them, and the whole was plastered on the outside with mud. Such are the roofs in modern Arab cities of Assyria. It has been suggested that an arch or vault was thrown from wall to wall. Had this been the case, the remains of the vault, which must have been constructed of baked bricks or of stone, would have been found in the ruins, and would have partly filled up the chambers. No such remains were

* Plan 4, p. 19, of this volume

discovered.* The narrowness of the chambers in all the Assyrian edifices, with the exception of one hall (Y, plan 3,) at Nimroud, is very remarkable. That hall may have been entirely open to the sky; and, as it did not contain sculptures, it is not improbable that it was so; but it can scarcely be conceived that the other chambers were thus exposed to the atmosphere, and their inmates left unprotected from the heat of the summer sun, or from the rains of winter. The great narrowness of all the rooms, when compared with their length, appears to prove that the Assyrians had no means of constructing a roof requiring other support than that afforded by the side walls. The most elaborately ornamented hall at Nimroud, although above 160 feet in length, was only 35 feet broad. The same disparity is apparent in the edifice at Kouyunjik.† It can scarcely be doubted that there was some reason for making the rooms so narrow; otherwise proportions better suited to the magnificence of the decorations, the imposing nature of the colossal sculptures forming the entrances, and the length of the chambers, would have been chosen. But still, without some such artificial means of support as are adopted in modern architecture, it may be questioned whether beams could span 45, or even 35 feet. It is possible that the Assyrians were acquainted with the principle of the king-post of modern roofing, although in the sculptures the houses are represented with flat roofs: otherwise we must presume that wooden pillars or posts were employed; but there were no indications whatever of them in the ruins. Beams, supported by opposite walls, may have met in the centre of the ceiling. This may account for the great thickness of some of the partitions. Or in the larger halls a projecting ledge, sufficiently wide to afford shelter and

* M. Flandin (Voyage Archéologique à Ninive, in the Revue des Deux Mondes) states that he found sufficiently large masses of kiln-burnt bricks in the chambers at Khorsabad, to warrant the supposition that the roof had been vaulted with them. But I am inclined to doubt this having been the case; and I believe M. Botta to be of my opinion.

† Some of the chambers at Kouyunjik were about 45 feet wide.

shade, may have been carried round the sides, leaving the centre exposed to the air. Remains of beams were every where found at Nimroud, particularly under fallen slabs. The wood appeared to be entire, but when touched it crumbled into dust. It was only amongst the ruins in the southwest corner of the mound, that any was discovered in a sound state.

The only trees within the limits of Assyria sufficiently large to furnish beams to span a room 30 or 40 feet wide, are the palm and the poplar; their trunks still form the roofs of houses of Mesopotamia. Both easily decay, and will not bear exposure; it is not surprising, therefore, that beams made of them should have entirely disappeared after the lapse of 2,500 years.

The poplar now used at Mosul is floated down the Khabour and Tigris from the Kurdish hills;* it is of considerable length, and occasionally serves for the roofs of chambers nearly as wide as those of the Assyrian palaces.

It has been seen that the principle of the arch was known to the Assyrians,† a small vaulted chamber of baked bricks having been found at Nimroud; but there are no traces of an arch or vault used on a large scale.

If daylight were admitted into the Assyrian palaces, it could only have entered from the roof. There are no communications between the inner rooms except by the doorways, consequently they could only receive light from above. Even in the chambers next to the outer walls, there are no traces of win-

* Vol. I. p. 149.

† Arched gateways are continually represented in the bas-reliefs. According to Diodorus Siculus, the tunnel under the Euphrates at Babylon, attributed to Semiramis, was also vaulted. Indeed, if such a work ever existed, it may be presumed that it was so constructed. It was cased on both sides, that is, the bricks were covered with bitumen; the walls were four cubits thick. The width of the passage was 15 feet; and the walls were 12 feet high to the spring of the vault. The rooms in the temple of Belus, were, according to some, arched and supported by columns. The arch first appears in Egypt about the time of the commencement of the eighteenth dynasty (Wilkinson's Ancient Egyptians, vol. ii. p. 117), or when, as it has been shown, there existed a close connection between Egypt and Assyria.

dows.* It may be conjectured, therefore, that there were square openings or skylights in the ceilings, which may have been closed during winter rains by canvas, or some such material. The drains, leading from almost every chamber, would seem to show that water might occasionally have entered from above, and that apertures were required to carry it off. This mode of lighting rooms was adopted in Egypt; but, I believe, at a much later period than that of the erection of the Nimroud edifices. No other can have existed in the palaces of Assyria, unless, indeed, torches and lamps were used; a supposition scarcely in accordance with the elaborate nature of the sculptures, and the brilliancy of the colored ornaments; which, without the light of day, would have lost half their effect.

The pavement of the chambers was formed either of alabaster slabs, covered with inscriptions recording the name and genealogy of the king, and probably the chief events of his reign, or of kiln-burnt bricks, each also bearing a short inscription. The alabaster slabs were placed upon a thin coating of bitumen spread over the bottom of the chamber, even under the upright slabs forming its sides. The bricks were laid in two tiers, one above the other; a thin layer of sand being placed between them, as well as under the bottom tier. These strata of bitumen and sand may have been intended to exclude damp; although the buildings, from their position, could scarcely have been exposed to it. Between the lions and bulls forming the entrances, was generally placed one large slab, bearing an inscription.

I have already alluded† to the existence of a drain beneath

* It is possible that some of the chambers, particularly if devoted to religious purposes, were only lighted by torches, or by fires fed by bitumen or naphtha. This custom appears to be alluded to in the Epistle of Jeremy. "Their faces are blackened through the smoke that cometh out of the temple." (Baruch, vi. 21.) But no traces of smoke or fire were found on the sculptures and walls of the earliest palace of Nimroud.

† P. 67 of this volume.

almost every chamber in the older palace of Nimroud. These were connected with the floor by a circular pipe of baked clay, leading from a hole, generally cut through one of the pavement slabs, in a corner of the room. They joined one large drain, running under the great hall (Y, in plan 3,) and from thence into the river, which originally flowed at the foot of the mound.

The interior of the Assyrian palace must have been as magnificent as imposing.* I have led the reader through its ruins, and he may judge of the impression its halls were calculated to make upon the stranger who, in the days of old, entered for the first time the abode of the Assyrian kings. He was ushered in through the portal guarded by the colossal lions or bulls of white alabaster.† In the first hall he found himself surrounded by the sculptured records of the empire. Battles, sieges, triumphs, the exploits of the chase, the ceremonies of religion, were portrayed on the walls, sculptured in alabaster, and painted in gorgeous colors. Under each picture were engraved, in characters filled up with bright copper, inscriptions describing the scenes represented. Above the sculptures were painted other events—the king, attended by his eunuchs and warriors, receiving his prisoners, entering into alliances with other monarchs, or performing some sacred duty. These representations were inclosed in colored borders, of elaborate and elegant design. The emblematic tree, winged bulls, and monstrous animals, were conspicuous amongst the ornaments. At the upper end of the hall was the colossal figure of the king in adoration before the supreme deity, or receiving from his eunuch the holy cup. He was at-

* According to Moses of Chorene (lib. i.), the palaces in Armenia at the earliest period were built by Assyrian workmen, who had already attained to great skill in architecture. The Armenians thus looked traditionally to Assyria for the origin of some of their arts.

† In the palace of Scylas in the city of the Borysthenitæ, against which Bacchus hurled his thunderbolt, were placed *sphinxes and gryphons of white marble.* (Herod. lib. iv. c. 79.)

tended by warriors bearing his arms, and by the priests or presiding divinities. His robes, and those of his followers, were adorned with groups of figures, animals, and flowers, all painted with brilliant colors.

The stranger trod upon alabaster slabs, each bearing an inscription, recording the titles, genealogy, and achievements of the great king. Several doorways, formed by gigantic winged lions or bulls, or by the figures of guardian deities, led into other apartments, which again opened into more distant halls. In each were new sculptures. On the walls of some were processions of colossal figures—armed men and eunuchs following the king, warriors laden with spoil, leading prisoners, or bearing presents and offerings to the gods. On the walls of others were portrayed the winged priests, or presiding divinities, standing before the sacred trees.

The ceilings above him were divided into square compartments, painted with flowers, or with the figures of animals. Some were inlaid with ivory, each compartment being surrounded by elegant borders and mouldings. The beams, as well as the sides of the chambers, may have been gilded, or even plated, with gold and silver; and the rarest woods, in which the cedar was conspicuous, were used for the woodwork.* Square openings in the ceilings of the chambers ad-

* Sun-dried bricks, with the remains of gilding, were discovered at Nimroud. Herodotus states that the battlements of the innermost walls of the royal palace of Ecbatana, the ornaments of which were most probably imitated from the edifices of Assyria, were plated with silver and gold (lib. i. c. 98); and the use of gold in the decorations of the palaces of the East is frequently mentioned in ancient authors. Even the roofs of the palace at Ecbatana are said to have been covered with silver tiles. The gold, silver, ivory, and precious woods in the roofs of the palaces of Babylon, attributed to Semiramis, are frequently mentioned by ancient writers. Thus, in the Periegesis of Dionysius, v. 1005–1008.—

"πρὸς δὲ νότον, Βαβυλὼν ἱερὴ πόλις· ἣν ῥά τε πᾶσαν
τείχεσιν ἀρραγέεσσι Σεμίραμις ἐστεφάνωσεν·
αὐτὰρ ἐπ' ἀκροπόλῃ μέγαν δόμον εἴσατο Βήλῳ
χρυσῷ τ' ἠδ' ἐλεφάντι καὶ ἀργύρῳ ἀσκήσασα."

mitted the light of day. A pleasing shadow was thrown over the sculptured walls, and gave a majestic expression to the human features of the colossal forms which guarded the entrances. Through these apertures was seen the bright blue of an eastern sky, inclosed in a frame on which were painted, in vivid colors, the winged circle, in the midst of elegant ornaments, and the graceful forms of ideal animals.*

These edifices, as it has been shown, were great national monuments, upon the walls of which were represented in sculpture, or inscribed in alphabetic characters, the chronicles of the empire. He who entered them might thus read the history, and learn the glory and triumphs of the nation. They served, at the same time, to bring continually to the remembrance of those who assembled within them on festive occasions, or for the celebration of religious ceremonies, the deeds of their ancestors, and the power and majesty of their gods.

Translated by Priscian, v. 950–953.—

"Ad partes Austri Babylon, quam mœnibus olim
Mirandis posuit firmisque Semiramis urbem;
Cujus in arce domum splendentem fecerit auro,
Quam simul argentum varie decoravit eburque."

And by Rufus Festus Avienus (Orbis Descriptio, v. 1196–1201.)—

"Quâ sunt flabra Noti, Babylon subducitur arce
Procera in nubes: hanc prisca Semiramis urbem
Vallavit muris quos non absumere flammæ
Non areis penetrare queat; stat maxima Beli
Aula quoque argento, domus Indo dente nitescit,
Aurum tecta operit; sola late contegit aurum."

Zephaniah (xi. 14) alludes to the "cedar work" of the roof; and in Jeremiah (xxii. 14) chambers "ceiled with cedar and painted with vermilion" are mentioned. It is probable that the ceilings were only panelled or wainscotted with this precious wood. (1 Kings, vi. 15, vii. 3.) The ceilings of Egyptian tombs and houses were like those described in the text. (Wilkinson's Ancient Egyptians vol. ii. p. 125.) The ivory ornaments found in some of the chambers at Nimroud may possibly have belonged to the ceiling.

* I have endeavored, with the assistance of Mr. Owen Jones, to give, in my work on the Monuments of Nineveh, a representation of a chamber or hall as it originally appeared. I have restored the details from fragments found during the

It would appear that the events recorded in the buildings hitherto examined, apply only to the kings who founded them. Thus, in the earliest palace of Nimroud, we find one name constantly repeated; the same at Kouyunjik and Khorsabad. In some edifices, as at Kouyunjik, each chamber is reserved for some particular historical incident; thus, on the walls of one, we find the conquest of a people residing on the banks of two rivers, clothed with groves of palms, the trees and rivers being repeated in almost every bas-relief. On those of a second is represented a country watered by one river, and thickly wooded with the oak or some other tree. In the bas-reliefs of a third we have lofty mountains, their summits covered with firs, and their sides with oaks and vines. In every chamber the scene appears to be different.

It was customary in the later Assyrian monuments to write, over the sculptured representation of a captured city, its name, always preceded by a determinative letter or sign.* Short inscriptions were also generally placed above the head of the king in the palace at Kouyunjik, preceded by some words apparently signifying "this is," and followed by others giving his name and title. The whole legend probably ran, "This is such an one (the name), the king of the country of Assyria." At Khorsabad similar short inscriptions are frequently found above less important figures, or upon their robes; a practice which, it has been seen, prevailed afterwards amongst the Persians.† I may observe, that in the earliest

excavations, and from parts of the building still standing. There is full authority for all except the ceiling, which must remain a subject of conjecture. The window or opening in it has been placed immediately above the winged lions, to bring it into the plate; but it is probable that it was in the centre of the hall. The larger chambers may have had more than one such opening.

* This sign, which I have given, in note, p. 167, appears to be the first letter of a word signifying city or castle, or to be a monogram for the word. Dr. Hincks traces in it a rude representation of a rampart and parapet. (On the Inscriptions of Van, p. 29.)

† On the great rock-tablet of Behistun we have not only the name and genealogy of Darius written over his head, but also the name and country of the prisoners placed above each.

palace of Nimroud, such descriptive notices have never been found introduced into the bas-reliefs.

Were these magnificent mansions palaces or temples? or, whilst the king combined the character of a temporal ruler with that of a high-priest or type of the religion of the people, did his residence unite the palace, the temple, and a national monument raised to perpetuate the triumphs and conquests of the nation? These are questions which cannot yet be satisfactorily answered. We can only judge by analogy. The religious character of the king is evident from a very casual examination of the sculptures. The priests or presiding deities (whichever the winged figures so frequently found on the Assyrian monuments may be) are represented as waiting upon, or ministering to him; above his head are the emblems of the divinity—the winged figure within the circle, the sun, the moon, and the planets. As in Egypt, he may have been regarded as the representative, on earth, of the deity; receiving his power directly from the gods, and the organ of communication between them and his subjects.* All the edifices hitherto discovered in Assyria, have precisely the same character; so that we have most probably the palace and temple combined; for in them the deeds of the king, and of the nation, are united with religious symbols, and with the statues of the gods.

Of the exterior architecture of these edifices, no traces remain. I examined as carefully as I was able the sides of the great mound at Nimroud, and of other ruins in Assyria; but there were no fragments of sculptured blocks, cornices, columns, or other architectural ornaments, to afford any clue to the nature of the façade. It is probable that as the building was raised on a lofty platform, and was conspicuous from all parts of the surrounding country, its exterior walls were either cased with sculptured slabs or painted. This mode of deco-

* Diodorus Siculus, lib. i. c. 90, and Wilkinson' Ancient Egyptians, vol. i. p. 245, and vol. ii. p. 67.

rating public buildings appears to have prevailed in Assyria. On the outside of the principal palace of Babylon, built by Semiramis, were painted, on bricks, men and animals; even on the towers were hunting scenes, in which were distinguished Semiramis herself on horseback, throwing a javelin at a panther, and Ninus slaying a lion with his lance.* The walls of Ecbatana, according to Herodotus,† were also painted in different colors. The largest of these walls (there were seven round the city) was white, the next was black, the third purple, the fourth blue, the fifth orange. The two inner walls were differently ornamented, one having its battlements plated with silver, the other with gold.‡ At Khorsabad a series of alabaster slabs, on which were represented gigantic figures bearing tribute, appeared to M. Botta to be an outer wall, as there were no remains of building beyond it. It is possible that the sculptures on the edge of the ravine in the northwest palace of Nimroud, also apparently captives bearing tribute, may have formed part of the north façade of the building, opening upon a flight of steps, or upon a road leading from the river to the great hall.§

We may conjecture, therefore, that the outer walls, like the inner, were cased with sculptured slabs below, and painted with figures of animals and other devices above; and thus ornamented, in the clear atmosphere of Assyria, their appearance would be far from unpleasing to the eye. They were probably protected by a projecting roof; and, in a dry climate, they would not quickly suffer injury from mere exposure to the air. The total disappearance of the alabaster slabs, may be easily accounted for by their position. They would probably have

* Diodorus Siculus, lib. ii.

† Lib. i. c. 98.

‡ These colors, with the number seven of the walls, have evidently allusion to the planets and their courses. (Herod. l. i. c. 98.) Seven disks are frequently represented as accompanying the sun, moon, and other religious emblems at Nimroud.

§ D and E, plan 3, and see Vol. I, p. 117.

remained outside the building, when the interior was buried; or they may have fallen to the foot of the mound, where they soon perished, or where they may perhaps still exist under the accumulated rubbish.*

On the western face of the mound of Nimroud, at the foot, I discovered many large square stones, which probably cased the lower part of the building, or rather of the mound itself. Xenophon, describing the ruins, says that the lower part of the walls was of stone to the height of 20 feet; the upper being of brick†. The stones he saw were merely the casing, the interior or body of the walls being built of sun-dried bricks.

Although there were houses in Assyria of two and three stories in height, as at Babylon,‡ and as represented in the sculptures of Kouyunjik,§ yet it does not appear probable that the great buildings just described, had more than a ground floor. If there had been upper rooms, traces of them would still be found, as is shown by the discovery of the chambers on the western face of the mound.‖ Had they fallen in, some remains of them would have been left in the lower rooms.

The houses and towers represented in some of the later sculptures, have windows and doors ornamented with cornices. We have no means of ascertaining the forms of the chambers, nor of learning any particulars concerning their internal eco-

* The thickness of both the outer walls and the walls forming partitions between the chambers, may have contributed greatly to exclude the heat and to keep the chambers cool. It was Mr. Longworth's impression, on examining the ruins, that there never had been any exterior architecture, but that all the chambers had been, as it were, subterranean, resembling the serdabs, or summer apartments, of Mosul and Baghdad. But such a supposition does not appear to me consistent with the magnificent entrances, and with the elevated position of the building. Had underground apartments been contemplated, an artificial platform would scarcely have been raised to receive them.

† Anab. lib. iii. c. iv. s. 7.

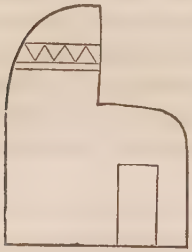
‡ Herod. lib. i. c. 180.

§ At Nimroud, although there were towers represented in the bas-reliefs, with windows evidently belonging to the upper stories, yet there were no houses of two stories.

‖ See p. 19 of this volume.

nomy and arrangement. No private houses, either of Assyria Proper or Babylonia, have been preserved. The complete disappearance of private dwellings, as it has been shown, is mainly to be attributed to the perishable materials of which they were constructed. The mud-built walls returned to dust as soon as exposed, without occasional repair, to the effects of the weather—to rain, the heat of the sun, or hot winds. The traveller in Assyria may still observe the rapid decay of such edifices. He may search in vain for the site of a once flourishing village a few years after it has been abandoned.

It would appear from the Assyrian sculptures that tents were in common use, even within the walls of a city. There are frequent representations of inclosures, formed by regular ramparts and fortifications, partly occupied by such habitations, in which are seen men, and articles of furniture, couches, chairs, and tables.



A House.* (Kouyunjik.)

Interior of a tent. (Kouyunjik.)

In the tent represented in the woodcut, jars appear to be suspended to the poles, to cool the water within. Such is now the practice in the East. It is still not an uncommon custom, in the countries included in ancient Assyria and Babylonia, for

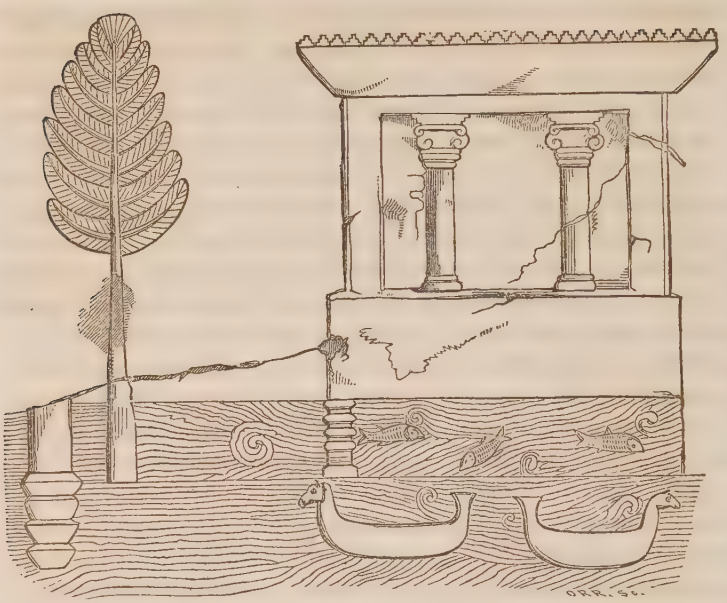
* This house appears to resemble the model of an Egyptian dwelling in the British Museum. (See also Sir Gardner Wilkinson's Ancient Egyptians, vol. ii. woodcuts 98 and 99.) From a bas-relief discovered in the centre of the mound at Nimroud, it would appear that the upper part was sometimes formed of canvas.

wandering tribes to encamp at certain seasons of the year within the walls of cities. In Baghdad, Mosul, and the neighboring towns, the tents of Arabs and Kurds are frequently seen amongst the houses; and such it would appear was the case in Assyria in the earliest ages. Abraham, and Lot, resided in tents in the midst of cities. Lot had his house in Sodom, as well as his tents. We find continual mention of persons having tents, and living within walls at the same time.* In the districts around Mosul, the inhabitants of a village frequently leave their houses during the spring, and seek a more salubrious air for themselves, and pasture for their flocks, on the hills or plains. I have frequently alluded to this custom in the previous volume.

The absence of the column, amongst the ruins of Assyria, is remarkable. It would appear that the Assyrians did not employ this useful architectural ornament; indispensable, indeed, in the construction of the roofs of halls exceeding certain proportions. That they could not have been unacquainted with it is proved by pillars being represented, supporting a pavilion or tent, in the older sculptures of Nimroud. They were probably of wood, appear to have been painted, and were surmounted by a pine or fir cone, that religious symbol so constantly recurring in the Assyrian monuments.† But the first indication of the use of columns in buildings, is to be found in the sculptures of Khorsabad. In a bas-relief from that ruin, a temple, fishing pavilion, or some building of the kind, is seen standing on the margin, or actually in the midst of, a lake or river. The façade is embellished by two columns, the capitals

* These tents were probably made of black goat-hair, like those of the modern Arabs—"I am *black*, but comely, O ye daughters of Jerusalem, as the tents of Kedar" (Cant. i. 5)—and were not the gay white pavilions which are usually seen in modern Biblical illustrations.

† An engraving from a bas-relief, showing such columns, will be included in my work on the Monuments of Nineveh; and the bas-relief itself will be placed in the British Museum.



A Temple or Fishing Pavilion supported by Proto-Ionic Columns, and standing in a River or artificial Lake. (Khorsabad.)

of which so closely resemble the Ionic, that we can scarcely hesitate to recognize in them the prototype of that order.*

In a bas-relief at Kouyunjik, the entrance to a castle was flanked by two similar columns. The city represented, appeared to belong to a maritime people inhabiting the shores of the Mediterranean, and may perhaps be identified (as it will hereafter be shown) with Tyre or Sidon. We have therefore the Ionic column on monuments of the eighth, or seventh, century before Christ.

* On an ivory tablet from Nimroud, the capitals of pillars, supporting a kind of frame inclosing a head, also nearly resemble the Ionic; but less so than those given in the woodcut. They have, however, the egg and tongue ornament under the helices. The lower part of the pine or fir cone, surmounting the columns of wood described in the previous page, has also much the appearance of the volute of the Ionic.

It is remarkable that the column, which appears thus to have been known to the Assyrians, was not used generally in their buildings. That it was not, unless merely of wood, appears to be proved by the absence of all remains of shafts and capitals; and in Eastern ruins these are the last things to disappear. The narrowness of the chambers, also, as I have observed, must be attributed to the want of means of supporting a ceiling, exceeding in width the span of an ordinary poplar or palm beam. It is possible that a conventional architecture, invested, as in Egypt, with a religious character, was introduced before the knowledge of the column. Hence, at a subsequent period, when this useful ornament was otherwise in common use, it was not admitted into sacred buildings. But, as far as I am aware, no remains of the column, which cannot be distinctly referred to a period subsequent to the Greek occupation, have yet been found in Assyria.*

The walls of the Assyrian cities, as we learn from the united testimony of ancient authors, were of extraordinary size and height. Their dimensions, as given by Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus, have every appearance of great exaggeration; but, from the remains which still exist, it is highly probable that they exceeded in thickness any modern walls. The materials were generally bricks of clay, dried in the sun. The inhabitants could thus raise their defences rapidly, without either great toil, or the cost and labor of transport from distant places. As the earth was removed to make the bricks, a ditch was formed round the walls; at least such, we are informed, was the case at Babylon. Sometimes the walls were constructed of these bricks alone. They were even then probably of sufficient strength to resist a siege. Frequently, however, this earthen rampart was cased with stones or slabs, carefully squared and adjusted; so that those who were unacquainted with the mode in which the walls were built, believed them to be entirely of stone. Sometimes the lower part only

* Nor have any been found, I believe, amongst the ruins of Babylon.

may have been cased with stone, the upper being entirely of brick; as, according to Xenophon, were the walls of Mespila and Larissa.*

According to Diodorus Siculus the walls of Nineveh were one hundred feet high, and so broad that three chariots might be driven abreast upon them. They were furnished with fifteen hundred towers, each two hundred feet in height. Those of Babylon, according to Herodotus, were two hundred cubits (or about three hundred feet) high, and fifty cubits (or about seventy-five feet thick.† In the Book of Judith the walls of

* Cyrop. lib. iii. The lower part of the walls of Mespila, according to Xenophon, was fifty feet high, and as many broad, and the upper one hundred high. The plinth was of a polished stone full of shells—the limestone still abounding in the country. The base of the walls is frequently the common river conglomerate. There are no remains at Kouyunjik to show that any part of the wall was of solid stone; yet there can scarcely be a doubt that Mespila is represented by the ruins opposite Mosul. Nor does the circuit of six parasangs, mentioned by Xenophon, agree with the present dimensions, which do not amount to as many miles. Some allowance must be made for a little exaggeration.

† The walls of Babylon formed one of the standard fables of the ancients. According to some they were of brass. The Greek scholiast, upon the passage in the Periegesis of Dionysius (quoted p. 262), says:—"To the south (of the Matieni) lies the great city of Babylon, which Semiramis crowned with unbreakable, brazen or strong, walls; for the wall is said to be brazen, for it was on every side flanked by the river." Eustathius, commenting on the same passage of Dionysius, observes:—"In the south of Mesopotamia is Babylon, the Persian metropolis, a sacred city surrounded with a brazen wall according to some, and with a river flowing round it; all of which, he says, Semiramis crowned with unbreakable walls. Where some, forsooth, as it has been said, have narrated that the wall was of brass, and have put forth many other marvels about it, besides those above explained," &c. "Some say that when Ninus, king of (As-) Syria founded Nineveh, his wife, in order to surpass her husband, built Babylon in the plain with baked bricks, asphalt, and hewn stones three cubits broad and six long. Its perimeter was 355 stadia; the walls were forty cubits high and thirty broad, so that chariots could pass one another, and were flanked with gates with lofty towers. And she made brazen doors of a great height." According to Josephus, who quotes Berosus, Nebuchadnezzar built three walls round the interior, and three round the exterior of Babylon, or probably three round the new, and three round the old city. Within these walls were the celebrated hanging gardens. He built also high walks of stone, with all manner of trees upon them, to give the appearance of a mountain; besides which he made a paradise, which was called the hanging garden, to

Ecbatana are stated to have been seventy cubits in height, and fifty broad, or corresponding in thickness with those of Babylon. They were built of hewn stones, six cubits long and three broad; and the gates, "for the going forth of the mighty armies (of Nebuchadnezzar) and for the setting in array of the footmen," were seventy cubits high and forty wide.*

Of these enormous structures, allowing for exaggeration and inaccuracy, in the statements of the Greek historians,† there are still certain traces. They do not, however, inclose the space attributed to either Babylon or Nineveh, but form quadrangular inclosures of more moderate dimensions, which appear to have been attached to the royal dwellings, or were perhaps intended as places of refuge in case of siege. Such are the remains of Nimroud, Kouyunjik, and Khorsabad; and those on the left bank of the river Euphrates, near Hillah, the site of the Babylon of Nebuchadnezzar. These walls are now marked by consecutive mounds, having the appearance of ramparts of earth hastily thrown up. On examination, however, they are found to be regularly constructed of unbaked bricks. In height they have, of course, greatly decreased, and are still gradually decreasing, but the breadth of their base proves their former magnitude; and that they were of great strength, and able to resist the engines of war then in use, we learn from the fact that Nineveh sustained a siege for nearly three years in the time of Sardanapalus, and could only be taken by the combined armies of the Persians and Babylonians when the river had overflowed its bed, and had carried away a part of the wall. According to Xenophon, Larissa was captured during the consternation of the inhabitants caused by an eclipse of the sun.

please his wife, who, coming from Media, loved a mountainous country. (Against Apion, book i.)

* Chap. i. v. 1–4.

† The walls of Nineveh were built, according to Eustathius, in eight years, by 140,000 men. Those of Babylon in fifteen. (Berosus, Frag.) According to Quintus Curtius, a stadium was finished each day. (lib. v. c. 26.)

At certain distances in the walls there were gates, sometimes flanked, as at Kouyunjik, by towers adorned with sculptures, and sometimes formed by gigantic figures, such as the winged bulls and lions. An entrance of this kind has recently been by chance exposed to view, in the mounds forming the quadrangle at Khorsabad. The lofty pyramidal structures, which still exist at Nimroud, Kalah Sherghat, and Khorsabad, may have been used, as it has been already observed, as watchtowers. In the edifices of Nineveh, bitumen and reeds were not employed to cement the layers of bricks, as at Babylon; although both materials are to be found in abundance in the immediate vicinity of the city.* The Assyrians appear to have made much less use of bricks baked in the furnace than the Babylonians; no masses of brickwork, such as are every where found in Babylonia Proper, existing to the north of that province. Common clay moistened with water, and mixed with a little stubble, formed, as it does to this day, the mortar used in buildings. But, however simple the materials, they have successfully resisted the ravages of time, and still mark the stupendous nature of the Assyrian structures.

* Rich, however, mentions stones cemented with bitumen, as having been found in an excavation amongst the ruins opposite Mosul.

CHAPTER III.

THE remarks in the foregoing chapter, on the architecture of the Assyrians, naturally lead to the consideration of the state of the arts in general amongst them. It is impossible to examine the monuments of Assyria without being convinced, that the people who raised them had acquired a skill in sculpture and painting, and a knowledge of design and even composition, indicating an advanced state of civilization. It is very remarkable, that the most ancient ruins show this knowledge in the greatest perfection, attained by the Assyrians. The bas-relief representing the lion-hunt, now in the British Museum, is a good illustration of the earliest school of Assyrian art yet known. It far exceeds the sculptures of Khorsabad, Kouyunjik, or the later palaces of Nimroud, in the vigor of the treatment, the elegance of the forms, and in what the French aptly term "mouvement." At the same time it is eminently distinguished from them by the evident attempt at composition,—by the artistical arrangement of the groups. The sculptors who worked at Khorsabad, and Kouyunjik, had perhaps acquired more skill in handling their tools. Their work is frequently superior to that of the earlier artist, in delicacy of execution—in the details of the features, for instance—and in the boldness of the relief; but the slightest acquaintance with Assyrian monuments will show, that they were greatly inferior to their ancestors in the higher branches of art—in the treatment of a subject, and in beauty and variety of form. This decline of art, after suddenly attaining its greatest perfec

tion in its earliest stage, is a fact presented by almost every people, ancient and modern, with which we are acquainted. In Egypt, the most ancient monuments display the purest forms, and the most elegant decorations. A rapid retrogression, after a certain period, is most apparent, and serves to indicate approximately the epoch of most of her remains. In the history of Greek and Roman art, this sudden rise and rapid fall are equally apparent. Even changes in royal dynasties have had an influence upon art; as a glance at monuments of that part of the East of which we are specially treating will show. Thus the sculpture of Persia, as that of Assyria, was in its best state at the time of the earliest monarchs, and gradually declined until the fall of the empire. After the Greek invasion, it revived under the first kings of the Arsacid branch; Greek taste still exercising an influence over the Iranian provinces. How rapidly art degenerated to the most barbarous forms, the medals and monuments of the later Arsacids abundantly prove. When the Sassanians restored the old Persian monarchy, and endeavored to restore the ancient religion and sacred ceremonies of the empire, art again appears to have received a momentary impulse. The coins, gems, and rock sculptures of the first kings of this dynasty, are distinguished by considerable elegance, and spirit of design, and beauty of form. But the decay was as rapid under them, as it had been under their predecessors. Even before the Khosraws raised the glory and power of the empire to its highest pitch, art was fast degenerating. By the time of Yezdigird, it had become even more rude, and barbarous, than in the last days of the Arsacids.

This decline in art may be accounted for by supposing that, in the infancy of a people, or after the occurrence of any great event, having a very decided influence upon their manners, their religion, or their political state, nature was the chief, if not the only, object of study. When a certain proficiency had been attained, and no violent changes took place to shake the established order of things, the artist, instead of endeavoring

to imitate that which he saw in nature, received as correct delineations the works of his predecessors, and made them his types and his models. In some countries, as in Egypt, religion may have contributed to this result. Whilst the imagination, as well as the hand, was fettered by prejudices, and even by laws, or whilst indolence or ignorance led to the mere servile copying of what had been done before, it may easily be conceived how rapidly a deviation from correctness of form would take place. As each copied the errors of those who preceded him, and added to them himself, it is not wonderful if, ere long, the whole became one great error. It is to be feared, that this prescriptive love of imitation has exercised no less influence on modern art, than it did upon the arts of the ancients.

As the earliest specimens of Assyrian art which we possess are the best, it is natural to conclude that either there are other monuments still undiscovered, which would tend to show a gradual progression, or that such monuments did once exist, but have long since perished; otherwise it must be inferred, that those who raised the Assyrian edifice, derived their knowledge directly from another people, or merely imitated what they had seen in a foreign land. Some are inclined to look upon the style, and character of these early sculptures, as purely Egyptian. But there is such a disparity in the mode of treatment, and in the execution, that the Egyptian origin of Assyrian art appears to me, to be a question open to considerable doubt. That which they have in common would mark the first efforts of any people, of a certain intellectual order, to imitate nature. The want of relative proportions in the figures, and the ignorance of perspective—the full eye in the side face, and the warriors fighting, and the bodies of the dead scattered above, or below the principal figures,—are as characteristic of all early productions of art, as they are of the rude attempts at delineation of children. It is only in the later monuments of Nineveh, that we find evident and direct traces of Egyptian influence; as in the sitting sphinxes and ivories of Nimroud

and in the lotus-shaped ornaments of Khorsabad and Kouyunjik; perhaps also in the custom which then prevailed of inserting the name of the king, or of the castle upon, or immediately above, their sculptured representations. Neither the ornaments of the earliest palace of Nimroud, nor the costumes, nor the elaborate nature of the embroideries upon the robes, with the groups of human figures and animals, nor the mythological symbols, are of an Egyptian character; they show a very different taste and style.

The principal distinction between Assyrian, and Egyptian art appears to be, that in the one, conventional forms were much more strictly adhered to than in the other. The angular mode of treatment so conspicuous in Egyptian monuments, even in the delineation of every object, is not perceivable in those of Assyria. Had the arts of the two countries been derived from the same source—or had one been imitated from the other—they would surely have displayed the same striking peculiarity. The Assyrians, less fettered, sought to imitate nature more closely, however rude and unsuccessful their attempts may have been; and this is proved by the constant endeavor to show the muscles, veins, and anatomical proportions of the human figure.

We must not lose sight of the assertion of Moses of Chorene —derived no doubt from ancient traditions, if not from direct historical evidence—that when Ninus founded the Assyrian empire, a people far advanced in civilization, and in the knowledge of the arts and sciences, whose works the conquerors endeavored to destroy, were already in possession of the country.* Who that people may have been, we cannot now even conjecture. The same mystery hangs over the origin of the arts in Egypt, and in Assyria. They may have been derived, before the introduction of any conventional forms, from a common source—from a people whose very name, and the proofs of

* Before the foundation of Nineveh, Ninus, according to a tradition preserved by Stephen of Byzantium, resided in a city called Telané.

whose former existence, may have perished even before tradition begins.

The monuments of Assyria furnish us with very important data, as to the origin of many branches of art, subsequently brought to the highest perfection in Asia Minor, and Greece. I conceive the Assyrian influence on Asia Minor to have been twofold. In the first place, direct, during the time of the greatest prosperity of the Assyrian monarchy or empire, when, as it has been shown, the power of its kings extended over that country; in the second, indirect, through Persia, after the destruction of Nineveh. Of the influence exercised upon the arts of western Asia, during the early occupation of the Assyrians, few traces have hitherto been discovered, unless the remarkable monuments on the site of ancient Pteria or Pterium belong to this period.* The evident connection between the divinities, and sacred emblems worshipped in various parts of Asia Minor, and those of Assyria, will be hereafter particularly pointed out. The Assyrian origin of these monuments, and of these religious symbols, once admitted, we shall have no difficulty in recognizing the influence of Assyria on the arts and customs of Asia Minor. The antiquities of that country prior to a well-known period, the Persian occupation, have been but little investigated. Few remains of an earlier epoch have yet been discovered. That such remains do exist, perhaps buried under ground, I have little doubt. It is most probable that when we have additional materials for inquiry, we shall be still more convinced of this Assyrian influence, pointed out by Herodotus, when he declares the founder of the kingdom of Lydia to have been a descendant of Ninus, and by other authors who mention the Syrian, or Assyrian descent of many nations of Asia Minor.†

* Texier, L'Asie Mineure, pl. 75, 79. There appears to be now little doubt that the celebrated rock-tablet on the road from Ephesus to Phocæa, and between Sardis and Smyrna, described by Herodotus, and attributed by him to Sesostris (lib. ii. c. 106), was not an Egyptian, but an Assyrian monument. It was the Chevalier Lepsius, I believe, who first questioned the Egyptian origin of that at Nymphi.

† There are reasons for conjecturing that Pterium, itself, was not unconnected

But the second, or indirect, period of this influence, is very fully and completely illustrated by the monuments of Asia Minor, of the time of the Persian domination. The known connection between these monuments, and the archaic forms of Greek art, renders this part of the inquiry both important and interesting. The Xanthian marbles, acquired for this country by Sir Charles Fellows, and now in the British Museum, are remarkable illustrations of the threefold connection between Assyria and Persia, Persia and Asia Minor, and Asia Minor and Greece. Were those marbles properly arranged, and placed in chronological order, they would afford a most useful lesson, and would enable even a superficial observer to trace the gradual progress of art, from its primitive rudeness to the most classic conceptions of the Greek sculptor. Not that he would find either style, the pure Assyrian or the Greek, in its greatest perfection; but he would be able to see

with Assyria. According to Stephen of Byzantium, the same name was given to the Acropolis of Babylon (in voce Πτέριον). The inhabitants of Cappadocia were Leuco-Syrians, or white Syrians. According to several ancient geographers, the city of Melita in that province was founded by Semiramis; as also Comana, on the Sarus, and Zela in Pontus. (Pliny, vi. 3; Strabo, xii. 385 and 389.) Thyatira, on the Lycus, in Mysia, was also originally named Semiramis. We have a people called Chaldæans, mentioned by Xenophon and Strabo, as found near the Black Sea. Apollonius Rhodius (lib ii. c. 965) and Strabo speak of the Assyrians on the Halys, and Dionysius (Perieg. 772) as inhabiting the north of Asia Minor. According to Stephen of Byzantium, Ninus founded a city, called after him Ninoe (afterwards Aphrodesias or Megalopolis), on the frontiers of Lydia and Caria; the same city is mentioned by Suidas. There was another city of the same name in the district of Commagena in Syria. The building of Tarsus, and Anchiale, by Sardanapalus, must also be borne in mind; and the curious tradition, preserved by Eusebius from Abydenus, that Sennacherib built a temple at Athens, placing brass monuments in it, on which were inscribed his deeds. (Eusebius, Chron. book i. c. 9.) The same author points out another close connection between Assyria and Asia Minor, and Greece, when he states that Axerdis, having killed his brother Adraneles, pursued his army as far as Byzantium. In the army of Axerdis, was Pythagoras, who was acquiring the wisdom of the Chaldees. When Sardanapalus was besieged by the allied army of the Medes, Babylonians, and Bactrians, he sent his three sons and two daughters, with large treasures of gold and silver, to Cottus, governor of Paphlagonia, who had remained faithful to him.

how a closer imitation of nature, a gradual refinement of taste, and additional study, had converted the hard and rigid lines of the Assyrians, into the flowing draperies, and classic forms of the highest order of art.*

I have termed this second period that of *indirect* influence, because the arts did not then penetrate directly into Asia Minor from Assyria; but were conveyed thither through the Persians. The Assyrian empire had already existed for centuries, and had exercised the supreme power over Asia, before it was disputed by the kingdoms of Persia and Media, united under one monarch. The Persians were probably a rude people, possessing neither a literature nor arts of their own, but deriving what they had from their civilized neighbors.† We have no earlier specimen of Persian writing than the inscription containing the name of Cyrus, on the ruins supposed to be those of his tomb, at Murghaub; nor any earlier remains of Persian art than the buildings and sculptures of Persepolis, and other monuments to be attributed beyond a question to the kings of the Achæmenian dynasty. It has already been shown that the writing of the Persians was imitated from the Assyrians, and it can as easily be proved that their sculptures were derived from the same source. The monuments of Persepolis establish this beyond a doubt.‡ They exhibit precisely the same mode of treatment, the same forms, the same peculiarities in the arrangement of the bas-reliefs against the walls,

* It is noped that some chronological system will be adopted in the arrangement of all the works of art in the British Museum; for no collection in Europe, whatever may be its completeness in any particular department, has a more full and comprehensive *series* of monuments, giving the whole history of art, in its earliest stage, its most classic period, and its decline—from the most ancient period of Egypt and Assyria, to the time of the transfer of the seat of the Roman Empire to Constantinople. A series so arranged would be invaluable; not only as affording the means of studying the history of art, but as giving no ordinary insight into the history of the human race.

† This would appear from the statements both of Herodotus and Xenophon.

‡ See particularly the works of Sir R. K. Porter, of Flandin and Coste, and of Texier.

the same entrances formed by gigantic winged animals with human heads, and, finally, the same religious emblems. Had this identity been displayed in one instance alone, we might have attributed it to chance, or to mere casual intercourse, but when it pervades the whole system, we can scarcely doubt that one was a close copy, an imitation, of the other. That the peculiar characteristics of the Persepolitan sculptures were derived from the monuments of the second Assyrian dynasty —that is, from those of the latest Assyrian period—can be proved by the similarity of shape in the ornaments, and in the costume of many of the figures. Thus, the head-dress of the winged monsters forming the portals is lofty, squared, and richly ornamented at the top, resembling those of Khorsabad and Kouyunjik, and differing from the round, unornamented cap of the older figures at Nimroud.*

The processions of warriors, captives, and tribute-bearers at Persepolis, are in every respect similar to those on the walls of Nimroud and Khorsabad; we have the same mode of treatment in the figures, the same way of portraying the eyes and hair. The Persian artist introduced folds into the draperies; but, with this exception, he certainly did not improve upon his Assyrian model. On the contrary, his work is greatly inferior to it in the general arrangement of the groups, and in the elegance of the details.

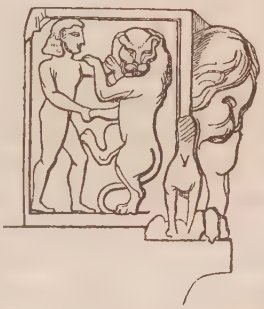
From whence the Persians obtained the column, and other architectural ornaments used at Persepolis, it may be more difficult to determine. We have seen that the column was not unknown to the later Assyrians, although it does not appear to have been employed in the construction of their palaces. The Persians therefore, may have partly derived their knowledge from them, and partly, perhaps principally, from the Egyptians;

* For the rounded cap of the most ancient Assyrian monuments, see the wood cuts of the colossal winged lion and bull in the first volume. In Alexander's "Travels from India to England," pl. ix., there is an engraving of a bas-relief of a winged lion discovered at Persepolis, which even more closely resembles the Assyrian than the larger figures in the works of Ker Porter, and Flandin and Coste.

whom, before the foundation of Persepolis, they had already conquered. It will be observed that the capitals of their columns frequently assume the shape of Assyrian religious types, the bull for instance; whilst other portions of them nearly resemble in the form of their ornaments, though not in their proportions, those of Egypt.

The Persians introduced into Asia Minor the arts, and religion, which they received from the Assyrians. Thus the Harpy Tomb, and the monument usually attributed to Harpagus at Xanthus, and other still earlier remains, show all the peculiarities of the sculpture of Persepolis, and at the same time that gradual progress in the mode of treatment—the introduction of action and sentiment, and a knowledge of anatomy—which marks the distinction between Asiatic and Greek art. Whilst there was a manifest improvement in the disposition of the draperies, and in the delineation of the human form, we still remark, even in the latest works of the Persian period in Asia Minor, the absence of all attempt to impart sentiment to the features, or even to give more than the side view of the human face.

There is one monument, however, from Xanthus, which particularly deserves notice, from its connection with Persian and Assyrian art and religious emblems. I allude to the fragment of a tomb in the British Museum, on which is represented a figure struggling with, and piercing, a rampant lion.



Fragment of a Lycian Monument in the British Museum.

The sculpture is so peculiarly Assyrian in its treatment, identical representations being found on the monuments and cylinders of Assyria, that there can be no doubt as to its origin. The combat with the lion was either a pure religious type or a symbol of the power and wisdom of the king, which, first advised by the Assyrians, was afterwards

used by the Persians, and is every where to be found on their monuments.

I add another illustration—a bas-relief from the Harpy Tomb, conjectured to represent the three Graces between Juno and Venus. The forms of the chairs and the general treatment is Assyrian. The calf sucking the cow, originally an Assyrian emblem, occurs on an altar in a bas-relief discovered at Khorsabad, and is found among the ivories from Nimroud.*

Bas-Reliefs from a Monument from Xanthus in the British Museum.

The connection between art as introduced by the Persians into Asia Minor, and the sculpture and architecture of Greece, is out of the scope of this volume. The subject has been more than once successfully treated. It is, I believe, now generally admitted, how much, in the early stage of art, the Greeks were indebted to their intercourse with that country. However, the Greek sculptor was not a mere imitator, as the Persian had been: adopting that which was most beautiful in the works of others, he made it his own, and by a gradual process of development produced, ere long, those severe and graceful

* I am indebted to the kindness o Mr. Scharf for the two woodcuts from Lycian monuments.

forms, which were the foundation of the most noble monuments of human genius.*

It has already been mentioned that many architectural ornaments, known to the Assyrians, passed from them, directly or indirectly, into Greece. The Ionic column has been cited as an instance. We have, moreover, in the earliest monuments of Nineveh, that graceful ornament, commonly called the honey-suckle, which was so extensively used in Greece, and is to this day more generally employed than any other moulding. In Assyria, as I have pointed out, it was invested with sacred properties, and was either a symbol or an object of worship.

Assyrian Ornament. (Nimroud.)

Greek Honey-suckle Ornament.

Greek Honey-suckle Ornament.

That the similarity between the Assyrian and Greek ornament is not accidental, seems to be proved beyond a question, by the alternation of the lotus or tulip, whichever this flower may be, with the honey-suckle; by the number of leaves or petals of the flower, and by their proceeding in both from a semicircle, supported by two tendrils or scrolls.† The same ornament occurs, even in India, on a lath erected by Asoka at Allahabad (about B. C. 250); but whether introduced by the Greeks—which, from the date of the erection of the monument,

* The resemblance between several archaic sculptures, particularly one representing a warrior holding a spear, discovered five or six years ago (I believe) at Athens, and similar figures at Persepolis, is very remarkable. There is an engraving of this warrior in an Archæological Journal (Ephemeris Archaiologiché) published in the Greek capital. (See also the Revue Archéologique for 1844, plate 1, p. 49.

† I have given in my work on the Monuments of Nineveh, several specimens of this ornament; one from a painting on the walls of the northwest palace.

shortly after the Macedonian invasion, is not improbable—or whether derived directly from another source, I cannot venture to decide.*

On a Lath at Allahabad.

That the Assyrians possessed a highly refined taste can hardly be questioned, when we find them inventing an ornament which the Greeks afterwards, with few additions and improvements, so generally adopted in their most classic monuments. Others, no less beautiful, continually occur in the most ancient bas-reliefs of Nimroud. The sacred bull, with expanded wings, and the wild goat, are introduced kneeling

Ornament. (N. W. Palace, Nimroud.)

before the mystic flower, which is the principal feature in the border just described. The same animals are occasionally represented supporting disks, or flowers and rosettes. A bird, or human figure, frequently takes the place of the bull and goat; and the simple flower becomes a tree, bearing many flowers of the same shape. This tree, evidently a sacred sym-

* I am indebted to Mr. Fergusson, the author of the beautiful work on the Temples of India, for a sketch of this ornament.

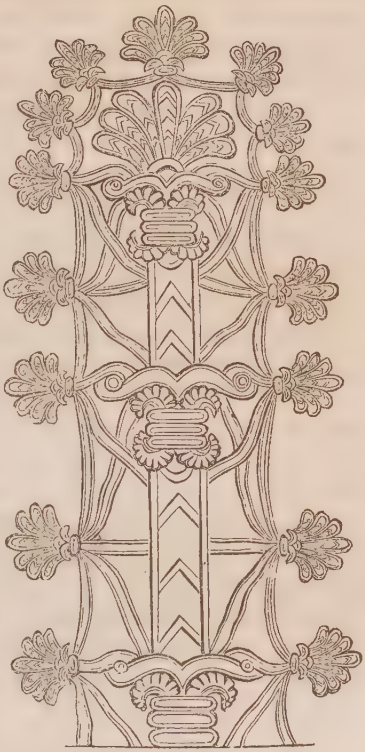
bol, is elaborately and tastefully formed; and is one of the most conspicuous ornaments of Assyrian sculpture.

The flowers at the ends of the branches are frequently replaced in later Assyrian monuments, and on cylinders, by the fir or pine cone, and sometimes by a fruit or ornament resembling the pomegranate.*

The guilloche, or intertwining bands, continually found on Greek monuments, and still in common use, was also well known to the Assyrians, and was one of their most favorite ornaments. It was embroidered on their robes, embossed on their arms and chariots, and painted on their walls.

This purity, and elegance of taste, was equally displayed in the garments, arms, furniture, and trappings of the Assyrians.

The robes of the king were most elaborately embroidered. The part covering his breast was generally adorned, not only with flowers and scroll-work, but with groups of figures, animals, and even hunting and battle



Sacred Tree. (N W. Palace, Nimroud.)

* Such perhaps was "the net-work with pomegranates," one of the principal ornaments in the temple of Solomon. (1 Kings, vii. 41, 42.) The pomegranate was worked on the garments of Aaron, (Exodus, xxviii. 33, 34.) It was evidently a sacred symbol, and was connected with the god Rimmon. A deity, supposed by Achilles Tatius (lib. iii.) to be Zeus or Jupiter, was represented in a temple at Pelusium holding a pomegranate in his hand.

scenes.* In other parts of his dress similar designs were introduced; and rows of tassels or fringes were carried round the borders. The ear-rings, necklaces, armlets, and bracelets were all of the most elegant forms. The clasps, and ends of the bracelets were frequently in the shape of the heads of rams and bulls, resembling our modern jewelry. The ear-rings have generally on the later monuments, particularly in the bas-reliefs of Khorsabad, the form of a cross.

In their arms, the Assyrians rivalled even the Greeks in elegance of design. The hilt of the sword was frequently ornamented with four lions' heads; two, with part of the neck and shoulders, made the cross-bar or defence, and two more with extended jaws were introduced into the handle. The end of the sheath was formed by two entire lions, clasped together, their heads turned outwards, and their mouths open. Sometimes the whole of the sheath was engraved, or embossed, with groups of human figures, animals, and flowers.

The handles of the daggers were no less highly ornamented, being sometimes in the form of the head of a horse, bull, or ram. The sheath frequently terminated in the head of a bird, to which a tassel was suspended. The part of the bow to which the string was attached, was in the shape of an eagle's head. The quiver was richly decorated with groups of figures, and fanciful designs.

Ornaments, in the form of the heads of animals, chiefly the lion, bull, and ram, were very generally introduced even in parts of the chariot, the harness of the horses, and domestic furniture. In this respect the Assyrians resembled the Egyptians.

Their tables, thrones, and couches were made both of metal and wood, and probably inlaid with ivory. We learn from Herodotus, that those in the temple of Belus at Babylon,

* Details from these embroidered robes will be given in my work on the Monuments of Nineveh. These designs can scarcely have been engraved upon a breast-plate of metal, as the sculptor has made no distinction between the upper and lower part of the king's dress. They may represent the linen breast-plates, worn by the Assyrians in the army of Xerxes. (Herod. l. vii. c. 63.)

were of solid gold.* The chair represented on the earliest monuments is without a back, the legs are tastefully carved, and the seat is adorned with the heads of rams. The cushion appears to have been made of some rich stuff, embroidered or painted. The legs were strengthened by a cross-bar, and frequently ended in the feet of a lion, or the hoofs of a bull, either of gold, silver, or bronze.† On the monuments of Khorsabad, and in the rock-tablets of Malthaiyah, we find representations of chairs supported by animals, and by human figures, sometimes prisoners, like the Caryatidæ of the Greeks. In this they resembled the arm-chairs of Egypt, but appear to have been more massive.

This mode of ornamenting the throne of the king was adopted by the Persians, and is continually seen in the sculptures of Persepolis. The lion was both an ornament and support, in the throne of Solomon. "And there were stays (or arms) on either side on the place of the seat, and two lions

* The couch, or bedstead, as our version has it, of Og, king of Basan, was of iron. (Deut. iii. 11.)

† The bed of Solomon was of the wood of Lebanon; the posts were of silver, the bottom of gold, and the curtains of purple. (Song of Solomon, iii. 9, 10.) Chairs and couches, adorned with feet of silver, and other metals, were looked upon as a great object of luxury in Persia; from thence they were probably introduced into Asia Minor, and Greece. Artaxerxes presented Entimos Gortyna, who had gone to him from Greece, with "a couch having silver feet, and with all the furniture that appertained to it, and with a dome-shaped tent, or curtain, worked with flowers, and a silver seat and gilded dome; and with cups, bottles, and other things of gold inlaid with jewels and of silver." (Athenæus, lib. ii. c. 48.) In fact, this was a complete bed, probably something like the modern French bed and its furniture, accompanied by such objects as were required for the toilette. The court of the garden of the palace of Ahasuerus, when he feasted the people in Shushan the palace, was fitted up "with white, green, and blue hangings, fastened with cords of fine linen and purple, to silver rings and pillars of marble; the *couches were of gold and silver*, upon a pavement of red, and blue, and white, and black marble (or mosaic)." (Esther, i. 6.) The feet of the couch, on which the body of Cyrus was placed in his tomb, were of solid gold. (Arrian, vi. 29.) The couches and tables found by Pausanias in the tents of Mardonius, were of gold and silver. They had belonged to Xerxes. (Herod. l. ix. c. 82.) Couches wreathed with ivory and silver, and the beds variegated or inlaid with gold, silver, and ivory, are mentioned by Homer. (Od. xix. 55, 56, and xxiii. 199.)

stood beside the stays (or arms). And twelve lions stood there, on the one side and on the other upon the six steps."* This description corresponds with the Assyrian chairs, the arms of which are frequently supported by the figures of animals.†

The forms of the furniture represented in the bas-reliefs of the later period, as at Khorsabad, display less taste and elegance than those of the earlier monuments. The chairs have generally more than one cross-bar, and are somewhat heavy and ill-proportioned, the feet resting upon large inverted cones, resembling pine-apples. The seats were high, the feet of those who sat upon them being raised considerably above the ground; a footstool was consequently necessary. On the earliest Assyrian monuments the shape of the footstool is very beautiful; like the chair, it was ornamented with the paws of lions, or the hoofs of bulls.‡

The tables and chairs were frequently shaped like our camp stools, and may have been made to close: they were also generally terminated by the feet of animals.

The drinking cups, and vessels, used on festive occasions, were probably of gold, like those of Solomon,§ or of silver. When Ahasuerus feasted all the people, both great and small, for seven days in Shushan the palace, wine was given to them in vessels of gold, each one differing from the other.‖ The drinking vases of the Assyrians were frequently wrought into the shape of the head and neck of an animal—such as a lion or a bull,—and resembled those afterwards in use amongst the Greeks, and found in the tombs of Etruria.

None of the vases discovered at Nimroud are, perhaps,

* 1 Kings, x. 19, 20.

† In the Lycian sculptures we have examples of similar supports to the chairs. The fashion was probably introduced into Asia Minor by the Persians, who originally borrowed it from the Assyrians.

‡ The footstool of Solomon's throne was of gold. (2 Chron. ix. 18.)

§ 1 Kings, x. 21: "And all king Solomon's drinking vessels were of gold, and all the vessels of the house of the forest of Lebanon were of pure gold: none were of silver; it was nothing accounted of in the days of Solomon."

‖ Esther, i. 7.

purely Assyrian. Those of alabaster and glass, from the north-west palace, bearing the name of the Khorsabad king, closely resemble the Egyptian, as do the earthen jars from the tombs.* In the bas-reliefs, however, we have occasional representations of vases; some carried by attendants, who appear to be waiting at feasts, and others borne by captives, as objects of tribute. In shape they are not wanting in beauty, bearing some resemblance to Greek pottery, of a period succeeding the ruder archaic.

The square basket, or utensil, so frequently represented in the Assyrian sculptures, as carried by the winged figures, is generally very elaborately decorated. In the early bas-reliefs of Nimroud, a group of figures is often introduced upon it, and the margin is richly adorned with the honeysuckle ornament, or with the intertwining bands. The corners to which the handle is attached, are frequently in the form of eagles. In the sculptures of Khorsabad, this square utensil is made to represent a basket or wicker-work; but in the early sculptures it appears to be of metal.

The arms, domestic furniture, utensils, personal ornaments, and details I have described, show a very refined and cultivated taste. In this respect, the most ancient Assyrian monuments with which we are acquainted, greatly exceed the later. Many forms had been preserved, as in the swords, bracelets, and armlets; but they had evidently degenerated, and are more coarsely designed in the sculptures. This is also evident in the embroideries of the robes, and in the details of the chariots. We see the same love of elaborate and profuse decoration, but not that elegance and variety, so conspicuous in the ornaments of the first period. The kneeling bull or wild goat, the graceful flower, and the groups of men and animals skilfully combined, are succeeded by a profusion of rosettes,

* Mr. Birch suggests that the alabaster vases were brought from Egypt Amongst the Asiatic nations who bring tribute to Thothmes III. are the Kheva, who offer vases of gold and silver, somewhat similar to those described in the text. (Hoskins' Æthiopia; Wilkinson's Ancient Egyptians, vol. i. pl. iv. First Series.)

circles, and squares, covering the whole surface of the dress, or the sides of the chariots. Although there is a certain richness of appearance, yet the classic forms, if the term may be used, of the earlier artists, are wanting.

It is remarkable that the later Assyrians, whilst retaining ancient forms in their arms, should have discontinued their use in the embroideries of their robes; no longer introducing the groups of figures, which previously formed so elegant and important an ornament. This can scarcely be ascribed to a mere modification of taste. As all these groups have evident reference to myths, and sacred subjects, their omission appears to confirm the conjecture that an essential change had taken place in the religious system, as well as in the manners, of the Assyrians, between the construction of the earliest and latest monuments.

The bas-reliefs and sculptures of the Assyrians, except, probably, those in black marble and basalt, were either partly or entirely painted. I could not ascertain whether the ground, as well as the figures, had been colored; but M. Flandin states* that he could trace on the bas-reliefs of Khorsabad a tint of yellow ochre on all parts not otherwise painted. It is not improbable that such was the case, particularly in the Khorsabad and Kouyunjik palaces, as a similar practice existed in Egypt. There were fewer remains of color at Nimroud, than in the ruins explored by M. Botta. I could distinguish them on the hair, beard, and eyes, on the sandals and bows, on the tongues of the eagle-headed figures, and very faintly on a garland round the head of a winged priest, and on the representation of fire in the bas-relief of a siege. These traces being only found on certain parts of the human face, and on particular objects, almost lead to the conjecture that the earliest Assyrian sculptures were but partially colored. At Khorsabad the remains of paint were far more general, being found on the draperies, the mitre of the king, the flowers carried by the

* In his "Voyage Archéologique à Ninive," in the Revue des Deux Mondes

winged figures, the harness of the horses, the chariots, and the trees. In the bas-reliefs representing a siege, the flames issuing from the houses, and the torches carried by the assailants, were invariably colored red.

The passage in Ezekiel, describing the interior of the Assyrian palaces, so completely corresponds with, and illustrates, the monuments of Nimroud and Khorsabad, that it deserves particular notice in this place. The prophet, in typifying the corruptions which had crept into the religious systems of the Jews, and the idolatrous practices borrowed from nations with whom they had been brought into contact, thus illustrates the influence of the Assyrians. "She saw men portrayed upon the wall, the images of the Chaldeans portrayed with vermilion, girded with girdles upon their loins, exceeding in dyed attire upon their heads, all of them princes to look to, after the manner of the Babylonians of Chaldea, the land of their nativity."* Ezekiel, it will be remembered, prophesied on the banks of

* Ch. xxii. ver. 14 and 15. This description of the Assyrian sculptures is very remarkable. The literal translation of the passage is: "She saw men of sculptured (or painted) *workmanship* upon the wall, likenesses of the Chaldæans, pictured (or sculptured) in shashar; girded with girdles on their loins, with colored flowing *head-dresses* upon their heads, *with the* aspect of princes all of them, *the* likeness of the sons of Babel-Chaldæa, the land of their nativity." The words in Italics are not in the text. *Shashar* occurs also in Jeremiah, xxii 14, where it is rendered in our version "vermilion." Gesenius translates it "red color, red ochre, rubrica;" the Vulgate "sinopis," *i. e.* rubrica sinopensis, which was the most celebrated (Plin. Hist. Nat. xxxv. 5, 13); the Septuagint μίλτος, which in Homer is rubrica. All the commentators, the Septuagint, and the Syrian and Chaldee versions, give to Shashar the meaning of a color. The Rabbis make it "cinnabar," which is near to vermilion. There is an Arabic root شزر (Shazar), from which Shuzret, redness of the eyes, and Eshzer, ruddy of appearance, seem to be derived. The root itself, however, as a verb, does not include the idea of redness; but has, amongst other analogous meanings, that of "twisting a rope," and that of "piercing a man," from which the idea of sculpturing might be derived. It means also "to raise" and "be raised," and might be applied to bas-relief work. This agrees with the original meaning of the Hebrew חקק (hakek), to cut, to engrave, to sculpture; perhaps an onomatope, like our word "to hack." But in Jeremiah, xxxii. 14, there is "daubed with shashar:" here it would appear to mean a paint, unless a painted bas-relief is intended. And the hieroglyphic word for red is "tesher,"

the Chebar, a river which, whether it can be identified with the Khabour of the Arabs (the Chaboras of the Greeks), flowing through the plains of Mesopotamia, and falling into the Euphrates near Karkemish (Circesium), or with another of the same name rising in the mountains of Kurdistan, and joining the Tigris above Mosul, was certainly in the immediate vicinity of Nineveh. In the passage quoted, the prophet is referring to a period previous to the final destruction of the Assyrian capital, an event which he most probably witnessed, as the date usually assigned to his prophecies is 593 before Christ, only thirteen years after the Medo-Babylonian conquest. There can scarcely be a doubt that he had seen the objects which he describes—the figures sculptured upon the wall, and painted. The prevalence of a red color, shown by the Khorsaban remains, and the elaborate and highly ornamented head-dress of the Khorsabad and Kouyunjik kings, are evidently indicated. The evidence thus afforded of the existence of these monuments before the fall of Nineveh, taken in connection with the prophet's subsequent description of the complete overthrow and destruction of the city,* is a convincing proof, were any

the ṭ and sh being interchangeable. The word סְרוּחִי (serouhé) means any thing, especially of woven stuff or leather, which hangs over; and appears in the text to denote a head-dress falling down behind, like that of many of the figures in the bas-reliefs. The word rendered colored (tebouleem), appears to be a passive participle of טבל, "to immerse," or "to dye;" but then there is no noun for head-dress itself, and this word would appear to designate it. If it be a noun, its meaning may be inferred from the Æthiopic root תשבלל (tibelal), "to wrap," or "wind around," and "flowing turbans upon their heads" would be the proper translation. In the various versions we have—Septuagint, Codex Rom. παραβάπται; the Codex Alex. Theodoret, Arab. Vers. and the Syriac Vers. of Origen's Hexapla, τιάραι βαπταί; the Vulgate, "tiaras tinctas;" the Syriac version, "crowned with winding head-dresses;" the Chaldee version, "they took their helmets down;" Symmachus, Syriac from the Hexapla, "veil;" Theodotion, Syriac from the Hexapla, "cidares inclinatæ." It will be observed that all the non-Semitic translators take the word "tebouleem" for colored, according to the obvious meaning of the word in Hebrew; while the Semitic translators depart from the Hebrew meaning, and incline to the Æthiopic, "to wind around," or neglect the word altogether.

* Ch. xxxi.

required that the edifices described in the previous pages must be referred to a period preceding the Persian invasion.

The only colors first used in Assyria, like those employed by all nations to give effect to their earliest efforts, both in sculpture and architecture, were probably blue, red, yellow, black, and white. The tints formed by their combinations may have been adopted at a later period. There is even reason to doubt whether the green on the walls of some of the older monuments of Nimroud was not a decomposed blue. However, upon bricks from the northwest palace, there are apparently shades of colors, probably produced by an intermixture of two or more pigments; we have thus a purple, a violet, a rich brown, &c. On the sculptures I have only found black, white, red, and blue; and these colors alone were used in the painted ornaments of the upper chambers at Nimroud. At Khorsabad, green and yellow continually occurred on the basreliefs; at Kouyunjik, there were no traces whatever of color.

Sir Gardner Wilkinson* has given an analysis of the colors of the Egyptians, by which it would appear that the blue is a pulverized blue glass, made by vitrifying the oxides of copper and iron with sand and soda. The bright blue of the Assyrian monuments appears to be a purer oxide of copper; and its resemblance to an ore of that mineral, found in very minute crystals in an ancient mine in Kurdistan, has already been mentioned.† The Egyptian green was a mixture of a yellow ochre with the vitreous blue; and I conjecture that the green of the later monuments of Assyria, was formed by a similar admixture of ochre with the blue oxide of copper.

The Assyrian red exceeds in brilliancy that of Egypt, which

* Ancient Egyptians, vol. iii. p. 301.

† Vol. I. p. 189. Amongst the objects of tribute mentioned in the statistical tablet of Karnak, as having been brought from Babel or Babylon, are ingots of a substance, the nature of which appears to be doubtful, but which Mr. Birch seems inclined to believe represents some ore producing a blue color; perhaps the copper ore described in my visit to the Tiyari mountains. (*Loc. cit.*) It is mentioned on the Egyptian monuments as also coming from Saenkar (Sinjar) and from the Ruten.

was merely an earthy bole. It nearly approaches to vermilion on the sculptures of Khorsabâd, and has a bright crimson or lake tint on those of Nimroud.

The black and yellow may have resembled in their composition the pigments of the Egyptians; the first a bone black, mixed with a little gum, and the second an iron ochre. The white may have been obtained, as it is to this day, by burning the alabaster or common gypsum.

But although earthy and metallic substances were used by the Assyrians, it is not improbable that vegetable colors were also known to them; they may even have been employed in painting their sculptures. Indeed their use may account for the absence of traces of color upon many parts of the bas-reliefs of Nimroud; the vegetable colors being liable to rapid decomposition on exposure either to damp or air. Dyes of the finest quality, particularly reds and greens, which even European ingenuity has been unable to equal, are obtained by the inhabitants of Kurdistan from flowers and herbs, growing abundantly in their mountains.* The art of extracting them is not a recent discovery, but has been known for ages to people living in the same country; as we learn from the frequent mention of Babylonian and Parthian dyes by ancient authors. The carpets of Kurdistan and Persia are still unrivalled, not only for the beauty of their texture, but for the brilliancy of their hues. From the ornaments on the dresses of the figures in the Assyrian sculptures, we may conclude that similar colors were extensively used, either in dying the garments themselves, or the threads with which the material was wove.

Some bricks from Nimroud appear to have been enamelled, the colors having been laid on very thickly when in a liquid state, and then exposed to the action of fire. Diodorus Siculus probably refers to this process, when he states that the figures of men and animals, on the walls of the palace of Semiramis at

* It is possible that the brilliant dyes of Kurdistan and parts of Persia may, to some extent, be attributed to the peculiar quality of the water.

Babylon, were painted on bricks before they were placed in the furnace.*

Although limited in the number of their colors, the Assyrians displayed considerable taste and skill in their arrangement. The contrasts are tastefully preserved, and the combinations generally agreeable to the eye.† The use of a strong black outline is a peculiar feature in Assyrian, as in Egyptian painting. Black also frequently combines with white alone, and alternates with other colors.

On the walls of chambers at Nimroud, I could trace figures painted in mere black outline upon a blue ground; it is, however, possible, that other colors originally employed had faded.

It is uncertain whether the Assyrians, like the Egyptians, used different colors to denote races, sexes, and the orders of priesthood. No trace of paint, except on the eyes and hair, has yet been found on the human body in Assyrian sculpture; unless the features of the captives leading monkeys, discovered at Nimroud, were painted black, which is very doubtful.‡

On the colossal lions and bulls forming the entrances, color only remained in the eyes, the pupils having been painted black, and the rest filled with a thick white pigment.

* Diodorus Siculus, lib. ii. c. 20. Bricks so enamelled, obtained from the earliest palace at Nimroud, are included in the collection of Assyrian antiquities, on their way to the British Museum.

† Several specimens of Assyrian colored ornaments will be given in my work on the Monuments of Nineveh. The following were the parts of bas-reliefs on which colors were found at Nimroud and Khorsabad. I give the respective colors. The hair, beard, eyebrows, eyelids, and eyeballs, black; the inner part of the eye, white; the king's mitre, principally red; the crests of helmets, blue and red; the heads of arrows, blue; the bows, red; the handles of maces, red; the harness of horses, blue and red; sandals in oldest monuments, black, edged with red; in those of Khorsabad, striped blue and red; the rosettes in the garlands of winged figures, red; trees at Khorsabad, a bluish green; flowers carried by the winged figures, green, with red flowers occasionally; fire, always red. It is probable that some of the red tints which remain were originally laid on to receive gilding. The tops of all the slabs, that part upon which it may be presumed the upper wall of sun-dried bricks rested, were painted red.

‡ Vol. I. p. 118.

Of the materials used by the Assyrians in the construction of their palaces, it has already been shown that a limestone or alabaster was the most common, and served to case or panel the chambers. It abounds in the country, and being very soft is easily quarried and sculptured. It is still extensively employed in the country, chiefly cut, as in the time of the Assyrians, into slabs, and forming in that state a casing to walls of sun-dried or baked bricks. The modern slabs, however, are much smaller than those found in the ruins, rarely exceeding four or five feet in length, by two or three in breadth, and being only a few inches thick. Thus shaped, they are exported to Baghdad, where they are used for the pavement of halls, and for fountains, and reservoirs, in the interior of houses. When first taken from the quarry, this alabaster is of a grayish white; but on exposure it soon changes, growing darker, and ultimately becoming a deep gray, the color of the slabs now in the British Museum. It is extremely fragile, easily decomposes, and wears away, if subjected to the action of water, or even to damp. Several slabs from Nimroud have retained the outline of the matting in which they were packed, water having penetrated into the cases. The back of the bas-relief of the eagle-headed figure in the Museum is an instance; on examination it will be seen that it is not the result of pressure, but the outline of the matting has been produced by the percolation of water, through the fissures between the rushes The material being so very perishable, it will be a matter of surprise that the sculptures should be so well preserved, even in their minutest details. This can only be attributed to their having been suddenly buried, before exposure, and to the great accumulation of earth over them, by which they were preserved completely from damp in a country naturally dry.

On exposure to fire, this alabaster becomes of a milky whiteness, as in the ruins of Khorsabad, Kouyunjik, and the southwest corner of Nimroud. The outline of the sculptures becomes, at the same time, sharper and more defined. They have consequently a more pleasing appearance, than in the

gray slabs of the unburnt edifices; but they crack into numberless pieces, which fall off in flakes, so that it is impossible to move, and even frequently to preserve them. The sculptures from Khorsabad in the British Museum show this appearance, and are easily distinguished by it from those of Nimroud.

The builders of the most ancient edifices at Nimroud also used a bright yellow limestone; a pair of human-headed bulls in the northwest palace are of this material.* Another pair of similar gigantic figures once stood in the centre palace; only fragments of them were discovered. This yellow limestone must have been brought from some distance, probably from the Kurdish hills; but I am unable to determine the locality of the quarries. During my journey in the mountains, I observed a stone resembling it in the neighborhood of Amadiyah, but none nearer Mosul.

All the winged bulls and lions in the southwest palace were sculptured out of a coarse gray limestone.† The limestone used for the casing of the outer walls was harder and more compact, and was probably that fossiliferous stone described by Xenophon, as forming the lower part of the wall of Mespila.‡

A duck, carved in a fine-grained white marble, was discovered in the rubbish covering the northwest palace; but no other specimen of this material was found in the ruins. The obelisk is of black marble. Vases of a pure translucent alabaster were used by the Assyrians; but there is reason to believe that they were brought from elsewhere; probably, as it has been conjectured, from Egypt.

The sitting figure from Kalah Sherghat, and fragments of sculpture from the same ruins, are of black basalt. This ap-

* Entrance to chamber B, plan 3. The detached head in the British Museum is a specimen.

† A detached human head of this limestone, from the southwest palace, will also be placed in the British Museum.

‡ Xenophon, Anabasis, l. iii ch. 3.

pears to have been the material most generally employed in Assyria, and Babylonia, for public monuments, when alabaster and limestone were not to be obtained: in the absence of granite it may, indeed, have been preferred to any other stone, as being more durable. It abounds in the Kurdish hills, particularly in the neighborhood of Jezirah (the ancient Bezabde); and in that part of the Taurus through which the Tigris, and Euphrates, find a narrow and sudden outlet into the plains of Assyria. It is highly probable that the great obelisk, brought, according to a tradition, by Semiramis, from the mountains of Armenia, was of this material. Several figures, and fragments of sculpture in it, have been at different times discovered in Babylonian ruins. The country, for many miles round Babylon, is a recent alluvium, and no stone fit for building purposes could be reached without excavating to a very considerable depth; consequently, whilst employing generally, baked and sun-dried bricks in the construction of their edifices, the inhabitants were compelled to obtain from afar, such materials as were better calculated for the preservation of public records, and as would enable the artist to erect large and durable monuments. The black basalt of Armenia was best suited to this purpose, and could without difficulty be floated down the Euphrates and Tigris on rafts made of skins. Nearly all the monuments hitherto discovered in Babylonia are of this material.

Whether the Assyrians were acquainted with any mechanical contrivances which enabled them to bring by land, from great distances, the enormous masses of stone employed in their public monuments, cannot with any certainty be determined. That they were acquainted with the pulley at a very early period is evident, from its representation in the bas-relief of part of which I have given a sketch,* and which was originally in the most ancient palace of Nimroud. A bucket, descending into a well, is raised by a rope passing over a pulley, revolving

* Page 32 of this volume.

n an iron or wooden pin, and precisely similar in form to those now in common use.*

Amongst the sculptures at Khorsabad was, I believe, a bas-relief representing the moving of a block of stone, placed on a cart drawn by men.† Once in the plains, with the assistance of rollers and levers, no great difficulty would have been experienced in moving any of the stones hitherto discovered in the ruins; particularly as they were not sculptured until they were placed in the edifices, and in the position which they were intended to occupy; little care was therefore required in their transport. That the ancients, however, possessed mechanical means for moving large masses is evident, from the enormous blocks used in the monuments of Egypt, and from the stones forming the basement of the temple of Baalbec; built, as it is well known, many centuries before the superstructure. Although the mere physical power of large bodies of men, of which the Assyrians, like the Egyptians, had probably an almost unlimited command, went a great way in the transport of these stupendous masses, yet we cannot believe that they relied upon it alone. There are grounds for conjecturing, that they were acquainted with mechanical contrivances which are either unknown to us, or are looked upon as modern inventions. I do not mean to join, from this remark, in the oft-repeated theme of the inferiority of the moderns to the ancients, than which nothing can be more unfounded: all that it is necessary to admit is, that those who preceded us by many centuries, were not deficient in ingenuity and reflection; and that experience and study had made them familiar with many things, of which we would boast ourselves the inventors.

* The pulley was also known to the Egyptians. One, in the Museum of Leyden, is described by Sir Gardner Wilkinson, as having the sides of *athul*, or tamarisk wood, the roller of fir, and the rope of *leef*, or fibres of the date-tree.

† This bas-relief, if amongst the collection brought by M. Flandin from Khorsabad, has not yet been published in M. Botta's work. I have some recollection of having seen a drawing of it in M. Flandin's portfolio.

CHAPTER IV.

THE Assyrians were celebrated, at a very early period, for the magnificence and luxury of their apparel. "The Assyrian garments" became almost a proverb, and having first been borrowed by the Persians, descended, at a later time, even to the Romans. These robes, as portrayed in the sculptures, confirm the traditions of their beauty and costliness. The dress of the king consisted of a long flowing garment, descending to the ankles,* elaborately embroidered, and edged with fringes and tassels. It was confined at the waist by a girdle, to which were attached cords with large tassels, falling down almost to the feet. Over this robe a second, nearly of the same length, but open in front, appears to have been thrown. It was also embroidered, and edged with tassels.† On his head he wore a high mitre or tiara of peculiar shape, reserved for the monarch alone. It is impossible, from its representation in the sculptures, to determine the nature of the material of which it was made. As it was frequently adorned with flowers and other ornaments, was worn in the temple as well as in

* The Assyrians were not ignorant of the dignity, and majesty, which flowing garments added to the figure.

"Pedes vestis defluxit ad imos,
Et vera incessu patuit Dea."

VIRG. *Æn.* l. i.

† Such was probably the dress of the Babylonians as described by Herodotus. "Their clothing is of this kind: they have two vests, one of linen which falls to the feet, another over this, which is made of wool; a white sash confines the whole." (Lib. i. c. 195.)

battle, and seems to have been folded or arranged in bands, it may have been of linen, wool, or silk. Only one band passed round the head-dress of the earliest monuments; at a later period two or more were introduced, and the mitre itself was higher and more richly ornamented. These peculiarities mark, distinctly, the respective ages of sculptures, in which the figure of the king occurs.*

This mitre was surmounted by a small point or cone. In the most ancient sculptures, the ends of the band hang down the back, and are ornamented with embroideries and fringes. A kind of hood is sometimes represented as falling over the shoulders, and two long ribbons or lappets descend almost to the ankles.

Nothing remains in the bas-reliefs to indicate the materials of the robes Like those worn at a subsequent period by the Babylonians, one may have been of linen, and the other of wool; or they may have been of cotton, or even of silk, which was an article of produce at a very early period in Assyria. They were richly embroidered and dyed. The designs upon them were most elaborate, consisting of figures of men and animals, flowers, and various devices. The part of the dress most richly ornamented was generally that which covered the breast, although groups of men and animals were introduced elsewhere. The art of embroidering figures in wool, was afterwards practised with great success by the Persians. The Medes had previously adopted the flowing robes of the Assyrians, so celebrated for their beauty, that their invention was attributed to Semiramis.†

* The Persian monarchs wore a peculiar kind of head-dress, called cidaris; it somewhat resembled the French cap of liberty, or the Phrygian head-dress. According to the lexicographers, only the king was privileged to wear the top erect; this was probably in imitation of the Assyrian peak. The cidaris of Darius was blue and white, or purple and white. (Quint. Curt. l. iii. c. 3, and l. vi c. 6.)

† Diodorus Sic. l. ii, and Ctesias.

"Et Syriæ gentes, et laxo Persis amictu,
Vestibus ipsa suis hærens. MANILIUS, l. iv. v. 7.

The extraordinary combinations of animal forms on these woofs are mentioned,

The neck, and the arms from a little above the elbow, were bare. More than one necklace of elegant form, was generally suspended round the neck. The arms were encircled by armlets, and the wrists by bracelets, all equally remarkable for the taste and beauty of the design and workmanship.* The clasps were in the shape of the heads of lions and other animals; and in the centre of the bracelets were stars or rosettes, which were probably inlaid with precious stones. Ear-rings of many kinds were worn; those in the form of a cross appear to have been most prevalent during the latter Assyrian period.*

In the shape and workmanship of their arms the Assyrians displayed, as it has been seen, considerable taste and skill. The king, even in time of peace, appears always to have carried a sword and two daggers. He is sometimes represented leaning, during the celebration of religious ceremonies, upon a bow, and holding two arrows in one hand. When returning

Philostrat. Imag. ii. 32, and ii. 5; and Euripides, Ion, v. 1176. Müller, Handbuck, s. 287.

The finest Persian tunic of the time of Darius was white and purple. (Quint. Curt. l. iii. c. 3.) This was the Σύραπις, Περσικὸς χιτὼν, μεσόλευκος, of Hesychius and Pollux. We have a close imitation of the Assyrian garment in the Olympic stole as described by Apuleius (Metam. l. xi.):—"Et humeris dependebat, pone tergum, talorum tenus, pretiosa chlamyda. Quaqua tamen viseres, colore vario circumnotatis insignibar animalibus. Hinc dracones Indici; inde gryphes Hyperborei; quos in speciem pinnatæ alitis, generat mundus alter. Hanc Olympiadem stolam sacrati nuncupant."

* Astyages wore a purple coat and rich habit, necklaces around his neck, and bracelets on his arms. Being pleased with the replies of Cyrus, his grandson, when first introduced to him, he presented him with similar articles of dress. (Xenophon, Cyrop. l. i. c. 3.) The golden ear-rings, peculiar to the Ishmaelites, the ornaments, collars, and purple raiment of the kings of Midian, are mentioned in Judges, viii. 26. The description given by Quintus Curtius (lib. iii. c. 3) of the dress of Darius, of his embroidered robes, golden girdle, and sword adorned with jewels, agrees well with the sculptured representation of the Assyrian king. "Cultus regis inter omnia luxuria notabatur: purpureæ tunicæ medium albo intextum erat: pallam auro distinctam aurei accipitres, velut rostris inter se corruerent, adornabant, et zona aurea muliebriter cinctus acinacem suspenderat, cui ex gemma erat vagina. Cidarim Persæ regium capitis vocabant insigne; hoc cærulea fascia albo distincta circumibat."

from war, he also frequently raises the two arrows; and this action appears to indicate triumph over his enemies. When not engaged in battle, he is usually portrayed at Khorsabad, and sometimes at Nimroud, with a long staff or wand in his right hand, the other resting on the hilt of his sword.

The king appears to have thrown off the outer robe during the chase, and in battle; the under garment was then confined at the waist by a broad girdle. A small apron, or square piece of linen, fell down one side of the dress over the loins, and was probably attached to the girdle; it was richly embroidered, and edged with fringe and tassels. When in battle his arms were the bow and the sword; in the sculptures he is seen using both. In a bas-relief of the later period, discovered at Nimroud, he is standing over a prostrate captive with a spear in his hand; but in no other instance, as far as I am aware, has he been found with that weapon.

The sandals worn by the king, and by his principal officers, were formed of a sole either of wood or thick leather; to which was attached an upper case covering the heel and side of the foot, but leaving exposed the instep and toes. It was fastened by bands attached to loops, and carried twice over the instep. They crossed on the top of the foot, and were passed round the great toe, and between it and the adjoining toe. In the sepulchres, a red color could generally be traced on the heel; the body of the sandal was painted black, and edged with red; the bands were black.

The sandal represented at Khorsabad, and in sculptures of the same period, is altogether of a different shape. It appears to have consisted of a simple leather covering for the heel, held by three strings passing over the instep. It was painted in the bas-reliefs, in alternate stripes of red and blue.*

* The sandals of the enemies of the Assyrians, differ from those of the Assyrians themselves. Sometimes a simple band, probably attached to a sole, passes over the instep and round the heel. Other sandals appear to resemble shoes, with a sole and upper rim united by cross-bars, between which the foot was left exposed.

The attendants upon the king, both in time of peace and war, were chiefly eunuchs; and that these persons rose to the highest rank, and were not mere servants, we learn from the Rabsaris, or chief of the eunuchs, being mentioned amongst the principal officers of Sennacherib.* In the sculptures eunuchs are represented as commanding in war;† fighting both in chariots and on horseback; and receiving the prisoners, and the heads of the slain after battle. They were also employed as scribes, and are seen writing down the number of the heads, and the amount of the spoil, obtained from the enemy. They were even accustomed to officiate in religious ceremonies. They appear, indeed, to have occupied the same important posts, and to have exercised the same influence in the Assyrian court, as they have since done in the East; where they have not only continually filled the highest offices of state, but have even attained to sovereign power.‡ It is to Assyria that tradition assigns the origin of the barbarous practice of mutilation, and it is upon a female that the odium of its introduction rests.§

The countenance of the eunuchs is strongly contrasted in

* 2 Kings, xviii. 17, and of Nebuchadnezzar, Jeremiah, xxxix. 3. In Daniel, i 3, we have mention of the prince of the eunuchs. So many of the principal offices about the court were held by these persons, that their name came at last to be confounded with that of the great officers of state (compare 1 Samuel, viii. 15, 1 Kings, xxii. 9, and 2 Kings, xxiv. 12), and chamberlains and courtiers (2 Kings, ix. 32). Potiphar is called a "saris" or eunuch. That eunuchs were also an object of trade, and were brought, as at this day, from the centre of Africa, we learn from Jeremiah, xxxviii. 7.

† A eunuch set over the men of war is mentioned in 2 Kings, xxv. 19.

‡ As Agha Mohammed Khan of Persia.

§ Marcellinus, l. xiv. c. 6., and Claudian in Eutrop. l. i. v. 339 et seq.

"Seu prima Semiramis astu
Assyriis mentita virum, ne vocis acutæ
Mollities, levesve genæ se prodere possent,
Hos sibi conjunxit similes; seu Parthica ferro
Luxuries nasci vetuit lanuginis umbram;
Servatosque diu puerili flore, coegit
Arte retardatam Veneri servire juventam."

the sculptures with that of the man; and the rounded form, the bloated cheek, and double beardless chin, at once mark them, and distinguish them from females. Their dress consisted of a long tunic descending to the ankles, resembling the king's in shape, and in the richness and elegance of its embroideries. It was confined at the waist by a girdle edged with fringes; and a band, similarly adorned, passed over the shoulders. They wore no upper robe like that of the king. Their ear-rings, armlets, bracelets, and necklaces were similar in form to those of the monarch. In battle they were armed with the bow; and in peace, as well as in war, generally carried a sword and daggers. When represented as attending upon the king, they usually bear a quiver, bow, and mace; all probably for his use. At other times they raise a parasol or fan over his head, or present him with the sacred cup; on which occasion they are frequently unarmed.*

The umbrella or parasol, that emblem of royalty so universally adopted by Eastern nations, was generally carried over the king in time of peace, and sometimes even in war. In shape it resembled, very closely, those now in common use; but it is always seen open in the sculptures. It was edged with tassels, and was usually ornamented at the top by a flower or some other ornament. On the later bas-reliefs, a long piece of embroidered linen or silk, falling from one side like a curtain, appears to screen the king completely from the sun. The parasol was reserved exclusively for the monarch, and is never represented as borne over any other person.

The vizir or prime minister, the principal officers and attendants of the king, were clothed in robes resembling those of the eunuchs. They were armed with swords and daggers, and also wore necklaces, bracelets, and ear-rings. A fillet or band, either plain or richly ornamented, frequently confined their hair, and encircled their temples. The eunuch is occa-

* The cup-bearer appears to have been one of the principal officers in the Assyrian court. See 2 Kings, xviii., where the Rab-shakeh, or chief of the cup-bearers, is sent to induce the Jews to surrender.

sionally represented with this head-dress. The ends of this band were allowed to fall down the back.

The Assyrians paid particular attention to the adorning of their persons. Besides wearing the numerous ornaments described, they most carefully and elaborately platted their hair and beards. The hair was parted over the forehead, and fell from behind the ears on the shoulders, in a large bunch of ringlets. The beard was allowed to grow to its full length; and, descending low on the breast, was divided into two or three rows of curls. The mustache was also carefully trimmed, and curled at the ends. The hair, as well as the beard, appears to have been dyed, as is still the custom in Persia; but it has been doubted whether the hair, represented in the sculptures, was natural or artificial. The Egyptians were accustomed to wear large wigs, elaborately platted and adorned; and even false beards were not unknown. The Persians, also, at a later period, adopted this artificial coiffure;* but we have no evidence of its having been used in Assyria. On the contrary, according to Herodotus, the Babylonians wore their hair long.† The great regularity of the curls in the sculptures, would certainly lead to the impression that part of the hair, at least, was false; but we can scarcely suppose that the warriors, as well as the king, and all the principal officers of state, wore false beards; the sculptured beards being equally elaborate and studied in the arrangement. The treatment, however, of the hair in the bas-reliefs may be purely conventional. Most Eastern people have been celebrated for the length, and beauty of their hair; and if the Assyrians were as well provided with it, as the inhabitants of Persia were, in the days of Darius, or as they now are, they would have had little occasion for a wig.

The eyebrows were dyed black. Some substance resembling the kohl, or surma, used in the East to blacken the lids, and to give additional lustre to the eyes, was also employed; and we may conjecture that the complexion was improved

* Xenophon, lib. i. c. 3. † Lib. i. c. 195.

and color added to the cheek, by paints and cosmetics. On the sculptures, traces of thick black and white pigments are always visible on the eyes, eyebrows, and hair; and these parts of the bas-reliefs appear to have been more carefully painted than any others.

Nicolaus of Damascus has preserved so faithful, and entertaining an account of the manners of the Babylonians, that I cannot resist the temptation of quoting it, as illustrative of the Assyrian sculptures in many respects. From whence this author obtained the following anecdote, it would now probably be impossible to ascertain; although it is evident, from its curious and accurate details, that it was borrowed from some ancient writer, who had himself witnessed the customs and fashions which he describes. The story is thus related:—"In the reign of Artæus, the king of the Medes, and one of the successors of Sardanapalus, the king of the Assyrians, there was amongst the Medes one Parsondes, a man renowned for his courage and strength, and greatly esteemed by the king on account of his good sense and the beauty of his person. He particularly excelled in the chase and in battle, whether he fought on foot, from his chariot, or on horseback. Now this Parsondes observed that Nanarus (the governor or tributary king) of Babylon, was very careful in his personal attire, and wore ear-rings, and shaved himself carefully, and was effeminate and unwarlike, and he disliked him exceedingly; so he asked Artæus, the king, to deprive Nanarus of his government, and to bestow it on himself. But Artæus, having bound himself by the compact entered into by Arbaces, was loth to act unjustly towards the Babylonian, and gave no answer to Parsondes. The matter, however, reached the ears of Nanarus, who promised great rewards to any one of his sutlers who would catch his enemy.

"It happened one day that Parsondes, when hunting, went far from the king to a plain near Babylon. Sending his servants into a neighboring wood, that they might drive out, by their shoutings, the wild beasts, he remained outside to take

the game. Whilst chasing a wild ass he separated himself from his attendants, and came to a part of the Babylonian territories, where the sutlers were preparing markets for Nanarus. Being thirsty, he asked of them to drink; and they, delighted to have this opportunity of seizing him, gave him that which he required, took his horse, and bade him refresh himself. They then placed a sumptuous feast before him, served him with very sweet wine mixed with a certain intoxicating drug, and brought beautiful women to keep him company; so that, at length, overcome by the wine, he fell fast asleep. The sutlers then took him, and brought him bound to Nanarus.

"When Parsondes had recovered from the effects of the wine, Nanarus upbraided him for his conduct. 'Why,' said he, 'did you, who have never suffered any wrong at my hands, call me a man-woman, (androgyne,) and ask my government of Artæus, as if I were of no account, although of noble birth? Many thanks to him that he did not grant your request.' Parsondes, nothing abashed, replied, 'Because I thought myself more worthy of the honor; for I am more manly, and more useful to the king than you, who are shaven, and have your eyes underlined with stibium, and your face painted with white lead.' 'Are you not ashamed, then,' said Nanarus, 'being such as you describe yourself to be, to have been so overcome by your stomach and passions, that you should have fallen into the hands of one so greatly inferior to yourself? But I will quickly make you softer and fairer than any woman.' And he swore by Belus and by Mylitta—for such is the name which the Babylonians give to their Venus; then beckoning to a eunuch, 'Lead off,' cried he, 'this fellow. Shave, and rub with a pumice stone, the whole of his body except his head. Bathe him twice a day, and anoint him. Let him underline his eyes, and plait his hair as women do. Let him learn to sing and to play on the harp, and to accompany it with his voice, that he may be amongst the female musicians, with whom he shall pass his time, having a smooth skin, and wearing the same garments as they do.' The eunuch did as

he was commanded, and kept Parsondes in the shade, washing him twice every day, and polishing him with a pumice-stone, and making him pass his time in the same way as the women, so that he became very shortly fair, tender, and woman-like, singing and playing even better than any of the female musicians.

"The king, Artæus, having offered a reward, and searched in vain for his favorite, at last concluded that he had been devoured by wild beasts whilst hunting.

"Parsondes, having passed seven years in this mode of life at Babylon, induced a eunuch, who had been severely flogged and insultingly treated by Nanarus, to run away and inform Artæus of what had happened to him. Artæus immediately sent an envoy to demand the liberation of his former favorite. But Nanarus, frightened, declared that he had never seen Parsondes since he had disappeared. Artæus, however, sent a second ambassador, much greater in rank and more powerful than the previous one, and threatened, by letter, to put to death the Babylonian, unless he delivered up his captive. Nanarus, being now greatly alarmed, promised to give up the man, and moreover apologized to the ambassador, declaring, that he was sure the king would see that he had justly treated one, who had endeavored to ruin him in the king's favor. He then entertained the ambassador with a great feast, during which entered, to the number of one hundred and fifty, the female players, amongst whom was Parsondes. Some sang, and others played on the flute; but the Mede excelled them all both in skill and beauty, so that when the feast was over, and Nanarus asked the ambassador which of the women he thought superior to the rest in beauty and accomplishments, he pointed without hesitation to Parsondes. Nanarus, clapping his hands, laughed a long time, and then said, 'Do you wish to take her with you?' 'Certainly,' replied the ambassador. 'But I will not give her to you,' said Nanarus. 'Why, then, did you ask me?' exclaimed the other. 'This,' said Nanarus, after a little hesitation, 'is Parsondes, for whom you have come.' And the

ambassador disbelieving him, he swore to the truth of what he had said.

"On the following day the Babylonian placed Parsondes in a wagon, and sent him away with the ambassador to Artæus, who was at Susa. But the king did not recognize him, and was a long time before he would believe that so valiant a man could become a woman.

"Parsondes exacted a promise from Artæus, that he would revenge him upon Nanarus. And when the king came to Babylon, he gave Nanarus ten days to do what was right; but the Babylonian, alarmed, fled to Mitraphernes, the chief of the eunuchs, and promised him for himself ten talents of gold, and ten gold cups, and two hundred of silver, and one hundred talents of silver money, and several suits of clothes; and for the king, one hundred talents of gold, and a hundred gold cups, and three hundred of silver, and one thousand talents of silver money, and numerous dresses and other fine gifts, if he would save his life and keep him in the government of Babylon. The eunuch, who was held in great estimation by the king, succeeded; but Parsondes waited his opportunity, and afterwards, finding an occasion, took his revenge both on Nanarus and the eunuch."*

There are many customs mentioned in this narrative, which, it is evident, from the sculptures of Nimroud, existed amongst the Assyrians, such as those of painting the eyes and face, and platting the hair. The anecdote, too, is quite in accordance with Eastern manners; and if there be any truth in it, we may conclude that, in their mode of transacting public business, as

* Fragments of Nicolaus of Damascus, in the Prodromos Hellenikes Bibliothekes, 8vo. Paris, 1805, p. 229. I am indebted to Mr. Birch for this free version of the anecdote. That the effeminate customs described by Nicolaus existed amongst the kings and nobles of the Assyrian empire, is confirmed by all the ancient historians. Sardanapalus, according to Athenæus, when first seen by Arbaces, was adorned and dressed like a woman, his chin was shaved, and his skin was rubbed smooth with the pumice-stone. His flesh was as white as milk, and his eyes and eyebrows were painted black. (Athen. lib. xii.) Astyages, too, according to Xenophon (Cyrop. lib. i. c. 3), had his eyes and face painted, and wore false hair.

well as in their domestic life, the Assyrians did not differ greatly from the Persians and Turks of modern times. We have the eunuch holding the highest offices of the state, and possessing great influence over the monarch. Through him political intrigues were carried on, and he was as disposed to accept a bribe, both on his own account and on that of his master, as those who still hold the same position in Eastern courts. It was through the influence of the chief eunuch, that Arbaces succeeded in seeing Sardanapalus, and being a witness to that effeminacy of dress and manner, which encouraged the Mede to rebel against the Assyrians.*

When in the presence of the king, the eunuch and principal officers of state, were in the highest degree respectful in their demeanor. They stood before him with their hands crossed in front—an attitude still assumed in the East, by an inferior in the presence of his master. It is interesting thus to trace the observance of the same customs, during so many centuries.† The vizir is also frequently represented elevating his right hand—an action apparently denoting an oath or homage. Dependents are seen in the same posture, on monuments of the Achæmenian and Sassanian dynasties.

We know from the story of Esther, how sacred the person of the king was considered, it being death for even the queen to venture before him unbidden.‡ Deioces permitted no one to see him, except privileged persons; and it was unlawful for any one to laugh or spit in his presence.§

The costume of the warriors differed according to their rank and the nature of the service they had to perform.‖

* Athenæus, lib. xii.

† We find (Tobit i. 22) that, even in the days of Essarhaddon, a Jew was the principal banker, steward, and keeper of the accounts of the palace; as he is still in the East, where not outwitted by the Armenian.

‡ Esther, iv. 11.

§ Herod. lib. i. ch. 99. So the passage must be understood, for it says that *no man* was admitted into the king's presence; and yet he was consulted through messengers, who, we must presume, were forbidden to laugh and spit before him.

‖ Jeremiah describes the dresses of the warriors. "Order ye the buckler and

Those who fought in chariots, and held the shield for the defence of the king, are generally seen in coats of scale armor, which descend either to the knees or to the ankles. A large number of scales were discovered in the earliest palace of Nimroud.* They were generally of iron, slightly embossed or raised in the centre; and some were inlaid with copper. They were probably fastened to a shirt or felt, of coarse linen.† Such is the armor always represented in the most ancient sculptures. At a later period other kinds were used; the scales were larger, and appear to have been fastened to bands of iron or copper. The armor was frequently embossed with groups of figures, and fanciful ornaments; but there is no reason to believe, that the rich designs on the breasts of the kings were on metal.‡

The warriors were frequently dressed in an embroidered tunic, which was probably made of felt or leather, sufficiently thick to resist the weapons then in use. On the sculptures of Kouyunjik they are generally seen in this attire. Their arms were bare from above the elbow, and their legs from the knees downwards, except when they wore shirts of mail which descended to the ankles. They had sandals on their feet. The warriors on the later Assyrian monuments, particularly on those of Khorsabad, are distinguished by a peculiar ornament, somewhat resembling the Highland phillibeg. It appears to be fastened to the girdle, and falls below a short tunic.

shield, and draw near to battle. Harness the horses; and get up, ye horsemen, and stand forth with your helmets; furbish the spears, and put on the brigandines (or coats of mail)." (Ch. xlvi. ver. 3, 4.)

* In chamber I, plan 3, where also the helmets and various other iron and copper fragments were found. Some interesting scale armor, inscribed with the name of Shishak I., is in the collection of Dr. Abbot at Cairo. (Prisse Monum.)

† The plates of steel, resembling the scales of fishes, are described by Herodotus as worn by the Persian warriors. (Lib. vii. c. 61.)

‡ They may have been the "linen cuirasses" mentioned by Herodotus (lib. vii. c. 63) as worn by the Assyrians in the army of Xerxes. M. Lajard has published in his work on the worship of Mithra (plate 47) a piece of armor similar in shape to that found at Nimroud, and which has every appearance of being Assyrian. It is embossed with groups of figures and Assyrian symbols.

In the sculptures of Kouyunjik and of monuments of the same period, the dress of the soldiers appears to vary, according to the manner in which they are armed. Those with spear and shield wear pointed or crested helmets, and plain or embroidered tunics, confined at the waist by a broad girdle. A kind of cross-belt passes over the shoulders, and is ornamented in the centre of the breast by a circular disk, probably of metal. The slingers are attired in the embroidered tunic, which I conjecture to be of felt or leather; and wear a pointed helmet, with metal lappets falling over the ears. Both the spearmen and slingers have greaves, which appear to have been laced in front.*

The archers are dressed in very short embroidered tunics, which scarcely cover half the thigh, the rest of the leg being left completely bare. They are chiefly distinguished from other warriors by the absence of the helmet. A simple band round the temples confines the hair, which is drawn up in a bunch behind.

It is probable that these various costumes indicate people of different countries, auxiliaries in the Assyrian armies, who used the weapons most familiar to them, and formed different corps or divisions.† Thus in the army of Xerxes, were marshalled men of many nations; each armed according to the fashion of his country, and fighting in his own peculiar way. We may, perhaps, trace in the Assyrian sculptures, several of the costumes described by the Greek historian, as worn by those who formed the vast army of the Persian king.

In the shape of their helmets the Assyrians displayed con-

* They were perhaps of leather, or, like the boots of the Bœotians, of wood, or even of brass, as the greaves of Goliath. (1 Samuel, xvii. 6) The whole of the giant's armor, his helmet, his coat of mail, and his shield, were of the same metal.

† According to Diodorus Siculus (l. ii.) it was customary for the nations tributary to the Assyrians to send, yearly, bodies of troops to serve either in war, or as garrisons. They were encamped outside the gates of Nineveh. The Assyrian king had thus, always a considerable standing army at his disposal.

siderable taste. We trace in them, indeed, many well-known forms afterwards adopted by the Greeks.*

The pointed helmet in the bas-reliefs, from the earliest palace of Nimroud, appears to have been the most ancient, and in the most general use; it is, indeed, characteristic of the Assyrian warrior. Several were discovered in the ruins: they were of iron; and the rings which ornament the lower part, and end in a semicircle in front, were inlaid with copper.†

These pointed helmets were sometimes furnished with lappets or flaps covered with metal scales, concealing the ears, the back of the head, the chin, and the neck, and falling over the shoulders; the whole head-dress having then very much the appearance of the early Norman casque. At a later period, a metal lappet merely protected the ears and side of the face, and was attached to the outer rim of the helmet.

Circular iron caps, fitting closely to the head, were also in use at an early period. The horseman who leads the horse of the warrior, in a bas-relief from the most ancient palace at Nimroud, is represented with this head-dress; and in a sculpture from the centre ruins, it is worn by archers.

The helmets of the later monuments of Nimroud, and of those of Khorsabad and Kouyunjik, are frequently surmounted by a curved crest, or by a kind of plume. They show considerable variety, and even elegance, in their forms. The simple curved crest, resembling that of the Greek helmet, appears, from the sculptures, to have been peculiar to some nation conquered by the Assyrians; but fragments of helmets of this shape were found, in the excavations, in the same chamber as the pointed casques.

The conical helmet of the Assyrians, appears to have been

* The invention of the crested helmet, as well as of the ornamented shield, is attributed by Herodotus (lib. i. c. 171) to the Carians, but it is more probable that they received both indirectly from the Assyrians.

† Herodotus says that the Assyrian helmets were of brass. *Loc. cit.*

worn even to the latest period. It has been conjectured that this head-dress connects them with the Scythians, who, according to Herodotus, had high-pointed caps.* In the rock-sculptures of Bisutun, the Scythian prisoner is represented with a lofty conical head-dress; which differs, however, in shape from the Assyrian helmet. It is slightly curved at the top, and was probably, therefore, made of felt, or some pliable material, and not of metal; and this may also be inferred from the expression of Herodotus, "that the caps, *although* coming to a point, stood erect."

The arms of the early Assyrians were the spear, the bow, the sword, and the dagger.† The sling is not represented in the most ancient monuments as an Assyrian weapon, although used by a conquered nation; it was, perhaps, introduced at a later period. The bows were of two kinds: one long and slightly curved, the other short and almost angular: the two appear to have been carried at the same time, by those who fought in chariots.

The arrows were probably made of reeds, and were kept in a quiver slung over the back. The king, however, and the great officers of state, were followed by attendants, who carried the quivers, and supplied their masters with arrows. The bow was drawn to the cheek, or to the ear, as by the Saxons, and not to the breast, after the fashion of the Greeks. The barbs were of iron and copper, several of both materials having been found in the ruins. When in battle, it was customary for the archer to hold two arrows in reserve in his right hand; they were placed between the fingers, and did not interfere with the motion of the arm, whilst drawing the bow. When marching he usually carried the larger bow over his shoulders, having first passed his head through it. The bow

* The Sacæ, who are a Scythian nation, had caps which terminated *in a point*, and wore loose trowsers. (Lib. vii. c. 64.) The latter article of dress is certainly not represented in the Assyrian sculptures

† The Assyrians in the army of Xerxes carried shields, spears, daggers, and wooden clubs knotted with iron. (Herod. *loc. cit.*)

of the king was borne by an attendant. The smaller bows were frequently placed in the quiver, particularly by those who fought in chariots. A leather or linen guard was fastened by straps to the inside of the left arm, to protect it when the arrow was discharged. The swords were worn on the left side, and suspended by belts passing over the shoulders, or round the middle; some were short and others long. I have already alluded to the beauty of the ornaments on the hilt and sheath.

The dagger appears to have been carried by all, both in time of peace and war; even the priests and divinities are represented with them.* They were worn indifferently on the left and right side, or perhaps on both at the same time. Generally two, or sometimes three, were inserted into one sheath, which was passed through the girdle. The handles, as I have already mentioned, were most elaborately adorned, and were frequently in the shape of the head of a ram, bull, or horse, being made of ivory or rare stones.† A small chain was sometimes fastened to the hilt, or to the sheath, probably to retain it in its place. A dagger, resembling in form those of the sculptures, was found amongst the ruins of Nimroud: it is of copper. The handle is hollowed, either to receive precious stones, ivory, or enamel.

The spear of the Assyrian footman was short, scarcely exceeding the height of a man; that of the horseman appears to have been considerably longer. The iron head of a spear from Nimroud, has been placed in the British Museum. The shaft was probably of some strong wood; and did not consist

* This is still the custom in Persia. In that country no dress, except that of persons specially devoted to religious duties, is complete without a dagger with a jewelled or ivory handle. The dagger was probably used by the Assyrians not only as a weapon, but, like the μαχαιρα of the Greeks, for carving the dinner. Cf. Ælian, ii. 17, for the story of Ochus, who was watched by the magi, when he ate his first dinner, and his cutting a loaf and laying a slice of meat on it.

† Several dagger-handles of ivory, carved in the shape of the fore-part of bulls, and other animals, were found in the tomb of an ivory-worker at Memphis.

of a reed, like that of the modern Arab lance. The large club pointed with iron, mentioned by Herodotus amongst the weapons carried by the Assyrians, is not represented in the sculptures; unless, indeed, the description of the historian applies to the mace, a weapon in very general use amongst them, and frequently seen in the bas-reliefs. This weapon consisted of a short handle, probably of wood, to which was fixed a head, evidently of metal, in the shape of a flower, rosette, lion, or bull. To the end of the handle was attached a thong, apparently of leather, through which the hand was passed. I have not found any representation of warriors using the hatchet, except when cutting down trees, to clear the country preparatory to a siege. It is, however, generally seen amongst the weapons of those who fought in chariots, and was carried in the quiver, with the arrows and short angular bow.*

In the bas-reliefs of Kouyunjik, slingers are frequently represented amongst the Assyrian troops. The sling appears to have consisted of a doubled rope, with a thong, probably of leather, to receive the stone; it was swung round the head. The slinger held a second stone in his left hand, and at his feet is generally seen a heap of pebbles ready for use.†

The javelin is frequently included amongst the weapons of the Assyrian charioteers; but the warriors are not represented as using it in battle. It was carried in the quiver amongst the arrows.

The shields of the Assyrians were of various forms and materials. In the more ancient bas-reliefs a circular buckler, either of hide or metal, perhaps in some instances of gold and silver,‡ is most frequently introduced. It was held by a handle

* See woodcut facing page 269.

† That the Persian slingers were exceedingly expert, used very large stones, and could annoy their enemies whilst out of the reach of their darts or arrows, we learn from several passages in Xenophon. (See particularly Anabasis, lib. iii. c. 3.)

‡ King Solomon made three hundred shields of beaten gold; three pounds of gold to each shield. (1 Kings, x. 17. The servants of Hadadezer, king of Zo-

fixed to the centre. Light oblong shields of wicker-work, carried in a similar manner, are also found in the early sculptures; but those of a circular form appear to have been generally used by the charioteers.

Suspended to the backs of the chariots, and carried by warriors, are frequently seen shields in the shape of a crescent, narrow, and curved outwards at the extremities. The face is ornamented by a row of angular bosses, or teeth, in the centre of which is the head of a lion.

In the sculptures of Khorsabad, the round shield is often highly ornamented. It resembles, both in shape and in the devices upon it, the bucklers now carried by the Kurds and Arabs, which are made of the hide of the hippopotamus. In the bas-reliefs of Kouyunjik, some warriors bear oval shields, very convex, and sufficiently large to cover the greater part of the body. The centre and outer rim were decorated with bosses.

The shield used in a siege concealed the whole person of the warrior, and completely defended him from the arrows of the enemy. It was made either of wicker-work, or of hides. It was furnished at the top with a curved point, or a square projection, like a roof, at right angles to the body of the shield; which may have served to defend the heads of the combatants against missiles, discharged from the walls and towers of a castle. Such were probably the shields used by the Persian archers at the battle of Platæa.*

The archers, whether on foot or in chariots, were accompanied by shield-bearers, whose office it was to protect them from the shafts of the enemy. Sometimes one shield covered

bah, carried shields of gold. (2 Samuel, viii. 7.) The shield of Goliath was of brass.

* Herod. lib. ix. c. 61. The expression of the Greek historian, that the Persians made a fence of their osier shields, has perplexed the commentators, who conjecture that the archers formed a rampart of bucklers, from behind which they discharged their arrows. But the sculptures of Nimroud, and Kouyunjik, completely illustrate the passage; a shield covering the whole person being held by a second warrior. The shields of the Persians were of osier covered with skins.

two archers. The shield-bearer was usually provided with a sword, which he held ready drawn for defence. The king was always attended in his wars by this officer; and even in peace, one of his eunuchs usually carried a circular shield for his use.* This shield-bearer was probably a person of rank, as in Egypt. On some monuments of the later Assyrian period, he is represented carrying two shields, one in each hand.

Some of the circular bucklers appear to have been made of small pieces of wood or leather, carefully united. The handles attached to the small circular shields may have been of leather; but those belonging to the larger, which were supported entirely by them, must have been of wood or metal.†

Standards were carried by the charioteers. In the sculptures they have only two devices; one a figure (probably that of the divinity) standing on a bull and drawing a bow; the other, two bulls running in opposite directions.‡ These figures are inclosed in a circle, and fixed to the end of a long staff, ornamented with streamers and tassels. The standards seem to have been partly supported by a rest in front of the chariot, and a long rod or rope connected them with the extremity of

* Teucer, when discharging his arrows against Hector, was protected by the shield of Ajax.

> "And last, young Teucer with his bended bow—
> Secure behind the Telamonian shield,
> The skilful archer wide surveyed the field."
>
> *Iliad*, b. viii. l. 319.

And again:

> "Thus Ajax guards his brother in the field,
> Moves as he moves, and turns the shining shield." l. 327.

Goliath had one "bearing his shield, who went before him." (1 Samuel, xvii. 7.)

† According to Herodotus (lib. i. c. 171) the Carians invented the handle of the shield; held before their time by a thong of leather suspended from the neck. The bucklers used during the Trojan war had wooden handles. (Iliad, viii. 193.)

‡ Mr. Birch suggests that these may resemble the symbols of war and peace, which were attached to the yoke of Darius's chariot.

the pole. In a bas-relief from Khorsabad, this rod is attached to the top of the standard.*

The Assyrians, like the Egyptians, appear to have had organized and disciplined troops. In the sculptures of Kouyunjik, we not only find long lines of warriors on foot, divided into companies, each distinguished by their dress or their arms; but also horsemen and chariots marshalled in array.† In one chamber of these ruins, the walls were covered with small figures of armed men, marching in file. In the same edifice were representations of archers defended by shields, and drawn up in line before the walls of a besieged city. In front of them were rows of spearmen, the first rank kneeling, and the second stooping, to enable the archers behind to discharge their arrows. The group thus formed bears some resemblance to the phalanx of the Greeks, and to the squares of modern infantry.

A great part of the strength of the Assyrian armies consisted in chariots and horsemen, to which we have frequent allusion in the inspired writings.‡ The chariots appear to have been used by the king, and the highest officers of state,

* Standards, somewhat similar to those represented in the Assyrian bas-reliefs, were in use in Egypt. Some sacred animal, or emblem, was also generally placed upon them. Standards, and banners, are mentioned on several occasions in the Bible. (Jer. iv. 21; Song of Solomon, vi. 4.)

† Uzziah "had a host of fighting men, who went out to war by bands." [2 Chron. xxvi. 11.) Josephus (l. ix. c. 10) describes how these men were divided into companies, and were armed, each man with a sword, shield, breast-plate of brass, bow and sling; the weapons carried by the warriors of the Assyrian sculptures.

‡ The chariots and horses of Naharaina (Mesopotamia) are mentioned in an Egyptian monument of the earliest kings of the 18th dynasty: an officer of Thothmes I. "captured for him, in the land of Naharaina, twenty-one hands, a horse, and a chariot." (Birch's Memoir on the Statistical Tablet of Karnak, p. 8.) The Elamites, amongst the tributaries of the Assyrians, were celebrated for their chariots carrying archers. (Isaiah, xxii. 6.) Chariot cities, or cities for the support of warriors fighting in chariots, are frequently mentioned in the Bible. (2 Chron. i. 14, and viii. 6.) Solomon had 1400 chariots, the Syrians 700 (2 Samuel, x. 18), the Philistines 30,000 (1 Samuel, xiii. 5).

who are never seen in battle on horseback; or, except in sieges, on foot.* They contained, either two, or three persons. The king was always accompanied by two attendants —the warrior protecting him with a shield (who was replaced during peace, by the eunuch bearing the parasol), and the charioteer. The principal warriors were also frequently attended by their shield-bearer, though sometimes the driver alone is with them.

The chariot was used during a siege, as well as in open battle. The king and his warriors are frequently represented, as fighting with the enemy beneath the walls of a castle; or as having dismounted from their cars, to discharge their arrows against the besieged. In the latter case, grooms on foot held the horses. When the king in his chariot formed part of a triumphal procession, armed men led the horses. The chariot was also preceded, and followed by men on foot.

The Assyrian chariot was probably made of wood.† It appears to have been open behind; but, unlike those commonly used by the Egyptians, to have been completely panelled at the sides. It varied considerably in form, at different periods. As represented on the earliest monuments, it is low with the upper part rounded. To each side were fixed, as in Egypt, two quivers, containing arrows, a small crooked bow, a javelin, and a hatchet or battle-axe. The pole was sustained by a forked rod, fastened to the forepart of the chariot, which was also connected with the end of the pole by a singular contrivance. Neither the use, nor the material of this part of the chariot, can be determined from the sculptures. Its size precludes the idea of metal, or even of solid wood; and I can only conjecture that it was a light wooden framework, covered with linen

* Amongst the ancient Indians the king, and men of rank generally, combated in chariots; very rarely, and only at a later period, on horseback. In the Assyrian sculptures, only war-chariots have hitherto been discovered; we have no representation of the magnificent carriages which, under the name of armamaxæ, were used by the ancient Persians in processions, and for their women.

† Chariots of iron are mentioned in Judges (i. 19 and iv. 3). The car from the Egyptian tomb, now at Florence, was made of birchwood

or silk, and intended as an ornament. It was elaborately painted or embroidered, and was generally divided into three compartments containing sacred emblems—such as the sun, moon, seven stars, and the horned cap. Although the yoke was for two horses, three were generally harnessed to the chariot.* There is no indication of traces, nor can it be ascertained from the sculptures how the third horse was attached. It was probably intended to supply the place of a killed horse, and did not draw.† In a bas-relief representing the passage of a river, a chariot is seen in a boat, and consequently without the horses. We can thus judge of the form of the pole and yoke, but not of the precise mode of their use, nor of the material of which they were made.

The wheels had six spokes, and the felloes consisted of four pieces. They appear to have been thicker and more solid, and the whole chariot, indeed, to have been heavier than that of the Egyptians. At the end of the pole, which was curved outwards, was generally the head of a bull, ram, or some other animal, probably, as among the Greeks, in metal. Sometimes a semicircular metal plate or crest, ornamented with the figure of the winged bull, or with some other religious emblem, was attached to the end of the pole, and rose above the backs of the horses.

Behind the chariot was suspended a shield, with teeth or bosses like that described; and a spear was placed upright in a rest, which was usually in the shape of a human head.

The warriors stood upright in the chariot, which does not seem to have been furnished with seats.

At a later period the Assyrian chariot‡ appears to have undergone a considerable change, both in form and size. The large ornamented framework, stretching from the forepart to

* In this respect the most ancient Assyrian chariot differed from the Egyptian, to which only two horses were harnessed.

† As amongst the Greeks in the time of Homer. This third horse was called

site page 111.

the end of the pole, was replaced by a thin rod, or by a rope or leather thong, knotted in the centre or near the end. The horses were also differently harnessed. The pole terminated no longer in the head of an animal, and the yoke, as far as we can judge by the sculptures, was altogether of another shape. The later Assyrian chariot, moreover, like the Egyptian and Persian, was always drawn by two horses, not by three.* It was also much higher, and larger, than that of the ancient sculptures, the wheel alone being almost of the height of a man. The upper part was not rounded, but square, with a projection in front, which may have been a case to receive arrows; as quivers were not attached to the sides as represented in the oldest Nimroud bas-reliefs. The panels of the chariot were carved, and adorned with rosettes and tassels. The wheel had eight, and not six spokes; and was apparently strengthened by four pieces of metal, which bound the felloes. The whole chariot closely resembled that of the Persepolitan sculptures, and of the great Mosaic from Pompeii in the Museum of Naples, the subject of which is conjectured to be one of the battles between Alexander and Darius.

The later chariots were often completely covered with ornaments; those represented on the earlier monuments had a very elegant moulding, or border, round the sides. They were probably inlaid with gold, silver, and precious woods, and also painted.† In a bas-relief at Khorsabad, a figure of the king drawing a bow was placed as a device on a chariot panel.

Chariots armed with scythes are not seen in the Assyrian

* From a passage in Zechariah (vi. 2) it would appear that the chariot-horses were sometimes paired according to their colors. The chariot of Darius on the cylinders, and on the silver daric, as well as in the Persepolitan sculptures, is drawn by two horses.

† Such were the chariots obtained by the Egyptians from Naharaina (Mesopotamia), fifteen centuries before Christ. In the Statistical Tablet of Karnak are mentioned "thirty chariots worked with gold and silver, with painted poles," as brought from that country, and chariots similarly adorned with paintings from the Ruten-nu, a neighboring people

sculptures, although mentioned by Ctesias as being in the army of Ninus.

As chariots were in such general use, we may presume that the Assyrians had formed roads, not only over the plains but through the mountainous provinces of their dominions. Indeed, in the sculptures of Kouyunjik, both chariots and horsemen are seen crossing high mountains.

The harness and trappings of the horses were extremely rich and elegant. Plumes waved over their heads, or fanciful crests rose gracefully in an arch above the ears, and descended in front to the nostrils. To these ornaments were sometimes appended long ribands or streamers, which floated on the wind. Large tassels of wool or silk, dyed many colors, fell on the forehead, and were attached to many parts of the harness. The bridle generally consisted of a head-stall, a strap divided into three parts connected with the bit, and straps over the forehead, under the cheeks, and behind the ears. All these details were elaborately ornamented. In the earlier sculptures we find the figures of winged bulls, and other symbolical devices, on parts of the head-furniture; in the latter, rosettes are more commonly introduced, frequently producing a very pleasing appearance.

It is probable that the bit, as well as many ornaments of the bridle and trappings, were of gold and other precious materials.*

The bit of the earlier Assyrians was in the form of a double wedge or dovetail, and appears to have acted more like a curb than a snaffle. The rein was attached to the centre, and the bit probably worked as a lever. At a later period the form of the bit was altered, and the rein was fastened nearer the end, to add to its power.

Round the necks of the horses were hung tassels, rosettes,

* The horses ridden by Astyages and Cyrus had bridles of gold. Xenoph. Cyrop. lib. i. c. 3. Compare 1 Esdras, iii. 6, where the chariots with bridles of gold of the Persians are mentioned.

and engraved beads. Three straps, richly embroidered, passing under the forepart of the belly, kept the harness and chariot-pole in their places. A breast-band, adorned with tassels, was also supported by these straps. To the yoke was suspended a very elegant ornament, formed by the head of an animal, and a circle, in which was sometimes introduced a winged bull, a star, or some other sacred device. It fell on the shoulder of the animal, and to it were attached three clusters of tassels.

Embroidered clothes, or trappings, were frequently thrown over the backs of the chariot-horses, and almost covered the body,* from the ears to the tail. They were kept in their place by straps passing round the breast, the rump, and the belly.

The chariot-horses of the later Assyrian period differed entirely in their trappings and harness from those of the earlier. High plumes, generally three in number, and rising one above the other, waved over their heads. Frequently an arched crest, and clusters of tassels, were placed between their ears. Similar tassels fell over their foreheads, and hung round their necks. The harness attached to the yoke, was more profusely ornamented with rosettes and fringes, than that of the earlier Assyrian chariots; but the ornaments showed less variety and taste.

The manes were either allowed to fall loosely on the neck, were platted, or were cut short and stood erect. In the earlier sculptures, the tails of the horses are simply bound in the centre with ribands; in the later, the end is platted, as is now the fashion in Persia and Turkey, and tied up in a bunch.†

Each horse appears to have been guided by two reins, and the charioteer held three in each hand when driving three

* "Dedan was thy merchant in precious clothes for chariots." (Ezekiel, xxvii. 20.)

† This later fashion appears to have been adopted by the Persians, and is represented in the Persepolitan sculptures. (Sir R. Kerr Porter, Pl. 41, 48, 49 and 50.) Compare also the chariot and horses on the darics, and on the early tombs from Xanthus.

horses. He also carried a whip, which, like the Egyptian, consisted of a simple thong, attached to a loop at the end of a short handle. In the later Assyrian sculptures this thong is frequently divided into two or three lashes, the handle of the whip terminating in the head of a bull or lion.

The horsemen formed a no less important part of the Assyrian army than the charioteers.* Horsemen are seen in the most ancient sculptures of Nimroud;† and I have already mentioned, that disciplined bodies of cavalry were represented in the bas-reliefs of Kouyunjik. We learn from the book of Judith that Holofernes had 12,000 archers on horseback.‡ The king himself is never represented on horseback, although a horse richly caparisoned, apparently for his use—perhaps to enable him to fly, should his chariot-horses be killed—is frequently seen led by a warrior and following his chariot.

In the earliest sculptures the horses, except such as are led behind the king's chariot, are unprovided with clothes or saddles. The rider is seated on the naked back of the animal. At a later period, however, a kind of pad appears to have been introduced; and in a sculpture at Kouyunjik was represented a high saddle not unlike that now in use in the East.

The horsemen were armed with bows, or with long spears.§ They wore short tunics and their legs and feet were bare. When riding without pads or saddles, they sat with their knees almost on a level with the horse's back. After the introduction of saddles, their limbs appear to have been more free, and

* "Assyrians clothed in blue, captains and rulers, all of them desirable young men, horsemen riding upon horses." (Ezekiel, xxiii. 6.)

† It is singular, as observes Sir Gardner Wilkinson (Ancient Egyptians, vol. i. p. 288), that horsemen are nowhere represented on the monuments of Egypt, although there can be no doubt, from numerous passages in the sacred writings, that cavalry formed an important part of the Egyptian armies.

‡ Judith, ii. 15. Solomon had 12,000 horsemen. (1 Kings, x. 26.)

§ "The horsemen lifteth up both the bright sword and glittering spear." (Nahum, iii. 3.)

they wore greaves or boots, but were unprovided with stirrups.

When an archer on horseback was in battle, his horse was held and guided by a second horseman, who rode by his side. He was then able to discharge his arrows freely. On the monuments of Khorsabad and Kouyunjik, the cavalry are usually armed with the spear. When using this weapon they did not require a second horseman to hold the reins.

The riding-horses are less richly and profusely adorned than those in harness, the horsemen being probably of inferior rank to those who fought in chariots. The head-stall was surmounted by an arched crest, and round the neck was an embroidered collar, ending in a rich tassel or bell.*

Head-dress of a Riding-Horse (Kouyunjik).

The horses of the Assyrians, so far as we can judge from the sculptures, were well formed and apparently of noble blood It has been doubted whether the breed for which Mesopotamia and the neighboring deserts of Arabia are now celebrated, existed in the same vast plains at a remote period; or whether it was introduced shortly before the Mohammedan conquest.

* See woodcut, p. 29, where a bell appears to be suspended round the neck of a horse. Bells for horses' necks are mentioned in Zechariah, xiv. 20.

Although we have no mention in the sacred writings of a trade actually carried on in horses with Assyria, as with Egypt, yet it may be inferred from several passages that it did exist.* Horses, it will be remembered, were offered to the Jews, by the general of the Assyrian king, as an acceptable present;† and in the statistical tablet of Karnak, they are mentioned amongst the objects of tribute brought by the people of Naharaina (Mesopotamia) and the neighboring countries to the Egyptians. We may judge, therefore, that the Assyrian horses were celebrated at a very early period. The Egyptians, indeed, appear to have been chiefly indebted to the countries watered by the Tigris and Euphrates for their horses, no representation of this animal occurring, I believe, on Egyptian monuments earlier than the eighteenth dynasty.‡ However that may be, no one can look at the horses of the early Assyrian sculptures without being convinced that they were drawn from the finest models.§ The head is small and well-shaped, the nostrils large and high, the neck arched, the body long, and the legs slender and sinewy. "Their horses are swifter than the leopards, and more fierce than the evening wolves," exclaims the prophet, of the horses of the Chaldæans.‖ That the Assyrians faithfully portrayed animals, is shown by the lions,

* 1 Kings, x. 28, 29.

† 2 Kings, xviii. 23. "Now therefore, I pray thee, give pledges to my lord the king of Assyria, and I will deliver thee two thousand horses, if thou be able on thy part to set riders upon them." It may be inferred from this passage, that cavalry was not extensively used by the Jews. The horses alluded to in the 3d verse of the 14th chapter of Hosea, are probably to be taken in connection with Assyria, mentioned in the previous part of the verse. "Asshur shall not save us; we will not ride upon horses." It is remarkable that there is no mention in the Bible of Arab horses, afterwards so celebrated. The Arabs in the army of Xerxes were mounted on camels, and were placed in the rear, because, says Herodotus, the camels frightened the horses (lib. vii. c. 87).

‡ Birch's Statistical Tablet of Karnak, p. 32.

§ The magnificent description of the war-horse in Job (ch. xxxix.), shows that horses of the noblest breed were, at a very early period, not only known in Syria, but used in battle.

‖ Habakkuk, i. 8.

bulls, goats, and stags, so frequently introduced into their bas-reliefs; it is highly probable, therefore, that they carefully copied the forms of their horses, and showed the points for which they were most distinguished. It is not unlikely that the plains watered by the Tigris and Euphrates, producing during the winter and spring the richest pasturage, were at the earliest period as celebrated as they are now for the rearing of horses; particularly when so large a supply must have been required for the cavalry and chariots of the Assyrian armies. At a later period, indeed, we find the plains of Babylonia furnishing horses to the Persians, both for the private use of the king and for his troops. It may, therefore, be conjectured that they were of the most noble and celebrated breeds; for the Persians, being masters of the greater part of Asia and of Egypt, could have obtained horses, had they found better, from elsewhere.* According to Herodotus, the stud maintained by the Babylonians for the Persian monarch included 800 stallions and 16,000 mares.† It may have been derived by the Persians from those whom they conquered; and it is not improbable that the Assyrians themselves supplied their cavalry from similar studs kept up near Babylon, or in other parts of the Mesopotamian plains. Amongst the objects of tribute brought by the Ruten-nu to the Egyptians, in the time of Thothmes III, are particularly mentioned brood-mares;‡ and this people, it will be shown, are supposed to have inhabited Assyria Proper, or some country immediately adjacent.

* According to Xenophon (Cyrop. lib. . c. 3) it was very difficult to breed horses in Persia Proper; and it was a rare thing to see a horse in the country, which was too mountainous for riding. This must apply only to the most western and northern provinces; but even this part of Persia now produces a very good horse, probably originally bred from the Turcoman and Arab. The site of the Nisæan plains, so celebrated for their horses, has not yet been satisfactorily determined. Major Rawlinson believes them to have been somewhere in the mountains of Luristan. (Notes on a March through Susiana: Journal of the Geographical Society.)

† Lib. i. c. 192.

‡ Birch's Memoir on the Statistical Tablet of Karnak, p. 44.

CHAPTER V.

As the Assyrians possessed disciplined and organized troops, it is probable that they were also acquainted, to a certain extent, with military tactics, and that their battles were fought upon some kind of system. We know that such was the case with the Egyptians; and their monuments show that amongst their enemies, also, there were nations not unacquainted with the military science. They had bodies of troops in reserve; they advanced and retreated in rank, and performed various manœuvres. Although, in the Assyrian sculptures, we have no attempt at an actual representation of the general plan of a battle, as in some Egyptian bas-reliefs, yet, from the order in which the soldiers are drawn up before the castle walls, and from the phalanx which they then appear to form, it seems highly probable that similar means were adopted to resist the assaults of the enemy in the open field.

The king himself, attended by his vizir, his eunuchs, and principal officers of state was present in battle, and not only commanded, but took an active part in the affray. Even Sardanapalus, when called upon to place himself at the head of his armies to meet the invading Medes, showed a courage equal to the occasion, and repulsed his enemies. Like the Persian monarchs who succeeded him in the dominion of Asia, the Assyrian king was accompanied to the war, however distant its seat might be, by his wives, his concubines, and his children, and by an enormous retinue of servants. Even his nobles were similarly attended. Their couches were of gold

and silver, and the hangings of the richest materials. Vessels of the same precious metals were used at their tables; their tents were made of the most costly stuffs, and were even adorned with precious stones.* They were also accompanied by musicians, who are represented in the sculptures as walking before the warriors, on their triumphant return from battle.

The army was followed by a crowd of sutlers, servants, and grooms; who, whilst adding to its bulk, acted as an impediment upon its movements, and carried ruin and desolation into the countries through which it passed. This multitude could not even depend entirely for supplies upon the inhabitants, whom they unmercifully pillaged; but provisions in great abundance, as well as live stock, were carried with them. Holofernes, in marching from Nineveh with his army, took with him "camels and asses for their carriage, a very great number, and sheep, and oxen, and goats without number for their provision; and plenty of victuals for every man."†

Quintus Curtius‡ thus describes the march of a Persian army:—The signal was given from the tent of the king, on the top of which, so as to be seen by all, was placed an image of the sun, in crystal. The holy fire was borne on altars of silver, surrounded by the priests chanting their sacred hymns. They were followed by three hundred and sixty-five youths, according to the number of the days in the year, dressed in purple garments. The chariot, dedicated to the supreme deity

* The canopy or tent of Holofernes was of purple gold, and emeralds, and precious stones; and every man had gold and silver (vessels) out of the king's house. Judith, x. 24. This book contains an interesting account of the luxurious manner of living of the great Assyrian warriors, confirming what has been said in the text, and showing that the Persians were, in this respect, as almost in every other, imitators of the Assyrians. Herodotus (lib. ix. c. 82 and 83) describes the equipage, furnished with gold and silver, and with various colored hangings, and the gold and silver couches and tables, found in the tents of Mardonius after the defeat of the Persian army. They had been left by Xerxes when he fled from Greece.

† Judith, ii. 17.

‡ Lib. iii. c. 3; and compare Herodotus's description of the army of Xerxes, lib. vii. c. 61.

(Jovi), or to the sun, was drawn by snow-white horses, led by grooms wearing white garments, and carrying golden wands. The horse especially consecrated to the sun was chosen from its size.* It was followed by ten chariots, embossed with gold and silver, and by the cavalry of twelve nations, dressed in their various costumes, and carrying their peculiar arms. Then came the Persian immortals, ten thousand in number, adorned with golden chains, and wearing robes embroidered with gold, with long-sleeved tunics, all glittering with precious stones. At a short interval fifteen thousand nobles, who bore the honorable title of relations of the king, walked in garments which, in magnificence and luxury, more resembled those of women than of men. The doryphori (a chosen company of spearmen) preceded the chariot in which the king himself sat, high above the surrounding multitude. On either side of this chariot were the effigies of the gods in gold and silver. The yoke was inlaid with the rarest jewels. From it projected two golden figures of Ninus† and Belus, each a cubit in length. A golden eagle with outspread wings was placed between them. The king was distinguished, from all those who surrounded him, by the magnificence of his robes, and by the cidaris, or mitre, upon his head. By his side walked two hundred of his most noble relations. Ten thousand warriors, bearing spears, whose staffs were of silver and heads of gold, followed the royal chariot. The king's led horses, forty in number, and thirty thousand footmen, concluded the procession. At the distance of one stadium, followed the mother and wife of the king, in chariots. A crowd of women, the handmaidens and ladies of the queens, accompanied them on horseback.

* That the custom of dedicating chariots and horses to the sun prevailed in Asia long before the Persian domination, we learn from the passage in 2 Kings, xxiii. 11, where Josiah is described as taking away the horses that the kings of Judah *had given to the sun*, at the entering in of the house of the Lord, by the chamber of Nathan-Melech, the chamberlain, which was in the suburbs, and burning the chariots of the sun with fire.

† Some MSS. have "War and Peace." Ninus was an emendation first suggested by Scaliger.

Fifteen cars, called armamaxæ, carried the children of the king, their tutors and nurses, and the eunuchs. The king's three hundred and sixty concubines, who accompanied him, were adorned with royal splendor. Six hundred mules, and three hundred camels bore the royal treasury, guarded by the archers. The friends and relations of the ladies were mingled with a crowd of cooks, and servants of all kinds. The procession was closed by the light-armed troops.

The armies were provided with the engines and materials necessary for the siege of the cities they might meet with, in their expedition. If any natural obstructions impeded the approach to a castle, such as a forest or a river, they were, if possible, removed. Rivers were turned out of their courses if they impeded the operations of the army;* and warriors are frequently represented in the sculptures, cutting down trees which surround a hostile city.

The first step, on attacking a hostile city, was probably to advance the battering-ram. If the castle was built, as in the plains of Assyria and Babylonia, upon an artificial eminence, an inclined plane, reaching to the summit of the mound, was formed of earth, stones, or trees, and the besiegers were then able to bring their engines to the foot of the walls. This road was not unfrequently covered with bricks, forming a kind of paved way, up which the ponderous machines could be drawn without much difficulty.

This mode of reaching the walls of a city is frequently alluded to by the prophets, and is described by Isaiah:—"Thus saith the Lord concerning the king of Assyria, He shall not come into this city, nor shoot an arrow there, nor come before it with shields, *nor cast a bank against it.*"† Similar

* In the Stratagemata of Frontinus (l. iii. c. 7, s. 5), Semiramis, like Cyrus, is said to have taken Babylon by turning off the river.

† Chap. xxxvii. 33; and compare 2 Kings, xix. 32; Jeremiah, xxxii. 24, and xxxiii. 4. The shields mentioned by the prophet were probably the large kind made of wicker-work, represented in the Nimroud sculptures, and used exclusively for a siege; those carried by the warriors in battle being smaller, and generally round.

approaches were used by the Egyptians.* They not only enabled the besiegers to push their battering-rams up to the castle, but at the same time to escalade the walls, the summit of which might otherwise have been beyond the reach of their ladders.

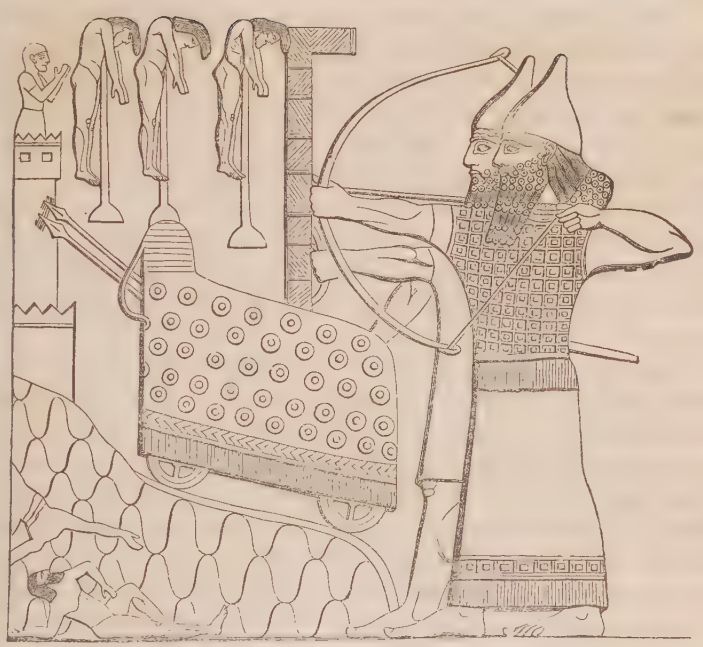
The battering-rams were of several kinds. Some were joined to movable towers, which held warriors and armed men. The whole then formed one great temporary building, the top of which is represented in the sculptures as on a level with the walls, and even turrets, of the besieged city. In some bas-reliefs the battering-ram is without wheels; it was then perhaps constructed on the spot, and was not intended to be removed. The movable tower was probably sometimes unprovided with the ram; but I have not met with it so represented in the sculptures. When Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, besieged Jerusalem, he "built forts against it round about."† These forts or towers, if stationary, were solidly constructed of wood; if movable, they consisted of a light frame covered with wicker-work. The Jews were forbidden to cut down and employ, for this purpose, trees which afforded sustenance to man. "Only the trees which thou knowest that they be not trees for meat, thou shalt destroy and cut them down: and *thou shalt build bulwarks against the city* that maketh war with thee until it be subdued."‡

When the machine containing the battering-ram was a simple framework, and did not form an artificial tower, a cloth or some kind of drapery, edged with fringes, and otherwise ornamented, appears to have been occasionally thrown over it. Sometimes it may have been covered with hides. It moved either on four, or on six wheels, and was provided with one ram or with two. The mode of working the rams can-

* Ezekiel, xvii. 17. "Neither shall Pharaoh with his mighty army and great company make for him in the war, by casting up mounts, and building forts, to cut off many persons."

† Jeremiah, lii. 4.

‡ Dueteronomy, xx. 19, 20.



Bas-relief representing Warriors before a besieged City. A Battering-ram drawn up to the Walls, and Captives impaled. (Centre Palace, Nimroud.)

not be determined from the Assyrian sculptures. It may be presumed, from the representations in the bas-reliefs, that they were partly suspended by a rope fastened to the outside of the machine, and that men directed and impelled them from within. Such was the plan adopted by the Egyptians, in whose paintings the warriors, working the ram, may be seen through the frame.*

Sometimes this engine was ornamented by a carved or painted figure of the presiding divinity, kneeling on one knee and drawing a bow.†

* Wilkinson's Ancient Egyptians, vol. i. plate, p. 360.

† This device is seen on a battering-ram in a bas-relief, engraved in my "Monuments of Nineveh."

The artificial tower was usually occupied by two warriors; one discharged his arrows against the besieged, whom he was able from his lofty position to harass more effectually than if he had been below; the other held up a shield for his companion's defence. Warriors are not unfrequently represented as stepping from the machine to the battlements.

Ezekiel alludes to all these modes of attack. "Lay siege against it," he exclaims, speaking of the city of Jerusalem, "and build a fort against it, and cast a mount against it; set the camp also against it, and set battering-rams against it round about."*

Archers on the walls hurled stones from slings, and discharged their arrows against the warriors in the artificial towers; whilst the rest of the besieged were no less active in endeavoring to frustrate the attempts of the assailants to make breaches in their walls. By dropping a double chain or rope from the battlements, they caught the ram, and could either destroy its efficacy altogether, or break the force of its blows. Those below, however, by placing hooks over the engine, and throwing their whole weight upon them, struggled to retain it in its place.†

The besieged, if unable to displace the battering-ram, sought to destroy it by fire, and threw lighted torches, or fire brands, upon it. But water was poured upon the flames, through pipes attached to the artificial tower.

Other engines and instruments of war were employed by the besiegers. With a kind of catapult, apparently consisting of a light wooden frame covered with canvas or hides, they threw large stones and darts against the besieged, who, in their turn, endeavored to set fire to it by torches. A long staff with an iron head, resembling a spear, was used to force the stones out of the walls. Mines were also opened, and the as-

* Ch. iv. ver. 2.

† Uzziah made large machines for battering walls, and instruments to cast stones, and *grappling irons*, and other instruments. (2 Chron. xxvi. 15, and Josephus, lib. ix. c. 10.)

sailants sought to enter the castle through concealed passages.* Those who worked at them or advanced to the attack were perhaps protected by the *testudo*, as represented in the Egyptian paintings ; but this defence is not seen in the Assyrian sculptures.

Attempts were made to set fire to the gates of the city by placing torches against them,† or to break them open with axes.

Mounting to the assault by ladders was constantly practised, and appears to have been the most general mode of attacking a castle ; for ladders are found on those bas-reliefs, in which neither the battering-ram nor other engines are introduced.‡ They reached to the top of the battlements, and several persons could ascend them at the same time. Whilst warriors, armed with the sword and spear, scaled the walls, archers posted at the foot of the ladders kept the enemy in check, and drove them from the walls.

The troops of the besieging army were ranged in ranks below. The king was frequently present during the attack. Descending from his chariot, which remained stationary at a short distance behind him, he discharged his arrows against the enemy. He was attended by his shield-bearer, and eunuchs, one of whom generally held over him the emblem of royalty, the umbrella, whilst the others bore his arms. He is sometimes represented in his chariot, superintending the operations, or repulsing a sally. Warriors of high rank likewise came in chariots, accompanied by their shield-bearers and charioteers.§ The vizir and the chief of the eunuchs are frequently seen in the midst of the combatants.

* All these modes of attack and defence are represented in the bas-relief before alluded to.

† "Abimelech went hard unto the door of the tower to burn it with fire." (Judges, ix. 52.)

‡ Scaling ladders appear in Egyptian sculptures as early as in the nineteenth dynasty. Ramses III. is seen taking a city by their means, at Medinat Habou.

§ "The choicest valleys shall be full of chariots, and the horsemen shall set themselves in array at the gate." (Isaiah, xxii. 7.)

The besieging warriors were protected, as I have already mentioned, by large shields of wicker-work, sometimes covered with hides, which concealed the entire person. Three men frequently formed a group; one held the shield, a second drew the bow, and a third stood ready with a sword to defend the archer and shield-bearer, in case the enemy should sally from the castle.

The besieged manned the battlements with archers and slingers, who discharged their missiles against the assailants. Large stones and hot water were also thrown upon those below.*

When the battering-ram had made a breach, and the assault had commenced, the women appeared upon the walls; and, tearing their hair or stretching out their hands, entreated for mercy. The men are not unfrequently represented as joining in asking for quarter. When the assailants were once masters of the place, an indiscriminate slaughter appears to have succeeded, and the city was generally given over to the flames. In the bas-reliefs warriors are seen decapitating the conquered, and plunging swords or daggers into their hearts, holding them by the hair of their heads. The prisoners were either impaled and subjected to horrible torments, or carried away as slaves. The manner of impaling adopted by the Assyrians, appears to have differed from that still in use in the East. A stake was driven into the body immediately under the ribs.† In a bas-relief discovered at Khorsabad, a man was represented flaying a prisoner with a semicircular knife.‡

The women, children, and cattle were led away by the conquerors; and that it was frequently the custom of the Assyrians to remove the whole population of the conquered

* A woman from the battlement of Thebez cast a millstone upon Abimelech' head, and brake it. (Judges, ix. 53.)

† See woodcut, p. 283. When Darius took Babylon he impaled 3000 prisoners. (Herod. iii. 159.)

‡ The Scythians scalped and flayed their enemies, and used their skins a horse-trappings. (Herod. iv. 64.)

country to some distant part of their dominions, and to replace it by colonies of their own, we learn from the treatment of the people of Samaria.* Eunuchs and scribes were appointed to take an inventory of the spoil. They appear to have stood near the gates, and wrote down with a pen, probably upon rolls of leather, the number of prisoners, sheep, and oxen, and the amount of the booty, which issued from the city. The women were sometimes taken away in bullock-carts, and are usually seen in the bas-reliefs bearing a part of their property with them—either a vase or a sack, perhaps filled with household stuff. They were sometimes accompanied by their children, and are generally represented as tearing their hair, throwing dust upon their heads, and bewailing their lot.

After the city had been taken, a throne for the king appears to have been placed in some conspicuous spot, within the walls. He is represented in the sculptures as sitting upon it, attended by his eunuchs and principal officers, and receiving the prisoners brought bound into his presence. The chiefs prostrate themselves before him, whilst he places his foot upon their necks, as Joshua commanded the captains of Israel to put their feet upon the necks of the captive kings.† This custom long prevailed in the East. In the rock-sculpture of Behistun, Darius is seen with his foot upon the neck of Gomates, the rebellious Magian, who declared himself to be Bar-

* 2 Kings, xvii. 24. According to Josephus (lib. ix. c. 12), Tiglath-pileser having taken Damascus, removed all the inhabitants, and peopled the city with his own subjects. So, also, when Nebuchadnezzar took Jerusalem, he carried away all the people captive, and "burned the king's house and the houses of the people with fire, and brake down the walls." (Jeremiah, xxxix. 8, 9.)

† "And it came to pass, when they brought out those kings unto Joshua, that Joshua called for all the men of Israel, and said unto the captains of the men of war which went with him, Come near, put your feet upon the necks of these kings. And they came near, and put their feet upon the necks of them." (Joshua, x. 24.) To make "a footstool of thine enemies" is a common biblical expression for triumph.

tius, the son of Cyrus.* When inferior prisoners were captured, their hands were tied behind, or their arms and feet were bound by iron manacles.†

They were urged onwards by blows from the spears, or swords, of the warriors to whom they were intrusted. In a bas-relief from Khorsabad, captives are led before the king by a rope fastened to rings passed through the lip and nose.‡

In the sculptures of Khorsabad, and Kouyunjik, captives are seen bringing small models of their cities to the victorious king, as a token of their subjection. Similar models are borne in triumphal processions.

The heads of the slain were generally collected, and brought either to the king or to an officer, who took account of their number.§ This mode of reckoning the loss of the enemy was long resorted to in the East.

As soon as the soldiers entered the captured city, they began to plunder, and then hurried away with the spoil. They led off the horses, carried forth on their shoulders furniture, and vessels of gold, silver, and other metals; and made prisoners of the inhabitants, who, probably, became the property of those who seized them.

The Assyrian warriors are seen in the sculptures bearing

* Major Rawlinson's Memoir on the Inscription at Behistun. (Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.)

† "To bind their kings with chains, and their nobles with fetters of iron." (Psalm cxlix. 8.) These fetters were sometimes made of brass. "They put out the eyes of Zedekiah, and bound him with fetters of brass, and took him to Babylon." (2 Kings, xxv. 7.) Samson was also bound with fetters of brass. (Judges, xvi. 21.)

‡ This sculpture illustrates the passage in 2 Kings, xix. 28. "I will put my hook in thy nose, and my bridle in thy lips." The king is represented in a bas-relief as holding a rope fastened to a ring through the lips of a prisoner, one of whose eyes he appears to be piercing with his spear.

§ See woodcut p. 147. When Ahab's seventy sons were killed, their heads were cut off, and brought in baskets to Jezreel. They were afterwards laid "in two heaps at the entering in of the gate." (2 Kings, x. 8.) The Egyptians generally counted by hands.

away in triumph the idols of the conquered nations, or breaking them into pieces, weighing them in scales, and dividing the fragments.* Thus Hosea prophesied that the calf, the idol of Samaria, should be carried away by the Assyrians.†

When the city had been sacked, it was usually given up to the flames, and utterly destroyed. The surrounding country was also laid waste.‡ If it had been a capital—a place of strength and renown—it was seldom rebuilt on the same spot; which was avoided, as unfortunate, by those who survived the catastrophe and returned to the ruins.

Ezekiel, in prophesying the destruction of Tyre by Nebuchadnezzar, has faithfully recorded the events of a siege, and the treatment of the conquered people. His description illustrates the bas-reliefs of Nimroud;—

"Thus saith the Lord God; Behold, I will bring upon Tyrus Nebuchadrezzar king of Babylon, a king of kings, from the north, with horses, and with chariots, and with horsemen, and companies, and much people. He shall slay with the sword thy daughters in the field: and he shall make a fort against thee, and cast a mount against thee, and lift up the buckler against thee. And he shall set engines of war against thy walls, and with his axes he shall break down thy towers. By reason of the abundance of his horses, their dust shall cover thee: thy walls shall shake at the noise of the horsemen, and of the wheels, and of the chariots, when he shall enter

* In a bas-relief from Khorsabad. "Babylon is taken, Bel is confounded, Merodach is broken in pieces; her idols are confounded, her images are broken in pieces." (Jeremiah, l. 2.) Compare Isaiah, xxi. 9.

† Ch. x. ver. 6. And Jeremiah declares that the Babylonians shall kindle a fire in the houses of the gods of the Egyptians, "and burn them, and carry them away captive." (Ch. xliii. ver. 12.) In a bas-relief from the centre palace of Nimroud, the Assyrian warriors were represented carrying away the image of a bird.

‡ When Holofernes took Damascus "he went into the plain in the time of wheat harvest, and burnt up all the fields, and destroyed the flocks and herds; also he spoiled the cities, and utterly wasted the countries, and smote all the young men with the edge of the sword" (Judith, ii. 27.)

into thy gates, as men enter into a city wherein is made a breach. With the hoofs of his horses shall he tread down all thy streets: he shall slay thy people by the sword, and thy strong garrisons shall go down to the ground. And they shall make a spoil of thy riches, and make a prey of thy merchandise; and they shall break down thy walls, and destroy thy pleasant houses: and they shall lay thy stones, and thy timber, and thy dust, in the midst of the water."*

Although the Assyrians were properly an inland people, yet their conquests and expeditions, particularly at a later period, brought them into contact with maritime nations. We consequently find, on the monuments of Khorsabad and Kouyunjik, frequent representations of naval engagements and operations on the sea-coast. In the most ancient palace of Nimroud, only bas-reliefs with a river have been discovered; they furnish us, however, with the forms of vessels, evidently of Assyrian construction—all those in the sculptures of Khorsabad and Kouyunjik belonging probably to allies or to the enemy. It may be presumed that the rivers navigated by the early Assyrians, and represented in their bas-reliefs, were the Tigris, Euphrates, and Khabour.

Herodotus thus describes the Babylonian vessels of a later period: "The boats used by those who come to the city (Babylon) are of a circular form, and made of skins. They are constructed in Armenia, in the parts above Assyria. The ribs of the vessels are formed of willow boughs and branches, and covered externally with skins. They are round like a shield, there being no distinction between the head and stern. They line the bottoms of their boats with reeds (or straw), and, taking on board merchandise, principally palm wine (or rather spirits extracted from the date), float down the stream. The boats have two oars, one man to each; one pulls to him, the other pushes from him. These vessels are of different dimensions; some of them are so large that they bear freight to the

* Ch. xxvi. ver. 7–12.

value of 5000 talents. The smaller have one ass on board; the larger, several. On their arrival at Babylon the boatmen dispose of their goods, and also offer for sale the ribs and the reeds (or straw). They then load their asses with the skins, and return with them to Armenia, where they construct new vessels."*

I was, at one time, inclined to believe that the description of Herodotus applied to the rafts still constructed on the rivers of Mesopotamia, and used, it will be remembered, for the conveyance of the sculptures from Nimroud to Busrah.† The materials of which they are made are precisely those mentioned by the Greek historian, and they are still disposed of, at Baghdad, in the same way as they were in his day at Babylon. But the boats which excited the wonder of Herodotus seem to have been more solidly built, and were capable of bearing animals, to which purpose the rafts now in use could not be applied. They were probably more like the circular vessels now used at Baghdad, built of boughs, and sometimes covered with skins, over which bitumen is smeared, to render the whole waterproof. The boats commonly employed for the conveyance of goods and animals, on the lower part of the Tigris and Euphrates, and for ferries on all parts of those rivers, are constructed of planks of poplar wood, rudely joined together by iron nails or wooden pins, and coated with bitumen.

In a bas-relief from the most ancient palace of Nimroud, two kinds of boats are introduced. The larger vessel contains the king in his chariot, with his attendants and eunuchs. It is both impelled by oars, and is towed by men. The smaller resembles that described by Herodotus. The head does not differ in form from the stern, and two men sit face to face at the oars.

In this bas-relief are also represented men supporting themselves upon inflated skins—a manner of crossing rivers still generally practised in Mesopotamia.

* Lib. i. c. 194.

† See p. 79 of this volume.

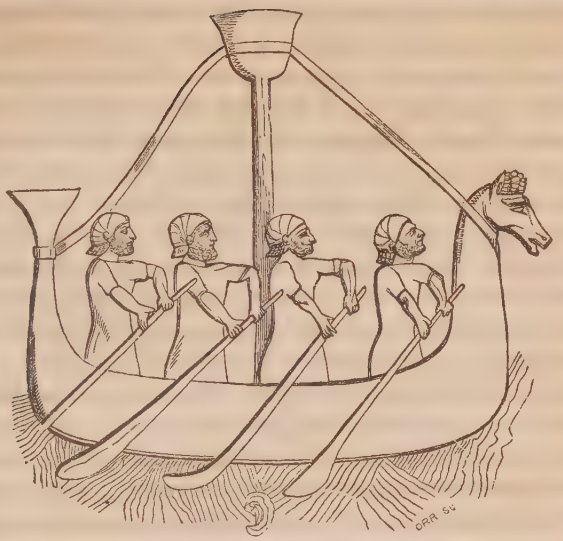
The larger boats were steered by a long oar; to the end of which was fastened a square or oval board. This oar was held in its place by a rope, fastened to a wooden pin at the stern. By this contrivance the steersman had considerable control over the vessel, and could impel it, or turn the head at pleasure. This mode of steering, and propelling boats, still prevails on the Mesopotamian rivers.

It may be presumed, that the Assyrians soon acquired a more intimate acquaintance with the art of ship-building, than is displayed by these rude vessels; although they may not have put their knowledge in practice on the rivers. A tradition has even assigned the invention of ships to Semiramis.* In a bas-relief, from the centre palace of Nimroud, vessels were represented with a mast, and with a carved prow and stern, both ornamented with the head of an animal or bird, probably in metal. They were also impelled by oars; and from the relative size between them and the figures, they do not appear to have been larger than the rude boats of the earlier monuments. The mast was retained in its position by two ropes. The oars were long, and the blade projected at an angle with the handle. They were probably used like paddles, which they resemble, indeed, in form. Although these ships were near a castle, from the fish and marine monsters in the water, it would appear that the sea, and not a river, was represented.

The vessels of the Khorsabad sculptures, show a considerable advance in the knowledge of ship-building. That they did not belong to the Assyrians, but to some allied nation, appears to be indicated by the peculiar costume of the figures in them.† The form of the vessel is not inelegant: it is that of a sea monster—the prow being in the shape of the head of a horse, and the stern in that of the tail of a fish. Several men

* Pliny, lib. vii. 417. That the Chaldees were skilful ship-builders, "and exulted in their ships," we learn from Isaiah, xliii. 14.

† Small boats similarly constructed are, however, introduced into a bas-relief, which appears to represent a scene on an Assyrian river or lake. (See woodcut, p. 216.)



A Ship. (Khorsabad.)

stand at the oars. The mast, supported by two ropes, appears to be surmounted by a box, or what is technically called a crow's nest; which, in the galleys of the Egyptians, frequently held an archer.

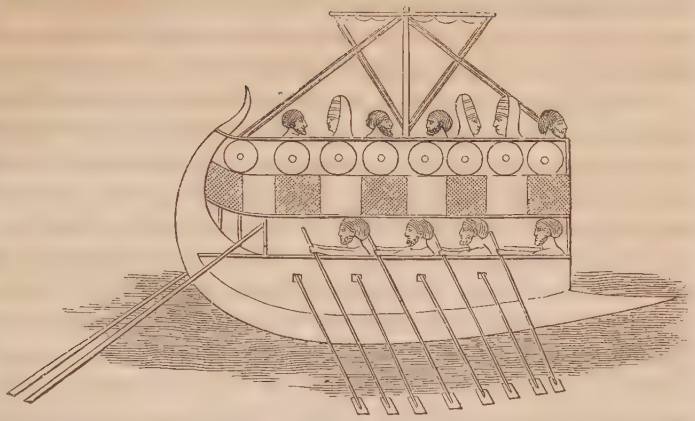
From the nature of the animals and fish swarming in the water round the vessels, the Khorsabad bas-reliefs evidently represent an event on the sea, and not on a river. A castle stands on the shore, and the ships are employed in bringing planks, and beams of wood, to form an artificial approach, by which the besiegers may reach the walls. Some of these planks are dragged, at the stern of the vessels, by ropes; others are on deck. In the sea is seen a figure with the human form to the waist, and with the tail of a fish. The horned cap connects it with the sacred emblems of the Assyrian sculptures, and we may, probably, recognize in it Oannes, or the Chaldæan sea god.*

* A sea-piece, such as that described in the text, is amongst the Assyrian bas-reliefs in the Louvre.

But it was in the sculptures of Kouyunjik, that vessels were found represented in the greatest perfection. From their position, in the bas-reliefs, with reference to the besieging army, it would appear that they did not belong to the Assyrians themselves; but to a people with whom they were at war, and whom they appear to have conquered. That the event recorded occurred on the sea, and not on a river, was shown by the nature of the fish and marine animals; such as the star or jelly fish, and a kind of shark, introduced into the sculpture. A castle stood on the shore; and the inhabitants, attacked on the land side, were deserting their city, and taking refuge in their vessels.

The larger galleys of these bas-reliefs were of peculiar form, and may, I think, be identified with the vessels used to a comparatively late period, by the inhabitants of the great maritime cities of the Syrian coast—by the people of Tyre and Sidon. Their height out of the water, when compared with the depth of keel, was very considerable. The forepart rose perpendicularly from a low sharp prow, which resembled a ploughshare, and being of iron or some other metal, may have been intended, like that of the Roman galley, to sink or disable the enemy's ships. The stern was curved from the keel, and rose high above the upper deck. There were two tiers of rowers; but whether they were divided by a deck, or merely sat upon benches placed at different elevations in the hold, does not appear from the sculptures. Above the rowers was a deck, on which stood the armed men. These vessels had only one mast, to the top of which was attached a very long yard, held by ropes. In the sculptures, the sails were represented as furled The number of rowers in the bas-reliefs was generally eight on a side. Only the heads of the upper tier of men were visible; the lower tier was completely concealed, the oars passing through small apertures, or port-holes, in the sides of the vessel.

These galleys nearly resemble in form the vessels represented on certain coins of ancient date; which, although not yet satisfactorily classed, evidently belong to the period of the



Ship. (Kouyunjik.)

Persian supremacy in Asia. This may be inferred by their having on one side the effigy of the king in his chariot, attended by his charioteer, as found on darics and on cylinders undoubtedly Persian.

These coins, which are rare, have been discovered both in Babylonia and on the coasts of Cilicia and Syria,* and were probably struck by the cities on the shores of the Mediterranean during their subjection to Persia. There are many peculiarities in the figures, groups, and inscriptions upon them, to connect them with other coins of the same class, generally known as "the uncertain of Cilicia;" all of which may perhaps be assigned to cities of Phœnician origin, either in Asia Minor, Syria, or Cyprus.† The mere fact of these coins hav-

* Those in the British Museum, from the collection of Mr. Rich, were principally found in the bed of the Euphrates, near Babylon; but, as they were accompanied by other coins of a much later (I think of the Arsacid or Sassanian) period, they must have been deposited there long after the fall of the first Persian empire, and consequently long subsequent to the time of their coinage.

† Almost all ancient cities of Asia Minor and the adjacent islands, whose names commenced with "Cor," stood upon the sea-coast. This word may therefore, have some reference to their position, and may point to a Phœnician origin. It may, perhaps, be connected with the Hebrew כרה, "to dig" and the Arabic خار or حور

ing been occasionally found on the banks of the Euphrates, is not sufficient to prove that they were coined in Babylon, of which city we have no ancient money.

The galleys, both on these coins and in the Kouyunjik bas-reliefs, are further identified with the vessels of the Syrian coasts, by the coins of Sidon of a later period, which bear on one side a galley similarly constructed, and on the other the head of an Assyrian goddess.

The castles of the maritime people, whose conquest is recorded by the Kouyunjik bas-reliefs, are distinguished by the shields hung round the walls. This peculiarity appears to illustrate a passage in Ezekiel concerniug Tyre: "The men of Arvad with thine army were upon the walls round about, and the Gammadims were in thy towers: *they hanged their shields upon thy walls round about.*"* We have no other allusion to this custom in holy writ; and its particular mention in connection with Tyre, may perhaps be considered a further proof in favor of the identification of the event recorded by the sculptures, with a siege and capture of that city.

Around the sides of the vessels were also suspended the shields of the warriors; and a similar custom appears to have prevailed amongst other nations in the infancy of the art of ship-building.†

The Tyrian vessels were constructed of the most costly

the mouth of a river, and bay of the sea, still used on the Arabian coast; for instance, the mouths of the Euphrates and Karoon are known as the Khor-mousa, the Khor-bamishere, &c. In Pontus were Cor-alla, Cor-dyla, Cot-yora; in Paphlagonia, Car-usa, Car-ambes; in Cyprus, Core and Cor-ineum; in Cilicia, Cor-ycus, Cor-acesium; in Crete, the promontory and city of Cor-ycus; in Ionia, Cor-ycus; the Cor-icumlittus and Cor-ydalla in Lycia; in Rhodes, Cor-ymbia and Cor-dylusa; in Messenia, Cor-yphasium. The sense of cavern, also included in the word, will well suit Cor-ycus in Cilicia, and the celebrated cave of the same name in Phocis. The derivation of חור "a hole," or כרה "to dig," may indicate an artificial harbor, and an early Phœnician settlement.

* Ezekiel, xxvii. 11.

† On the sides of the upper deck of the Chinese junks are suspended the shields and arms of the crew.

materials. The sails were of "fine linen with embroidered work from Egypt;" and the ornaments were of "blue and purple from the isles of Elisha." The benches were of ivory, and, it will be remarked, were made by Assyrian workmen, of whose skill we have full proof in the beautiful carvings from Nimroud. The oars were of the wood of the oaks of Bashan, the planks of fir-trees from the mountain of Senir, and the masts of cedar of Lebanon. The people of Zidon and Arvad were employed as mariners, and the management and sailing of the ship were confided to the pilots of Tyre, who, through long experience, were well versed in the art of navigation, and were consequently looked upon as "the wise men" in a city of sailors and merchants.* In these vessels the Phœnicians coasted along the shores of the Mediterranean, and carried on an active commerce with very distant nations; establishing their colonies, and diffusing far and wide their civilization, their arts, and their language.

Besides the vessel I have described, a smaller is represented in the same bas-reliefs. It has also a double tier of rowers; but the head and stern are differently constructed from those of the larger galley, both being of the same shape, and not to be distinguished. They rise high above the water, and are flat at the top, with a beak projecting outwards. This vessel had no mast, and was impelled entirely by oars. On the upper deck are seen warriors armed with spears, and women.

It is impossible to determine, from the sculptures, the size of the vessels; as the relative proportions between them, and the figures they contain, are not preserved. It is most probable that the four rowers in each tier are merely a conventional number; and we cannot, therefore, conjecture the length of the ship from them.

No representations of naval engagements, as on the monu-

* The 27th chapter of Ezekiel contains a complete description of the vessels of the Tyrians, and is a most important and interesting record of the commercial intercourse of the nations of antiquity.

ments of Egypt, have yet been discovered in the Assyrian sculptures. It is most probable that, not being a maritime people, the Assyrians made use of the fleets of their allies in their expeditions by sea; as the Persians did afterwards, furnishing warriors to man the ships.

The bas-reliefs hitherto discovered in Assyria, principally record the wars and triumphs of the Assyrians, and represent their achievements in battle. Their enemies, therefore, are frequently portrayed in them. On the earlier monuments the conquered are marked by two distinct costumes. In the series of sculptures, forming the southern side of the great hall in the northwest palace,* they are principally distinguished by the absence of helmets and armor. A simple fillet, or band, binds their temples, and in no instance have they any other head-dress. Their long hair, and beards, are less carefully and elaborately arranged than those of the Assyrians; but this distinction may be attributed to the malice of the sculptor, who appears to have wilfully disfigured the pictures of the enemies of his nation, or at least to have bestowed less care upon them than upon those of his own people. They wore short tunics, descending to the knee. Their sandals were peculiar, formed apparently by a number of straps, or cross-bars, from the instep to the sole of the foot. They used the same arms as the Assyrians, with the addition of the sling—a weapon which is not seen in the hands of the conquerors in the most ancient bas-reliefs. The women were clothed in long embroidered robes descending to the ankles, fitting tight over the breast (which are indicated in the sculptures), and confined at the waist by a girdle. The hair fell loosely over their shoulders. The conquered have no very marked peculiarity in the form of their features, to distinguish them from the Assyrians; and, if their race or nation was indicated, it was, probably, as on the monuments of Egypt, by color, which has completely disappeared. There is nothing in the bas-reliefs to show the re-

* Hall B, plan 3.

gion they inhabited. They possessed walled cities, some standing on a river; and their country was apparently wooded, as trees are generally represented in the sculptures. It may be presumed that they were not far behind their conquerors in civilization; for they were acquainted with the use of the pulley; and, it may be inferred from their castle-gates, with the principle of the arch; and they possessed chariots drawn by horses nearly as richly caparisoned as those of the Assyrians. Their chariot-wheels had eight, or even twelve spokes, differing in this respect from those of the conquerors. On a bas-relief, representing the captives brought before the king, we find—amongst vases and bowls of elegant shapes—objects resembling elephants' tusks, bundles of precious wood, and shawls; this would appear to connect the people described with some Asiatic nation far to the east of Assyria.

The other conquered people, represented in the earliest sculptures of Nimroud, are chiefly distinguished by their conical caps; not pointed, like the Assyrian helmet, but rounded at the top, and apparently made of felt, or bands of linen. They wore high boots reaching half way up the calf of the leg, and turned up at the toes, like those still in use in Persia and Turkey; and were dressed either in short tunics, scarcely covering the knee, or in robes descending to the ankles. Their hair, although long, was not curled, but was gathered into a bunch behind; the end being either tucked under the cap, or confined by a band passing round the temples. On the northern side of the great hall of the northwest palace, were discovered two bas-reliefs,* representing the siege of a city belonging to this people, and standing on the banks of a river. Beneath the walls the armies of the two nations are seen in battle—the Assyrians in chariots, their enemies chiefly on horses. One of the horsemen is flying, and turns back, whilst

* Nos. 27 and 28, hall B, plan 3. No. 27 will be placed in the British Museum.

his horse is at full speed, to discharge an arrow against his pursuers, like the Parthians of old.*

The bas-reliefs in the outer chambers, to the north of the great hall,† represent the same people. In those sculptures, it will be remembered, the captives bring monkeys, amongst other objects of tribute. The tribute-bearers on the obelisk, also, appear to belong to this nation; for they are similarly attired, and also bring monkeys. Other animals led by them, such as the elephant, rhinoceros, and Bactrian camel, evidently show that they came from some country far to the east of Assyria—either from India itself or from its confines; and we are naturally led to conjecture, that the monument was erected to celebrate the Indian expedition of one of the early Assyrian monarchs—the Ninus, Semiramis, or Ninyas of history. The other tribute appears to be elephants' tusks, shawls, precious woods, a kind of fruit or plant, and vessels probably of gold and silver. The inscription may record the conquest of many countries; and more nations than one may be represented by the figures bearing these various objects.

The unplaced bas-reliefs, discovered together near the great bulls in the centre of the mound, do not apparently celebrate the subjection of the same countries as the obelisk. This fact seems to me an additional reason for believing them to be of a later period than that monument, and than the bulls, on which the name of the son of the builder of the northwest palace

* "Fidentemque fugâ Parthum, versisque sagittis."

Virg. *Georg.* 3.

And

—— "Versis animosum equis
Parthum." Hor. *Carm.* lib. i. ode xix.

Justin (lib. xli. c. 2) describes this mode of combating as peculiar to the Parthians, and very dangerous to those incautiously engaging in their pursuit. That the same custom existed at a very early period amongst the Persians, we learn from Xenophon. (Anabasis, book iii. ch. 3.) It is still the favorite mode of fighting of that people. It is called the *Kaikaj*. The Bakhtiyari, and other mountain tribes, are particularly skilful in it, and will hit a small mark, turning back and discharging their rifles whilst their horses are at full speed.

† Chambers D and E, plan 3.

occurs. They record the subjugation of several nations. In some were represented warriors on fleet camels, fleeing from the Assyrians. Women, also mounted on camels, were seen escaping from their enemies.* The head-dress of the men was a simple fillet passing round the temples, the hair being either confined by it, or sometimes allowed to fall loose on the shoulders. They wore short tunics or aprons from the waist to the knee, the rest of the body being left naked. The women were clothed in robes descending to the ankles, and their hair was long. This people appears to have possessed large flocks of camels, sheep, goats, and horned cattle, and to have inhabited a country producing the palm-tree. As they used camels in war, we may conjecture that they were Arabs living either in the south of Mesopotamia, or in a part of the Arabian Peninsula.†

Another conquered people represented in these bas-reliefs dwelt in fortified cities, which stood on the banks of a river, and had palms within and without the walls. The men wore their hair loose, and were mostly armed with bows. After their cities had been captured, the women were taken away in square carts, drawn by oxen. These carts had wheels with eight spokes. From the palm-trees represented in the bas-reliefs, this people may have inhabited some part of Babylonia.

A third nation, whose subjugation is recorded, had cities or castles built on the tops of mountains. They wore helmets ornamented with a curved crest, and were armed with spears and bows.

A fourth possessed walled cities surrounded by lofty ramparts, and wore caps apparently formed of bands of linen, and resembling the Phrygian cap reversed. They were armed with spears and bows. The women are distinguished by

* The saddles of the camels appear to have consisted of a square pad, or seat, placed upon the hump.

† The Arabs, mounted on camels, formed a part of the great army of Xerxes, and the camel-riding Shasu (Arabs) are frequently mentioned in the monumental inscriptions of Egypt.

hoods covering the head, and falling over the shoulders. In one bas-relief the captive king, or chief, of this people is seen brought before the king, who is placing the end of a spear, or wand, on the head of his prostrate foe in token of triumph.

In two bas-reliefs built into the walls of the southwest palace, but not originally belonging to that building, were represented the victories of the Assyrians over warriors, who wore a helmet with a curved crest, resembling in shape that in early use amongst the Greeks.*

The subjugation of several nations was recorded on the walls of Khorsabad. The captives, and tribute-bearers, were generally distinguished by skull-caps or turbans, fitting closely to the head, and apparently made of folds of linen, or some similar material. It has been conjectured that they are Jews; but, unless the inscriptions furnish some evidence of the fact, there is nothing, I think, sufficiently marked, either in the physiognomy or the dress, to identify them with that people.† Several heads from these bas-reliefs are now in the British Museum. The features may certainly be distinguished from those of the Assyrians, particularly in the shape of the nose, which is very hooked; but this is a peculiarity common to several Eastern races, and not confined to the Jew. The hair and beard are less elaborately curled; but, as it has already been observed, they may have been left unfinished by the sculptor, to mark the distinction between the conquerors and the conquered.

The head-dress of another vanquished people consists of a hood, which completely covers the head, conceals the hair, and falls over the shoulders, resembling that of the women in some of the bas-reliefs from the centre of the mound at Nimroud.

Men dressed in skins were represented amongst the conquered nations at Khorsabad. The only Asiatic people thus

* See woodcut, page 29 of this volume.

† It has been suggested that one of the names written over the besieged city in a Khorsabad bas-relief is that of Ashdod, or Azotus, against which Sargon, king of Assyria, sent Tartan. (Isaiah, xx.)

clothed, according to Herodotus, in the army of Xerxes, were the Caspians and the Pactyes, who wore goat-skins. Some of the skins in the Khorsabad sculptures appear to be those of leopards; if so, the wearers may be identified with an African nation.*

Monsieur Flandin conjectures, that negroes are included amongst the conquered people of the Khorsabad bas-reliefs. In a drawing he has given to a prisoner the well-known negro features, and the short woolly hair. But the only bas-relief in which he believes the negro to occur is very much injured; and a little too much imagination may have been resorted to in its restoration.

The tribute brought by the subject nations portrayed in the Khorsabad sculptures consists chiefly of vases and bowls, earrings, bracelets, and other ornaments, all probably made of the precious metals. The conquerors, after the sacking of a city, carry away couches, tables, and chariots. The chariots differ from those of the Assyrians in the form of the yoke (which is very distinctly represented in a bas-relief), in the pole, in the four-spoked wheel, and in having an angular projection at the back.

At Kouyunjik, as I have already had occasion to observe, the conquest of a different people appears to have been recorded on the walls of each chamber. It was during the reign of one of the kings to whom I would attribute the foundation of this magnificent edifice, either of Sennacherib, Esarhaddon, or Shalmaneser, that the bounds of the empire were enlarged to an unexampled extent. Almost the whole of western Asia was overrun by the Assyrians; and their victorious armies, having subdued Syria and Judæa, and carried

* They may, however, be the skins of spotted gazelles. The skins may indicate, as on the Egyptian monuments, a division of the human race. The Egyptians ethnographically divided mankind into four branches:—1. The Rut, themselves; 2, the Naamu, or Nations, the Semitics; 3, the Nahsi, or Negroes; and 4, the Tamahu, or Northerns, who are distinguished by the ostrich-feathers on their heads, and by tunics of goat-skins.

away captive their monarchs and their inhabitants, penetrated through Egypt into Ethiopia and Lybia. Records of these conquests still exist in Syria, in Cyprus, and in various parts of Asia Minor.*

I have pointed out on what grounds we may identify with the Tyrians, or with the Phœnicians inhabiting the Syrian coasts, the maritime people represented in the sculptures. History has recorded the conquest of Tyre by Shalmaneser;† and the tablet at the Nahr-el-Kelb, near Beyrout, bears, I conjecture, either his name or that of a monarch of the same dynasty. The Kouyunjik bas-reliefs may, therefore, portray this event. In them the conquered people are distinguished by the absence of both head-dress and helmet, the hair falling loosely on the shoulders. The women have high turbans or mitres, to the back of which a veil appears to have been attached.

Amongst other conquered people were represented the inhabitants of a city, which stood between two rivers, and in the midst of groves of palm-trees. They may have been the

* I discovered the name of the Kouyunjik king on the rock-tablet at the mouth of the Nahr-el-Kelb (the Lycus), near Beyrout, of which a cast, taken by Mr. Bonomi, is in the British Museum. It is curious that, in a bas-relief found at Khorsabad, a niche, containing a figure precisely similar to that at the Nahr-el-Kelb, was represented on the walls of a castle. I have not been able to examine, or to obtain an accurate description, of the Assyrian monument recently discovered in Cyprus, and now at Berlin. I am inclined, however, to believe that it is of the same period as the Syrian bas-reliefs.

† Josephus (lib. ix. c. 14) states that Shalmaneser warred against Tyre when Elulæus was king. According to Menander, as quoted by the Jewish historian, the Assyrian monarch subdued the whole of Phœnicia. The Tyrians having revolted, Shalmaneser attacked them with sixty vessels and eight hundred rowers, furnished by the inhabitants of the other maritime cities. The Tyrians, however, engaged this large fleet with only twelve galleys, completely dispersed it, and took five hundred men prisoners. The Assyrians then invested the city for five years, cutting off the communication of the inhabitants with the rivers and wells which furnished them with fresh water. Eusebius, quoting from Abydenus, states that Sennacherib defeated the Greek fleet on the Cilician coast. The whole passage is curious, as connecting Sennacherib with a Sardanapalus of history, and attributing to him the building of Tarsus, in the form of Babylon, with the Cydnus running through the centre.

Babylonians, and the bas-reliefs may have recorded the reconquest of that city after one of those rebellions, alluded to in history, in which it had thrown off the Assyrian yoke.* Another subdued nation had castles built on lofty mountains, and in the midst of forests. Some cities captured by the Assyrians, at this period, were built on the banks of rivers, in the midst of vineyards, and on mountains clothed with firs or pines. The fir, which does not grow, as far as I am aware, in the mountains of Kurdistan, seems to indicate a country far to the north of Assyria Proper.

On the walls of one chamber the Assyrian warriors were represented taking by assault, a city built amongst mountains, and surrounded by forests and rocks. The walls were defended by men armed with spears and bows, and carrying small square shields. They were clothed in short tunics, descending to the knee, and confined at the waist by a girdle. Their hair was gathered in a bunch at the back of the head, or was cut short. The women wore long robes, ornamented with fringes. Their hair was either confined by a fillet passing round the temples, or was completely concealed by a hood, which covered the head and lower part of the face, and fell over the shoulders. When driven away captive by the Assyrians, they carried their children with them,† and bore in their hands vases, bowls, and skins filled with water or provisions.

In the sculptures of Kouyunjik, sheep, goats, and horned cattle were frequently included amongst the spoil taken from the conquered nations. From a burning city, containing large buildings, several stories in height, the Assyrian warriors were represented hurrying away with vases, chariots, couches, beds, horses fully caparisoned, and various other objects, the nature of which I could not determine, as the bas-reliefs had been greatly injured. Women riding upon mules, and mules laden with booty, were also introduced into a procession of captives.

* Under Merodach Baladan, for instance.

† The younger children were represented seated on the mother's shoulder, and held by the leg.

Such being the conquered nations, as represented in the Nineveh sculptures, it may not be uninteresting to inquire whether the Assyrians themselves, or their enemies, can be identified with any of the races portrayed on the Egyptian monuments.

Some of the vanquished people in the most ancient bas-reliefs of Nimroud resemble, in the fillet round their heads ending in a tassel, in their general costume, and in their arms, the Sharu of the Egyptian paintings. That people, indeed, in the form of their features and in their dress, have some resemblance to the Assyrians themselves, with whom Gardner Wilkinson is inclined to identify them.* They could not, however, have been the Assyrians portrayed on the most ancient monuments of Nimroud. The high pointed helmet or cap, with lappets protecting the ears, the ear-rings and other ornaments in the form of a cross, and the cross-belt over the breast, are all peculiarities of costume marking the sculptures of Khorsabad and Kouyunjik, but never seen in the earlier sculptures. The Sharu were, moreover, armed with falchions, and short swords of a peculiar shape, which I have not met with in the Assyrian bas-reliefs.

The Khita, or Sheta, of the Egyptian inscriptions were an Asiatic people, wearing a large cap and a long loose robe with open sleeves, and capes covering the shoulders. They are sometimes represented with oblong or square shields. They fought both on foot and in chariots, which carried three persons, like those of Assyria, and they lived in walled cities.† Mr. Birch identifies them with the Chaldæans; and that they inhabited a country near Assyria Proper may be inferred, by their being generally named with Naharaina and Singara.‡ They resemble a people whose conquest by the Assyrians is

* Ancient Egyptians, vol. i. p 375.

† Wilkinson's Ancient Egyptians, vol. i. p. 383.

‡ Menander, as quoted by Josephus, (lib. ix. c. 14,) mentions the conquest of a nation called the *Kittæi* by Elulæus, king of Tyre. They must have been a maritime people, for the Tyrians are said to have sailed against them.

recorded in the bas-reliefs of Khorsabad and Kouyunjik,* and who, like the Khita, inhabited castles, carried square or oblong shields, and wore hoods over their heads.

The Shairutana of the Egyptian monuments have many peculiarities in common with the Assyrians of the most recent bas-reliefs of Nimroud; but the helmet, ornamented with horns and surmounted by a crest, consisting of a ball on a small shaft, is not Assyrian. They carried a round shield, a long spear, a javelin, and a pointed sword; and wore a short dress, over which was a coat of mail, or a cuirass of broad metal plates overlying each other, adapted to the form of the body, and secured at the waist by a girdle. They allowed their beards to grow, and had large ear-rings. Their features were distinguished by a prominent aquiline nose, and their complexion was lighter than that of the Egyptians.† The Tokkari, or Takaru, also, bear some resemblance to a people represented in the Assyrian sculptures, both in their arms and dress, and in the shape of the carts drawn by oxen.

Mr. Birch is inclined to identify the Ruten-nu, or Lodan-nu, of the statistical tablet of Karnak with the Cappadocians, or Leuco-Syrians, inhabiting the country to the north and south of the Taurus; who, he conjectures, are also represented at Khorsabad. Their physical characteristics in the Egyptian sculptures are a light complexion, brown or red hair, and blue eyes; and they bring horses, chariots, rare woods, ivory, gloves, a bear, and gold and silver vases, with the head of Baal. They wore tight dresses, apparently of wool, fastened in front with a buckle, and carried objects like long gloves.‡ That the Retun inhabited a country adjoining the Assyrians may be inferred, from their being mentioned in geographical lists between Naharaina (Mesopotamia), and Singara (Sinjar). Amongst the spoils represented as brought from a conquered city at Khorsabad, is the chariot closely resembling, in its yoke

* See woodcut facing p. 285

† Sir Gardner Wilkinson's Ancient Egyptians, vol. i. p. 365.

‡ Memoir on the Statistical Tablet of Karnak, p. 17.

and four-spoked wheels, that seen at Thebes amongst the objects of tribute of this people.*

It is singular that the name of Assyria cannot be satisfactorily identified as that of a conquered nation on any Egyptian monument.† With the exception of the statistical tablet of Karnak, in which, as it has been seen, Nineveh appears to be mentioned,‡ there is no record of any expedition undertaken by the Egyptians beyond Mesopotamia into Assyria Proper. Naharaina, and the Euphrates, appear to have been the boundaries of their conquests. Assyria may have been at that period too powerful to invite invasion; or a campaign against it, proving unsuccessful, may not have been recorded. Thus among the people beyond Syria, subdued by the Egyptians, are almost always mentioned the inhabitants of Naharaina and Singara, and the Khita, and the Ruten; and, unless either of them can be identified with the Assyrians, we must conclude that the Sinjar formed the limits of the Egyptian expeditions in this part of Asia. The Ruten and the Khita may, perhaps, be identified with some of the nations with whom the Assyrians themselves were at war; but in the Egyptian sculptures we do not find those peculiarities in the costume, and in the forms of the chariots, and horse-furniture, which would satisfactorily connect the people represented with the inhabitants of Nineveh. It can scarcely be doubted that had the Assyrian warriors of the early Nimroud bas-reliefs been amongst the Egyptian captives, these distinctions would have been carefully portrayed. Nor, it will be remembered, does the name of Babel, or Babylon, more than once occur in the great statistical tablet of Karnak; whilst Singara and Naharaina are continually included amongst the conquered nations. Neither is there any mention of the great cities situated between Nineveh and

* Wilkinson's Ancient Egyptians, vol. i. p. 377.

† At Medinat Haboo there appears to be, amongst other names of conquered Asiatic nations, "Atur," which Mr. Birch connects with Ataru, Aturia; but the reading is, I believe, doubtful. (Memoir on the Statistical Tablet of Karnak. p. 24.)

‡ See page 178.

Babylon, and in Susiana, nor the rivers flowing into the Tigris after its passage through the Taurus. These facts appear to prove that the Egyptians had not, at an early period, carried their conquests into Assyria Proper, Babylonia, or Chaldæa, although there are strong grounds for suspecting that they were not unacquainted with the inhabitants of those countries, but that, on the contrary, they had felt the influence which the Assyrians exercised over Asia.*

* I am indebted to Mr. Birch for the following note with regard to the various people mentioned in the text. "Different opinions exist as to whom the Sharu or Kharu are to be referred. They cannot be Assyrians, for in one of the hieratic papyri (Select Papyri, lxxxiv. l. 11), the writer states, 'thou hast a galley going to the Sharu,' which would apparently refer to a galley coasting along the Mediterranean, probably for the sake of wine, which in another papyrus is especially alluded to as their product. (Select Papyri, pl. xcvii. l. 1.) The earliest mention of them is in the statistical tablet of Karnak, in the reign of Thothmes III., when they supplied Egypt with bows. (Birch, Gallery, p. 88—192, and Statistical Tablet.) They are the Syri or Syrians. Osburn (Ancient Egypt. p. 57) supposes the name to be Tyre, צר, Tsur, which is nearly the same. According to Dr. Hincks (An Attempt to ascertain the Letters of the Hieroglyphic Alphabet, p. 15) it is Khelbon, Χαλύβων, or Aleppo. The necklaces and ear-rings are probably in the shape of the goddess Astarte, or Ashtaroth. The name is distinct from Tyre, written in hieroglyphics 'Turu,' and from Khaleb, written with very different symbols. From their maritime position they were probably Syrians in general. The Khita were probably a Mesopotamian people. They have been conjectured to be the Scythians (Champollion, Lettres Ecrites, p. 151, 501), the Shethites or Moabites (Osburn, Ancient Egypt. p. 136), the Hittites (cf. Bunsen, Ægyptens Stelle, Buch i. S. 480), and the Cuthæans of Mesopotamia (Birch, Gallery, p. 89). For the reasons for supposing them to be the Cuthæans, Casdim, or Chaldæans, see the Statistical Tablet of Karnak, p. 22 and 23. The Shairutana are always described as a maritime people, as 'the Shairutana of the Sea.' (Champ. Mon. Egyp. pl. cccliii. No. 1.) They appear at the time of the nineteenth dynasty as allies or enemies of the Pulusatu, or Philistines. They have been conjectured to be the Sidonians (Osburn, Anc. Egypt. p. 108); and the helmet has been supposed to be surmounted by the disk and crescent of Astarte. All this is, however, doubtful, and another way of writing Sidon (not to object to the introduction of *r*), occurs in the historic papyri. Did the 'Great Lake,' or 'Sea,' refer to the Caspian? The people called by Sir Gardner Wilson Takura, are of the same race as the Philistines. There is some difficulty about the reading of this name, whether Fikaru, or Takaru, or Takalu. They have been conjectured to be the Philistine people of Ekron. (Osburn, Anc. Egypt. p. 140.) The people of Naharaina are once represented in the monuments of Egypt, in a tomb at Gournah. Their heads are bound with a simple fillet; they are

dressed in simple garments, and have long beards, resembling the other Semitic races. Their tribute is gold and silver vases. The tomb is of the age of Thothmes IV., and either represents an event of that, or of the preceding, reign. (Champ. Monum. tome ii. pl. clx.) Atur is the Egyptian word for 'river;' it suggests that Aturia and Assyria meant the 'land of the river.' The name of Assuar in the Select Papyri, as a country conquered by the Egyptians (Pl. lvii. l. 6; Hincks's Attempt, p. 46), is not certainly identified with Assyria"

CHAPTER VI.

THE monuments hitherto discovered in Assyria, furnish us with few details illustrating the private life and domestic economy of those who raised them. The bas-reliefs are mostly public records of conquests, triumphs, and great religious ceremonies. As they were placed in palaces and temples, they could, of course, but refer to national events; no others being worthy of so conspicuous a position. If any memorial of the private life of an individual were preserved, or if his peculiar profession or trade were indicated, it must have been in his own dwelling or in his tomb, as in Egypt. Hitherto only the public buildings of Assyria have been discovered, and we have consequently only the public records. If the interiors of houses and the occupations of their inmates, are represented in the bas-reliefs, they are casually introduced, to illustrate or to convey more fully the meaning of the general subject. Thus, within the walls of castles belonging to the Assyrians, or captured by them, are seen buildings and tents. The inhabitants are slaying sheep, and engaged in domestic occupations, seated and conversing together, feeding their horses, and preparing their couches. But these details are all made subservient to the main action, which is the siege or triumph.*

With such scanty materials at our command, we can

* In the Assyrian sculptures attendants are frequently introduced carrying vessels and skins, probably containing provisions. It may be observed that the skins are tied precisely as at this day—the two extremities being fastened by the opposite ends of one string.

scarcely venture to form any conjecture as to the manners and private life of the Assyrians. The subject must be deferred until further discoveries have supplied us with additional information.

From casual notices in the Bible and in ancient history, we learn that the Assyrians, as well as those who succeeded them in the empire of Asia, were fond of public entertainments and festivities, and that they displayed on such occasions the greatest luxury and magnificence. The Assyrian king, called Nabuchodonosor in the book of Judith, on returning from his victorious expedition against Arphaxad, feasted with his whole army for one hundred and twenty days. The same is related by the Greek authors of Sardanapalus, after his great victory over the combined armies of the Medes. The book of Esther describes the splendor of the festivals given by the Babylonian king. The princes and nobles of his vast dominions were feasted for one hundred and eighty days; and for one week all the people of Susa assembled in the gardens of his palace, and were served in vessels of gold. The richest tapestries adorned the halls and tents, and the most costly couches were prepared for the guests.* Wine was served in abundance, and women, including even the wives and concubines of the monarch, were frequently present to add to the magnificence of the scene. According to Quintus Curtius, not only did hired female performers exhibit on these occasions, but the wives and daughters of the nobles, forgetting their modesty, danced before the guests, divesting themselves even of their garments.† Wine was drunk immoderately. When Babylon was taken by the Persians, the inhabitants were celebrating one of their great festivals, and even the guards were intoxicated.‡ The Babylonian king, ignorant of the approaching fate of his capi-

* Esther, i.; Daniel, v.

† That it was subsequently the custom of the Persians to introduce their wives and concubines at their public banquets, is shewn by the anecdote of Amyntas and the Persian ambassadors, related by Herodotus. (Lib. v. c. 18.)

‡ Xenophon, Cyrop. vii. 5.; Herod . c. 191.

tal, and surrounded by one thousand of his princes and nobles, and by his wives and concubines, drank out of the golden vessels that had been carried away from the Jewish temple.* On the walls of the palace at Khorsabad was a bas-relief representing a public feast, probably in celebration of a victory. Men were seen seated on high chairs with drinking-cups in their hands; whilst attendants were bringing in bowls, goblets, and various fruits and viands, for the banquet. At Nimroud part of a similar bas-relief was discovered.

Music was not wanting on these occasions. It is probable that the Assyrians, like the Egyptians, had various musical instruments; only one kind, however, is represented in the sculptures. It is in the shape of a triangle, is held between the left arm and the side, and appears to have been suspended from the neck. The strings, nine or ten in number, are stretched between a flat board and an upright bar through which they pass. Tassels are appended to the ends of the strings, and the bar itself is generally surmounted by a small hand, probably of metal or ivory. The instrument was struck with a plectrum held in the right hand: the left appears to have been used either to pull the strings, or to produce notes by pressure. Like the Egyptian harp, it had no cross-piece between the upright bar and the flat board or base; it is difficult, therefore, to understand how the strings could have been sufficiently tightened to produce notes.†

In describing the dress of the Assyrians, I have had occasion to allude to their skill in the manufacture of linen and woollen stuffs, which were dyed, and embroidered not only with a variety of beautiful ornaments, but with groups of human figures and animals. Of all Asiatic nations, the Babylonians

* Daniel, v. 2.

† There is a representation of this musical instrument in the bas-relief of the king standing over the crouching lion, now in the British Museum. There are also several examples of it in my "Monuments of Nineveh." The god which Mr. Birch now conjectures to be Baal (Gallery, fig 80), is represented at Talmis playing on a triangular lyre. (Rosellini, M. C., Teste, tome iii. p. 19. tav. ann.)

were most noted for the weaving of cloth of divers colors. In these stuffs gold threads were introduced into the woof of many hues.* Amongst those who traded in "blue clothes and embroidered work" with Tyre, were the merchants of Asshur or Assyria;† and that the garments of Babylon were brought into Syria, and greatly esteemed at a very early period, we learn from their being classed amongst the most precious articles of spoil, even with gold, in the time of Joshua.‡ They formed, perhaps, "the dyed attire and embroidered work" so frequently mentioned in the Scriptures as the garments of princes, and the most costly gifts of kings. The ornaments and figures upon them may either have been dyed, worked in the loom, or embroidered with the needle, like "the prey of divers colors of needle-work, of divers colors of needle-work on both sides."§

The cotton manufactures of Babylon were as remarkable for brilliancy of color as fineness of texture, and Pliny attributes the invention of cotton weaving to Semiramis.‖ The silken robes of Assyria were equally esteemed. The looms of Babylon maintained their celebrity long after the fall of the Assyrian empire—even to the time of the Roman supremacy.¶

The carpets of Babylon were no less prized than her other manufactures. Like the Assyrian robes, they appear to have been embroidered with figures of animals and flowers. A purple carpet covered the tomb of Cyrus; and on the bed upon

* Pliny, viii. 48. † Ezekiel, xxvii. 24.

‡ Joshua, vii. 21. Achan confesses to Joshua that "when he saw among the spoils *a goodly Babylonish garment*, and two hundred shekels of silver, and wedge of gold of fifty shekels weight, he coveted, and took them."

§ Judges, v. 30.

‖ C. vii. p. 417.

¶ According to Plutarch, Cato, receiving as a legacy a Babylonish garment, sold it, because too costly for a citizen to wear. Arech, on the Euphrates, was long celebrated for its looms. Some Babylonian curtains and draperies were sold, according to Pliny, for nearly £7000.

which the body was placed, were Babylonian garments, carpets, and purple drapery.*

These manufactures probably formed one of the principal branches of trade of "this land of traffic and city of merchants."† The Babylonians and Assyrians carried on a considerable commerce with India; and the costly produce of that peninsula was conveyed through the Babylonian territories to the most distant regions of Syria, from whence it was diffused over western Europe and Asia Minor.‡

The Assyrians were no less celebrated for their skill in working metals than for their embroideries.§—Their mountains furnished a variety of minerals—silver, iron, copper, and lead, and perhaps even gold. Iron, the most useful of all metals, was the one which most abounded, and which could be most easily procured, as soon as the process of extracting it from the ore was known. I have observed that it is found in great quantities scattered on the sides of mountains, three or

* Arrian, vi. 29. The carpets of Babylon, worked with wonderful animals, are described by Athenæus, v. p. 197. From Persia they passed into Greece. (Æschyl. Agam. l. 898, 899, 913, 925; Aristophanes, Ranæ, l. 935; Aristot. Phys. Ausc. iv.; Menander, apud Athen. xi. p. 484, 500.) The Parthians appear to have preserved the art of these manufactures (Pliny, l. viii. c. 73), for which the modern Persians and the inhabitants of the Kurdish mountains are still eminently distinguished.

† Ezekiel, xvii. 4.

‡ Heeren has fully and ably described the nature and extent of the commerce of the Babylonians in his Essays on the Policy and Commerce of the Ancients. The commercial route from India to Syria was first to the Sabæi and Dedan on the southern and eastern coast of Arabia. (Isaiah, lx. 6; Ezekiel, xxvii. 15 and 20.) It then passed through the Gerrhæi. (Diod. iii 41; Strabo, xv.) North of the Dedan, the route lay through Thema (Isaiah, xxi. 14; Job, vi. 19; Jeremiah, xxv. 23; xlix. 7, 8; Ezekiel, xxv. 13); from thence to the land of Kedar. (Isaiah, lx. 7.)

§ It was the custom of the Babylonians, as we learn from Jeremiah, xxiv. 1, to carry away the smiths and carpenters of a conquered nation. It is probable, therefore, that whilst the Assyrians themselves were skilful in various arts, they had also collected together during their conquests expert workmen from all parts of Asia.

four days' journey from Mosul.* Amongst the objects of tribute enumerated in the statistical tablet of Karnak, iron is mentioned as brought to the Egyptians almost exclusively by the inhabitants either of Assyria Proper, or of the countries immediately adjacent—by the Tahai, the Ruten-nu, and the Asi. It was generally exported in the form of bricks or pigs, but also occasionally in the ore. The same nations, particularly the Tahai, offered gold, silver, tin (?), copper, brass, lead, and antimony (?). These metals were not only brought in the rough state, or, if gold and silver, in rings, but even manufactured into vases of beautiful form. Mr. Birch remarks: "The silver vases of the Tahai are a remarkable tribute, as they show an excellence in working metals among these people; indeed, the art of toreutic work in Asia influenced so largely even the Greek world at a later period, as to rival and gradually supersede the fictile painted vases of the Greeks."† And he then mentions "the offerings of vases of gold and silver, with handles, and feet, and covers in the shape of animals, such as the bull and gazelle (or? wild goat), kneeling Asiatics, the heads of lions, goats, and even of the god Baal." All these are pure Assyrian emblems. The vase in the form of a lion's head, probably similar to that represented in the sculptures of Khorsabad, is particularly alluded to amongst the offerings of the Tahai. The tribute obtained by the Egyptians from Naharaina, or Mesopotamia, consisted of vases of gold, silver, and copper, and precious stones; and vases of gold, silver, and brass were the presents brought by the prince of northern Syria to David.‡

Gold is not now, I believe, known to exist in the mountains of Kurdistan. As, both according to sacred and profane authors, it was collected in such extraordinary quantities in Nineveh and Babylon, and as it is generally included in the

* Vol. I. p. 190.

† Observations on the Statistical Tablet of Karnak, p. 33

‡ 2 Samuel, viii. 10, and 1 Chron. xviii. 10.

Egyptian inscriptions amongst metals brought from that part of Asia, it is to be presumed that mines of it were once worked within the Assyrian dominions.* It was used by the Assyrians, as I have already mentioned, in their architectural ornaments, bricks and tiles of gold and silver being even placed in the exterior walls of their palaces.† That they were at a very early period acquainted with the art of gilding is proved by the remains of very thin gold leaf, found not only on the ivories and on bricks, but even under the great throne or altar in the northwest palace, where it must have been deposited during the building of the edifice.‡

Silver is found in the mountains of Kurdistan, and mines of it are still worked by the Turkish government near the frontiers of ancient Assyria, and in Armenia. It is very probable that others exist in a country whose mineral riches have not been explored.

* Sardanapalus is said to have placed one hundred and fifty golden beds, and as many tables of the same metal, on his funeral pile, besides gold and silver vases and ornaments in enormous quantities, and purple and many-colored raiments. (Athenæus, lib. xii.) When Nineveh was taken, it contained, according to some absurd traditions, £25,000,000,000 sterling in gold! The spoiler might well have exclaimed, "Take ye the gold, take ye the silver—the riches of Nineveh are inexhaustible—her vases and precious furniture are infinite." (Nahum, ii. 9.) That this precious metal, however, was most plentiful, we can scarcely doubt. The statue of solid gold raised by Nebuchadnezzar in the plain of Dura was threescore cubits high, and six cubits broad. (Daniel, iii. 1.) Herodotus and Diodorus describe the statues of this metal in the temple of Belus, at Babylon. The base of the table, the seat of the throne, and an altar on which sacrifices were offered, were all of the purest gold. Xerxes carried away the golden statue of the god, twelve cubits in height, which his father Darius had not ventured to seize. (Herod. l. i. c. 183.) According to Diodorus, the value of the gold taken from the temple of Belus alone by Xerxes amounted to above 7350 Attic talents, or £21,000,000 sterling money!

† Thus the walls of Ecbatana were partly plated with gold and silver. (Herod. l. i. c. 98.)

‡ Gold and silver "spread into plates" are mentioned in Jeremiah amongst the objects of trade brought from Uphaz and Tarshish (ch. x. ver. 9); and Solomon's throne was partly overlaid with gold; as was also the inside of his temple. (1 Kings, vi. 22, and x. 18.)

Although the precious metals were known at a very early period, even Abraham, a dweller in tents, being rich in gold and silver,* no coins have been discovered amongst Assyrian ruins, nor is there any thing in the sculptures to show that the Assyrians were acquainted with money, as in Egypt. Metals in their rough state, or in bars or rings, may have been passed by weight, or, if precious, in ring-ingots, or as gold dust, in exchange for merchandise, and in other transactions, but not as stamped coins or tokens.† It is remarkable, that no coin has yet been discovered in Egyptian ruins.‡

Copper mines, worked at a very remote period, probably by the Assyrians themselves, still exist in the mountains within the confines of Assyria.§ This metal appears to have been extensively used by the Assyrians, both for ornaments, and in the construction of weapons and tools. It was inlaid into their iron helmets, and formed part of their armor. Daggers and the heads of arrows were frequently made of it, mixed, it would appear, with a certain quantity of iron, and hardened, as in Egypt, by an alloy of tin. The tools of the sculptor were probably of some such combination; but as the Egyptians appear to have been acquainted, at a very early period, with steel, and to have used it, as well as bronze, in sculpturing stone, marble, and granite, it may be inferred that the Assyrians were not ignorant of this useful form of iron. The soft limestone of their monuments would not, however, like the granite of Egypt, require a very highly tempered instrument. But the black basalt is hard, offering considerable resistance to

* Genesis, xiii. 2.

† The money mentioned in the Bible is always passed by weight. (Genesis, xliii. 21.)

‡ The earliest mention in authentic history of a coin current in the Persian dominions is in Herod. lib. iv. c. 166; the same author declaring (lib. i. c. 94) that the Lydians were the first people who coined money. It was issued by Darius Hystaspes, and called after him "the Daric." It was long afterwards celebrated for its purity, and gave its name to all gold pieces subsequently coined in Persia even by kings of the Macedonian race.

§ Vol. I. p. 190.

the tools of the sculptor; and we find that the Assyrian statues in this material are less carefully finished than the basreliefs of alabaster.

Antimony is, I believe, found in the Kurdish mountains; but I am not aware of the existence of tin in any part of Assyria. Still the Assyrians and the adjoining nations must have obtained this metal from their own dominions, or from some country to the east of them, as it is mentioned amongst the objects of tribute brought to the Egyptians from that part of Asia. It would scarcely have been procured, merely for the purpose of an offering, from the Phœnicians, who were so much nearer Egypt.

The Assyrians were equally skilled in working and casting metals. Amongst the copper figures from Nimroud, I must particularly mention the lions in solid metal found under the fallen bull in the great hall, which are of great beauty, almost rivalling the bronzes of Greece; and three hollow lions' paws, which apparently formed the feet of a throne or couch.

I have already had occasion to speak of their dexterity in carving ivory, and have described the beautiful ornaments in that material discovered at Nimroud. Although the elephant was not an inhabitant of Assyria, but was probably brought from India, its tusks appear to have been an article of trade between the Assyrians and the nations to the westward. The workmen, too, of Assyria were employed by foreign nations as carvers in ivory; and we find the company of the Ashurites or Assyrians, making the benches of that material in the Tyrian galleys.* The Assyrians had already extensively used it in the construction of their palaces; and it was from them, perhaps, that the Jews adopted it in the decoration of their

* Ezekiel, xxvii. 6. It is possible that some tribe, and not the Assyrians, is meant. Mr. Birch conjectures that the Phœnicians, who appear to have supplied the Greeks with ivory ornaments at a very early period, may have chiefly derived the elephant's tusk from an indirect communication with India and Bactria through Assyria.

palaces and furniture.* The human head and limbs carved in ivory, discovered at Nimroud, probably belonged to an entire figure, the body of which may have been of wood or metal, like the Chryselephantine statues of the Greeks, which were of wood inlaid with gold and ivory. The Assyrians were acquainted with the art of inlaying. Blue opaque glass and other substances of various colors are let into the ivory tablets from Nimroud.

They had also acquired the art of making glass.† Several small bottles or vases of elegant shape, in this material, were found at Nimroud and Kouyunjik. One bears the name of the Khorsabad king; and to none of the specimens discovered can we with certainty attribute a higher antiquity than the time of that monarch; although some fragments in the shape of a dagger from a hall of the most ancient palace of Nimroud may possibly be more ancient. The gems and cylinders still frequently found in ruins prove that the Assyrians were very skilful in engraving on stone, Many of their seals are most delicately and minutely ornamented with various sacred devices and with the forms of animals. Those of the Babylonians are mentioned by Herodotus, who also describes the heads of the walking-sticks in the shape of an apple, a rose, a lily, or an eagle.‡ These ornaments were probably carved in ivory or in precious stones.

Herodotus alludes to the extreme fertility of Assyria, and to its rich harvests of corn, the seed producing, according to his account, two or three hundred-fold. The blades of wheat and barley grew to full four fingers in breadth; and, such was

* Ahab had an ivory house. (1 Kings, xxii. 39.) Ivory palaces are mentioned in Psalm xlv. 8. And compare Amos, iii. 15. Solomon made a throne of ivory. (1 Kings, x. 18.) Beds of ivory are spoken of in Amos (vi. 4). Mr. Birch has collected, in his Memoir on the Nimroud Ivories, (Trans. of R. Soc. of Lit., New Series,) various instances of the early use of ivory amongst the Assyrians Egyptians and Greeks.

† Pliny attributes the invention of glass to the Phœnicians.

‡ L. i. c. 195.

the general richness of Babylonia, that it supplied the Persian king and his vast army with subsistence for four months in the year, whilst the rest of the Persian dominions furnished provisions for the other eight.* This, it must be remembered, was when the country had lost its independence, and had been reduced to a mere province. I have already described the mode of irrigation by artificial canals derived from the Tigris and Euphrates, intersecting the whole of the lower part of Mesopotamia, and the country in the neighborhood of the rivers in the upper.† The Assyrians also used machines for raising water from the river, or from the canals, when it could not be led into the fields through common conduits. They were generally obliged to have recourse to this artificial mode of irrigation, as the banks of the rivers, and consequently those of the canals, were high above the level of the water, except during the spring. At that season of the year the streams, swollen by the melting of the snows in the Armenian hills, or by violent rains, overflowed their beds.

The only representation of an agricultural instrument yet found in Assyria or Babylonia is that of a plough, on a black stone from the ruins opposite Mosul.‡ From the form of the arrow-headed characters in the inscription, this appears to be a Babylonian relic. The plough somewhat resembles in shape that now in common use. On the same tablet is an altar or low building, before which stands a priest, apparently performing some religious ceremony; near him are the sacred tree, a bull, a heap of corn or a hill, a palm-tree, and a square instrument with a small circle or wheel at each corner, the nature of which I am unable to determine.

Sesame, millet, and corn, formed anciently, as they still do, the principal agricultural produce of Assyria. Herodotus, who had visited this fruitful country, says that he dares not mention the height to which the sesame and millet grew.§ The only

* Herod. l. i. c. 192.
† Vol. I. p. 287.
‡ Now in the possession of the Earl of Aberdeen.
§ Lib. i. c. 193.

oil used in the country, according to the historian, was extracted from sesame; and such is now the case, although the olive-tree is cultivated at the foot of the Kurdish hills.

The palm-tree whilst growing in the greatest abundance within the ancient limits of the Assyrian empire, does not now produce fruit further north than the junction of the Lesser Zab with the Tigris. It is not, indeed, found on the banks of the latter river more than sixty miles above Bagndad; but this is chiefly owing to the absence of cultivation and settled habitations. It is raised inland as far north as the small town of Taza Kurmali, which takes its name, "the place of fresh dates," from the ripe fruit being there first met with on the road from Constantinople. A line drawn due west from this place to the Mediterranean would, I think, give the limits of the growth of the fruit-producing palm. The unproductive tree will grow and will attain a considerable size much further north, even on the southern coast of Asia Minor, and in the south of Italy and Dalmatia. That the fruit was exported in large quantities from the Babylonian plains, as it now is, as an article of commerce, may be inferred from palm wine, or spirits extracted from the date, being mentioned by Herodotus as the principal cargo brought by rafts to Babylon from Armenia. We find, also, what is probably palm wine included in the statistical table of Karnak amongst the tribute offered to the Egyptians by the Tahai.

As lofty mountains rise abruptly from the plains, opposite degrees of temperature mark the climate of Assyria. The soil being naturally rich, its produce is consequently as varied as plentiful. The plains watered by the rivers are parched by a heat almost rivalling that of the torrid zone. Aromatic herbs, yielding perfumes celebrated by the poets, indigo, opium, and the sugar-cane,* besides corn and grain of various kinds, and

* Indigo and opium are still cultivated to the south of Baghdad. The sugar-canes, which, in the time of the Persian kings, covered the banks of the rivers of Susiana, have now disappeared; and this plant is no longer cultivated to any extent to the east of the Euphrates.

cotton and flax in abundance, were raised in this region. In the cooler temperature of the hills, the mulberry afforded sustenance to the silk-worm,* and many kinds of fruit trees flourished in the valleys. When Herodotus says that the Assyrians did not cultivate the vine, the olive, or the fig, he must allude to the inhabitants of the plains. The vine is represented in the sculptures; and that the Assyrians not only enjoyed the various luxuries which those trees afford, but possessed the trees themselves, we learn from their own general, Rabshakeh, who described his country to the Jews as a "land of corn and wine, a land of bread and vineyards, a land of olive oil and of honey."† Amongst the objects of tribute brought to the Egyptians from the Tahai, and from Naharaina, are corn, bread, palm wine, wine, honey, incense, and conserve of dates.‡

The domestic animals of the ancient Assyrians were probably such as are still found in the country. On the monuments are seen sheep, goats, oxen, horses, mules, and camels. In a bas-relief from the centre of the Nimroud mound, there appeared to be the figure of a dog standing near a tent; but the sculpture was much injured. I have not found any other representation of this useful domestic animal, although hunting scenes were portrayed on the walls of Khorsabad; and we learn from Herodotus§ that during the Persian occupation, the number of Indian dogs kept in the province of Babylon for the use of the governor was so great, that four cities were exempted from taxes for maintaining them. Neither is the ass represented in the sculptures; although Herodotus mentions it amongst the domestic animals of the country, and Xenophon amongst the wild.‖ The mules of the Kouyunjik

* Pliny particularly mentions silk amongst the produce of Assyria. (Lib. ii. c. 25.)

† 2 Kings, xviii. 32.

‡ In the hieratic papyri (Select Papyri, pl. xcvi. 15), a drink called nekfitaru or nekftar, a word which resembles the celebrated nectar, is said to come from Saenkar, or Sinjar: it is mentioned with other liquids or cosmetics from the Arusa, the Khita, the Amaur, the Tachisa, and Naharaina.

§ Lib. i. c. 192. The dog is occasionally represented on cylinders.

‖ Chariots drawn by asses are mentioned in Isaiah (xxi. 7).

bas-reliefs appear to belong to a conquered people; in a procession of captives, women are seen riding on them, and they carry the spoil. They are correctly delineated, and may at once be distinguished from the horse.

The sheep represented in the bas-reliefs are of two kinds. One has a large broad tail, and is still found in the country. The tail of the other is smaller. As they are amongst the spoil, and consequently belonged to the enemies of the Assyrians, they may be the sheep of Arabia which excited the wonder of Herodotus. "One," says he, "has a large tail, not less than three cubits in length, which, if suffered to trail, would ulcerate. The shepherds, therefore, made little carts to support it. The other has a tail nearly a cubit in breadth."*

The goats have long spiral horns. The oxen are evidently of two kinds, one distinguished by horns curved towards the back of the head, the other having horns projecting in front. It is possible that this distinction marks the buffalo and common ox. Of the Assyrian horses I have already had occasion to speak. Although the form of the camel is somewhat exaggerated, the character of the animal is faithfully portrayed. On the obelisk is the two-humped or Bactrian camel; but it evidently came from afar, and was not a native of Assyria Proper. The one-humped camel, as it has been seen, was ridden, even in war, by a people conquered by the Assyrians; and as a woman is represented mounted upon one, it may be conjectured that it was commonly used as a beast of burden. When brought as tribute, collars and ornaments, probably of dyed wool, were hung round its neck.† When mounted, it appears to have been guided by a simple halter

* Lib. iii. c. 113. This broad tail is the אַלְיָה mentioned in Leviticus, iii. 9 vii. 3, &c., translated "the rump" in our version. The sheep is the ovis laticaudia, Lin. (Gesenius, Heb. Dict.)

† The chains and ornaments, like those worn on the camels' necks, are mentioned in Judges, viii. 21 and 26.

or head-stall, passing round the centre of the head, like that of the modern Arab.*

The wild animals represented in the sculptures are either natives of Assyria, or of foreign countries. Amongst the former we have the lion, the wild bull, the stag, the gazelle, the ibex, and the hare.

The lion, as I have observed,† is now rarely found on the banks of the Tigris as far north as Mosul, or even above Baghdad. That it was originally an inhabitant of the country, there can be no doubt. From the earliest period it was considered the noblest of game, and was included amongst the wild beasts preserved in the paradises, or parks, attached to the royal palaces. On the monuments of Nineveh, the triumphs of the king over this formidable animal are deemed no less worthy of record than his victories over his enemies. History and tradition, too, have celebrated the prowess of Ninus and Semiramis in their encounters with the lion; and paintings, representing these feats, adorned the palaces of Babylon. The Assyrian sculptor evidently delighted in such subjects, in which, indeed, his skill could be eminently displayed. He had carefully studied the animal, and whilst he excelled in the delineation of its form, he portrayed its action and expression with wonderful spirit, faithfully preserving the character of the ani-

* That camels formed a principal part of the flocks of the people anciently inhabiting Assyria and Chaldæa, we have ample proof in the Bible (Genesis, xxiv. 19); they were possessed by Abraham (Genesis, xii. 16), and by Jacob (Genesis, xxx. 43); they were used as beasts of burden (Genesis, xxxi. 34, and 1 Samuel, xxx. 17); also, as to this day, by couriers and for posts (Esther, viii. 10 and 14). The fleet dromedary was not a distinct animal, but probably a camel specially trained, as the *hejin* of the modern Arabs. I have travelled on those used in the Arabian desert, and their speed and powers of endurance are both equally surprising. Herodotus mentions that the camels used by a certain tribe of Indians were as swift as horses. (Lib. iii. v. 102.) That camels were even sometimes harnessed in chariots may, perhaps, be inferred from Isaiah, xxi. 7. The earliest mention of the camel in Egyptian monuments is in the time of the nineteenth dynasty. It is not represented on any monument hitherto discovered.

† P. 44.

mal, when springing with fury upon its assailant, or dying, pierced with arrows, at his feet.*

The lion of the sculptures is furnished with a long and bushy mane. It has been doubted whether the animal which still inhabits the country has this noble appendage; but I have seen more than one on the banks of the Karoon provided with it. There is a peculiarity in the Asiatic lion which has not escaped the notice of the sculptor—the claw at the extremity of the tail. This claw was not unknown to ancient naturalists. The first mention of it is found, I believe, in the Commentary of Didymus of Alexandria on the Iliad. In modern times its existence was denied, and has only been established within a few years. It is still, I believe, considered to be a mere casual excrescence, and is not met with in all specimens of the animal.†

The wild bull, from its frequent representation in the bas-reliefs, appears to have been considered scarcely less formidable and noble game than the lion. The king is frequently seen contending with it, and warriors pursue it both on horseback and on foot. In the embroideries on the garments of the principal figures it is introduced, both in hunting scenes and in groups, which appear to have a mythic or symbolical meaning. I was at one time inclined to think that the bull of the sculptures might represent the unicorn or *raim* so often alluded to in the Scriptures, as an animal renowned for its strength and ferocity, and typical of power and might.‡ But the unicorn

* The skill of the Assyrian sculptor in delineating the lion, is particularly shown in the bas-relief in the British Museum. The lion is not represented in the Assyrian, as in the Egyptian, sculptures, tamed and following the king, or trained to the chase.

† Proceedings of the Council of the Zoological Society for 1832, p. 146. Captain W. Smee, in a paper on the Maneless Lion of Guzerat (Trans. of the Zool. Soc. vol. i. p. 169), observes, "in this tuft (of the tail) there existed, subsequently to its arrival in England, in the oldest of my lions, a short horny claw or nail, similar in form to, but somewhat larger in size, than the one described by Mr. Woods."

‡ Gesenius (Lex. in voce) gives the signification of wild buffalo to the ראם, —the monoceros, rhinoceros, and unicornis of the Septuagint.

of the Scriptures is now, I believe, generally identified with a large and fierce antelope, or oryx, inhabiting Arabia and Egypt. Professor Migliarini of Florence informs me that the word *raim* itself occurs in hieroglyphics over a figure of this antelope, in an Egyptian sculpture; and he conjectures that the Jews derived a knowledge of the animal, as well as its name, from the Egyptians. The bull of the bas-reliefs of Nimroud is evidently a wild animal, which inhabited Mesopotamia or Assyria. Its form is too faithfully delineated to permit of the supposition that it is an antelope. It is distinguished from the domestic ox by a number of small marks covering the body, and probably intended to denote long and shaggy hair. It is represented with one horn, as the horses have frequently only two legs or one ear, because the Assyrian sculptor did not attempt to give both in a side view of the animal.

As mention is also made in the Bible of the wild ox,* it is probable that at some ancient period this animal was an inhabitant of Assyria, or of the adjacent countries, although it has long since become extinct. Had it been found in the plains of Mesopotamia in the time of Xenophon, he would probably have described it when speaking of the animals of that province. As it is only seen in the oldest monuments of Nimroud, and not in those of Khorsabad or Kouyunjik, it is possible that, when the country became more thickly peopled in the latter period of the Assyrian empire, the wild ox disappeared.

On the walls of Khorsabad was represented a hunting scene, in which hares and partridges were introduced as objects of the chase. Both still abound in the country.

The ibex, or wild goat, is an inhabitant of the mountains

* Deut. xiv. 5. The wild ox is included amongst the animals whose flesh may be eaten by the Jews; and the "wild bull in a net" is also alluded to in Isaiah, li. 20. The Hebrew word is rendered "wild bull" in the Targums, and "oryx" (ὄρυξ) in the Vulgate; some, however, believe the animal meant, to be a kind of antelope. (Gesenius, Lex. in voce.)

of Kurdistan.* The stag is found in the forests, and the plains are covered with innumerable flocks of gazelles. More than one species of wild sheep, only recently known to European naturalists, haunt the higher ranges of the Assyrian mountains. Several of these animals are portrayed in the sculptures. The ibex was evidently a sacred animal, as it is carried by the winged figures, and is frequently introduced as an ornament.† A stag, also borne by a winged priest or divinity, was spotted like the fallow deer of our parks.

The frequent representation of hunting scenes in Assyrian sculptures is a proof of the high estimation in which the chase was held by the people. A conqueror and the founder of an empire was, at the same time, a great hunter. His courage, wisdom, and dexterity were as much shown in encounters with wild beasts as in martial exploits; he rendered equal services to his subjects whether he cleared the country of wild beasts or repulsed an enemy. The scriptural Nimrod, who laid the foundation of the Assyrian empire, was "a mighty hunter before the Lord;" and the Ninus of history and tradition, the builder of Nineveh, and the greatest of the Assyrian kings, was as renowned for his encounters with the lion and leopard, as for his triumphs over warlike nations. We have seen that the Babylonians, as well as the Assyrians, ornamented the walls of their temples and palaces with pictures and sculptures representing the chase; and that similar subjects were introduced, even in the embroideries on their garments.‡ The Assyrians were probably also the inventors of the parks, or paradises, which were afterwards maintained with so much sumptuousness by the Persian kings, of the Achæmenian and Sassanian dynasties.§ In these spacious pre-

* It is possible that the animal I have assumed to be the ibex is sometimes the gazelle.

† See p. 296 of this volume.

‡ Ammianus Narcell. lib. xxvi. c. 6; Diod. Siculus, lib. ii.; Athen. lib. xii. c. 3.

§ Xenophon, Cyr. lib. i. c. 3; Quint. Curt. lib. vii. and viii. These paradises were stocked, not only with game of every kind, but with various trees, shrubs, and

serves various kinds of wild animals were continually kept for the diversion of the king, and for those who were privileged to join with him in the chase. They contained lions, tigers, wild boars, antelopes, and many varieties of birds. As amongst the Persians, the Assyrian youths were probably trained to hunting at an early age. Xenophon gives an interesting account of the hunting expeditions of the Persians in the time of Cyrus. The king was accompanied by half his guard, each man being furnished with a bow, quiver, sword, shield, and two javelins—armed, indeed, as if he were going to war. That such was also the practice amongst the Assyrians is shown by the Nimroud bas-reliefs, in which the king is always represented as accompanied in the chase by warriors fully equipped; hunting being, as Xenophon declares, the truest method of practising all such things as relate to war.*

On the obelisk, as I have already mentioned, are representations of several animals, evidently brought from distant countries, and presented to the Assyrian king as objects of tribute. The presence of the two-humped camel proves that they came from the East, and not from Africa. This animal is a native of Bactria, or of the great steppes inhabited by the Tartar tribes. It is unknown to the Arabs, and is rarely seen to the west of Persia, except amongst a few isolated families of Turcomans, who now reside in the north of Syria, and who probably brought this beast of burden from the northeast, when they first emigrated.

The small ears of the elephant, on the same obelisk, show that the animal is of the Indian, and not of the African species.†

On Egyptian monuments, the elephant is seen, amongst other animals, brought as tribute by an Asiatic, though not

plants; and were watered by numerous artificial streams. The Persian word has passed into various languages, and is used for the first abode of man before his fall, as well as for the state of eternal happiness.

* Cyrop. lib. i. c. 2.

† Elephas Indicus.

an Indian people.* It was probably obtained by them from the eastward; for there is no record of the elephant being indigenous in any part of Asia west of the Indus. Although it appeared in the Persian armies, and might even have been pastured long previously in the rich plains of Mesopotamia, it originally came from the Indian dominions of the great king. Had it been used in war by the Assyrians, it would doubtless have been so represented in the sculptures.†

The presence of the rhinoceros on the obelisk further points to the Indian origin of the accompanying animals. It is in several respects incorrectly delineated, the sculptor having given it hoofs, a mane on the neck, and long hair, which appears to have been artificially curled like that of the sacred bull. Still the general form of the animal, and the shape and position of the horn, clearly identify it with the Indian rhinoceros.‡ Specimens of this animal were probably rare in Assyria, and the sculptor may have drawn it from recollection or only from the description of those who had seen it. This is the earliest representation of the rhinoceros with which we are acquainted.

The two animals accompanying the rhinoceros are probably an Indian bull, and a kind of antelope. The bull has a collar ornamented with tassels, round its neck, and may have been a sacred animal. The antelope, from its size and the shape of its horns, may perhaps be identified with the Indian chikara;§ although the thickness of the limbs rather denotes a species of wild goat.

The sculptor has evidently indicated, by certain peculiarities, four distinct species of monkeys or apes. Immediately

* Sir Gardner Wilkinson's Ancient Egyptians, vol. v. page 176; vol. i. pl. iv.

† The elephant has not been found represented as a beast of burden on the monuments of Egypt. The only African nation who appear to have used it in their wars were the Carthaginians.

‡ Rhinoceros unicornis.

§ Antelope Bennettii. I had once conjectured it to be the nylgau of the Indian peninsula.

behind the elephant is a man leading a large monkey without a tail, which, if from India, can only be identified with the ouran outan, no other monkey found in that country being so distinguished.* A man follows with two smaller monkeys, one raising itself on its hind legs, the other sitting on the shoulders of its keeper. These may be the hounuman,† a monkey regarded with some degree of religious veneration by the Indians, and frequently domesticated by them. They appear to be of the same species as those represented in the large bas-relief from the northwest palace of Nimroud,‡ which are covered with small spots, probably to denote long hair.

In a separate group are two monkeys or apes, whose strength and ferocity are indicated by thick chains passed round their bodies, and held by keepers. The first raises a fore-paw to its mouth; and wears a necklace of beads. It may be the bruh,§ the largest of the Indian monkey tribe; and it is not altogether unlike that animal in shape. In the bas-relief it is even larger than the man; but the sculptor probably exaggerated its size. The other monkey is distinguished from the rest by a hood or mane rising above the head and falling over the shoulders. This peculiarity may identify it with the wanderoo, or maned ape of India.‖

The only birds represented on the Assyrian monuments hitherto discovered, are the eagle or vulture, the ostrich and the partridge, and a few smaller birds at Khorsabad, whose forms are too conventiona to permit of any conjecture as to their species.

The vulture or eagle—for the bird is rarely delineated with sufficient accuracy to enable us to decide which—is continually seen over the heads of the conquerors in battle, and in triumphal processions, and was probably typical of victory. It

* The only other monkey without a tail, is, I believe, the chimpanzee of Africa.

† Simia Entellus.

‡ Vol. I. p. 119 An engraving of this is included in my "Monuments of Nineveh"

§ Simia Nemestrinus.

‖ Simia Silenus.

is also represented feeding on the bodies of the slain, and flying away with the entrails.

The ostrich was only found as an ornament on the robes of figures in the most ancient edifice at Nimroud. As it is accompanied by the emblematical flower, and is frequently introduced on Babylonian and Assyrian cylinders, we may infer that it was a sacred bird.

In sea and river scenes fish and shells are introduced, but the forms appear to be conventional; there are no distinctions to mark any particular species.* In the rivers are seen crabs, eels or water-snakes, and small turtles. When the sculptor wished to indicate the sea, he made these fish larger, and added others, which are only inhabitants of salt water, such as the star-fish. A kind of crocodile is also represented in the sea-pieces.†

With the exception of the vine, palm, and fir, the trees of the Assyrian bas-reliefs are conventional in their forms. The sculptor introduced them merely to show the nature of the country in which the events recorded took place. In general, the Assyrian artist appears to have been far less minute and exact in delineating secondary objects than the Egyptian, who as carefully preserved the character of the details, as he did that of the principal figures in his subject.

* See woodcut, p. 216.

† In the hieratic papyri certain fish are mentioned as brought from the Puharuta, or Euphrates, to Egypt (Select Papyri, pl. lxxv. l. 7), and another fish, or fishy substance, called "Rura," as coming from the land of the great waters, Mesopotamia. (Ibid. xcvi. l. 7.) In the same papyrus (Ibid. xcviii. l. 8) are mentioned horses (*htar*) and fine cattle from the Saenkar, or Sinjar.

CHAPTER VII.

A GENERAL inquiry into the nature of the worship of the Assyrians would be beyond the scope of these volumes. I will merely point out how far their religious system is illustrated by the newly discovered monuments, and what information, when better understood, they are likely to furnish on the subject. As I have more than once had occasion to observe, a marked distinction may be traced between the religion of the earliest and latest Assyrians. It is probable that corruptions gradually crept into their theology. Originally it was a pure Sabæanism, in which the heavenly bodies were worshipped as mere types of the power and attributes of the supreme deity. Of the great antiquity of this primitive worship, there is abundant evidence; and that it originated amongst the inhabitants of the Assyrian plains, we have the united testimony of sacred and profane history. It obtained the epithet of perfect, and was believed to be the most ancient religious system, having preceded even that of the Egyptians.*

* "Ægyptiis vero antiquores esse magos Aristoteles auctor est in primo de philosophiâ libro." (Theopomp. Frag.) Iamblichus de Myst. p. 3, ed. Gale, *ἡμεῖς οὖν τὰ μὲν Ἀσσυρίων πάτρια* (in some MSS. *πρώτα*) *δόγματα παραδώσομεν σοι μετὰ ἀληθείας τὴν γνώμην.* The identity of many of the Assyrian doctrines with those of Egypt, is alluded to by Porphyry and Clemens. (See Gale, ibid. p. 185.) I am indebted to Mr. Birch for the following observations on this subject.

"There can be no doubt of the Sabæanism of the Chaldees, and apparently of the early Assyrians, whose pantheon, from its fusion of human and animal forms resembles the Egyptian and Hindhu. The relation of religion with astronomy is however, more striking in Assyria than in Egypt; the system of the latter country

On the earliest monuments we have no traces of fire-worship, which was a corruption of the purer form of Sabæanism; but in the bas-reliefs of Khorsabad and Kouyunjik, as well as on a multitude of cylinders of the same age, we have abundant proofs of its subsequent prevalence in Assyria. Although we may not, at present, possess sufficient materials to illustrate the most ancient Sabæanism of the Assyrians, we may, I think, pretty confidently judge of the nature of the worship of a later period. The symbols and religious ceremonies represented at Khorsabad and Kouyunjik, and on the cylinders, are identical with those of the ancient monuments of Persia; at the same time, the sculptures of Persepolis, in their mythic character, resemble in every respect those of the Assyrians. We have the same types and groups to embody ideas of the divinity and to convey sacred subjects. When the close connection, in

being *solar*, while the Assyrian worship was rather *astral*. On the Babylonian cylinders and monuments, the sun and moon constantly occur, and often seven stars arranged more in the manner of the Pleiads than of the Great Bear, but probably the latter. Zodiacal signs are frequently placed in the area along with the sun, moon, and seven stars, and show unequivocally that the Greeks derived their notions and arrangements of the Zodiac from the Chaldees: thus, I. a fish (Cullimore, on Cyl. Nos. 19, 28, 88, 113) stands for *pisces;* II. the extraordinary combination, Capricorn (Ibid. 29, 30, 32), on cylinders bearing, in the lapidary Babylonian cuneiforms, the name of Nebuchadnezzar; III. a woman, Virgo (Ibid. 50, 94, 117, 91); IV. the two men, Gemini (Ibid. 65, 70, 94) with Capricorn (Ibid. 71); VI. the bull, Taurus (Ibid. 91, 92, 106, 156); VII. the archer, Sagittarius (Ibid. 107). Other signs appear to be, IX. a man, probably Aquarius (Ibid. 51, 95, 66, 112); X. an uncertain and ill-defined animal, perhaps a dog (Ibid. 51, 52, 53, 57); XI. a goat (Ibid. 107, 136, 95, 93, 112, 113); XII. a lion Leo (Ibid. 91, 94). I do not pretend to explain every symbol on these cylinders, but all those which I have selected, are placed in the area, are not essential to the general subject, and are of smaller proportions than the principal figures, which may also have an astronomical import. The identity of Nimrod and the constellation Orion, is not to be rejected; and Nimrod may be one of the divinities standing on a dog with eight stars behind him (Ibid. 157). Another god with four wings, each terminating in a star (Ibid. 153), is apparently a constellation, as also the god seated on a throne with eight stars all round him (Ibid. 153)." The strange animal forms on the Babylonian relic called the "Caillou de Michaud," have apparently some reference to the zodiacal signs: amongst them is the scorpion

early ages, between religion and art is borne in mind, it will be at once conceded, that a nation like the Persian would not borrow mere forms without attaching to them their original signification.* If even this were not, as a general rule, the case, there is still at Persepolis sufficient to prove that the religious symbols of the Persians were adopted from the Assyrians. The form of supreme deity (the winged figure within the circle), and the types of wisdom and power, are precisely similar on the monuments of both people. Moreover, the testimony of Herodotus leads to the same conclusion: "The Persians adore," says he, "the sun, the moon, earth, fire, water, and the winds, which may be termed their original divinities. In after times, from the example of the Assyrians and Arabians, they added Urania (Venus) to the number." From this expression it may be inferred that the worship of Venus was added by both nations to a system identically the same.†

The identity of the Assyrian and Persian systems appears also to be pointed out by the uncertainty which exists as to the birthplace and epoch of Zoroaster. According to the best authorities, he was a Chaldæan, who introduced his doctrines into Persia and central Asia.‡ The Persians themselves may

* The connection, as exhibited by art, between Assyria and Persia, illustrated in a previous chapter, is sufficient, I think, to prove the origin of the symbols and myths of the Persians.

† These facts show that it is unnecessary, with Heeren and other German writers, to seek for the origin of the monsters of Persepolis in Bactria and central Asia. It has long been a favorite speculation in Germany to trace the source of all religious systems to the great table-land of the Asiatic continent, from whence, according to this theory, it spread into the lower country, to the Persians and their neighbors. But when Persia was a mere province, and long before her name is found amongst the civilized nations of antiquity, the religious system of the Assyrians was not only perfected, but was falling into decay. The Assyrian empire had ceased to exist before its myths and symbols were transferred, with its arts, to the walls of Persepolis.

‡ The country of Zoroaster, the time of his birth, the nature of his doctrines, and the authenticity of those attributed to him, are amongst the many disputed questions of ancient history. We must presume that there were two persons, if not more, of the same name, if we wish to reconcile the conflicting accounts. According to some, Zoroaster was a king of Bactria in the time of Ninus and Semiramis. Cephalion and Moses of Chorene assert that he was born on the same day as Semi-

have recognized the Assyrian source of their religion when they declared Perseus, the founder of their race, to have been an Assyrian.*

The origin of the Chaldæan theology has ever been a favorite theme of the poet and philosopher. The Assyrian plains, uninterrupted by a single eminence, and rarely shadowed by a passing cloud, were looked upon as a fit place for the birth of a system which recognized the heavenly bodies as types of the supreme power, and invested them with supernatural influences. The wonderful regularity of their periodical movements, their splendor, and even their effects upon the physical world, must have been apparent to the Chaldæan shepherd long before they became the study of the philosopher and the priest. Whilst he watched his sheep by night, he marked the stars as they rose above the horizon, and learned to distinguish one from another, and to invest the most remarkable groups with distinct forms. If the attributes of the Deity were to be typified—if the limited intellect of man required palpable symbols to convey ideas which he could not understand in the abstract, more appropriate objects could not have been chosen than those bright luminaries whose motions and influences were enveloped in mystery, although they themselves were constantly present. The transition from this adoration to a national system of astronomy is natural; and it is not surprising that the Chaldæans, being the first to invest the heavenly bodies with sacred properties, should have been also the first to cultivate the

ramis. Pliny places his birth many thousand years before that of Moses; whilst others would fain bring the time of his ministry down to the reign of Darius Hystaspes. According to Suidas he was a Chaldæan. That the fire-worship did not originate with any Zoroaster may perhaps be inferred from the concurrent testimony of ancient authors. According to a fragment of Apollonius (69 ed. Muller), Ninus taught the Assyrians to worship fire: and so Marcellinus (l. 23), "Cujus scientiæ seculis priscis multa ex Chaldæorum arcanis Bactrianus addidit Zoroastris."

* Herodotus, l. vi. c. 54. Some traditions made this Perseus a great astronomer, who instructed men in the knowledge of the stars. Περσευς ὁ Ηλιος, Perseus is the sun, says the scholiast in Lycophr. v. 18. According to some, he married Astarte, the daughter of Belus. All these traditions point to his Assyrian origin.

sublimest sciences.* The periodical movements of the heavenly bodies were ascertained by constant observations, originating probably in religious duties; their causes were investigated, and in process of time their motions were calculated and predicted. At a very early period the Assyrian priests were able to fix the date of events by celestial phenomena, and to

* "Principio Assyrii, propter planitiem magnitudinemque regionum quos incolebant, cum cœlum ex omni parte patens et apertum intuerentur, trajectiones motusque stellarum observaverunt." (Cicero de Divin. l. i.) The greatest of our modern poets has thus beautifully conveyed the sentiment and philosophy of this Chaldæan star-worship:—

"Chaldæan shepherds, ranging trackless fields,
Beneath the concave of unclouded skies
Spread like a sea, in boundless solitude,
Looked on the polar star, as on a guide
And guardian of their course, that never closed
His steadfast eye. The planetary Five
With a submissive reverence they beheld;
Watched, from the centre of their sleeping flocks,
Those radiant Mercuries, that seemed to move,
Carrying through ether, in perpetual round,
Decrees and resolutions of the Gods;
And, by their aspects, signifying works
Of dim futurity, to Man revealed.
The imaginative faculty was lord
Of observations natural: and, thus
Led on, those shepherds made report of stars
In set rotation passing to and fro,
Between the orbs of our apparent sphere
And its invisible counterpart, adorned
With answering constellations, under earth,
Removed from all approach of living sight
But present to the dead; who, so they deemed,
Like those celestial messengers, beheld
All accidents, and judges were of all."

The Chaldæans maintained their pre-eminence as astronomers until the complete extinction of the Perso-Babylonian empire. They instructed Thales and Pythagoras in the most flourishing period of Greece, and Eudoxus and Aristotle as Babylon fell; Ptolemy, in the second century of the Christian era, still had recourse to their calculations. (See some valuable observations in Grote's History of Greece, vol. iii. c. 19.)

connect the public records with them. When Alexander entered Babylon, he is said to have been presented with the archives of the empire, verified by astronomical calculations, which extended over a period of many centuries;* and Callisthenes was able to send to his relation and friend, Aristotle, the celestial observations of 1900 years.† We may reasonably suspect that many accounts of the astronomical skill of the Chaldæans are greatly exaggerated; but as Nabonasser did fix a period, by a well-authenticated astronomical observation, 745 B. C., it may be inferred that long before his time the priests had acquired sufficient knowledge of the science to predict and determine celestial phenomena.

I will now proceed to point out the religious types and emblems which are found on all Assyrian monuments. Representations of the heavenly bodies, as sacred symbols, are of constant occurrence in the most ancient sculptures. In the bas-reliefs we find figures of the sun, moon, and stars, suspended round the neck of the king when engaged in the performance of religious ceremonies. These emblems are accompanied by a small model of the horned cap worn by winged figures, and by a trident or bident.‡

I have not found these symbols on the monuments of Kouyunjik and Khorsabad, but they occur on a bas-relief of a doubtful period, built into the walls of the southwest palace of Nimroud.§ In the oldest edifice they are constantly intro-

* According to a foolish tradition 470,000 years. (Diod. Sic. l. ii. and Cicero de Divin. l. ii.) It is scarcely necessary to allude to the exaggerated statements of various ancient authors as to the period comprised in the celestial observations of the Chaldæans.

† Simplicius, Aristot. de Cœlo, p. 123.

‡ It is very remarkable that, with the exception of the horned cap, these are precisely the symbols found on the sacred monuments of India; which, accompanied as they are by the sacred bull, might be mistaken for Assyrian. The sun, moon, and trident of Siva raised on columns adorn the entrances to temples (such as that of Bangalore, of which an engraving is given in Daniel's India). This identity might easily lead to a digression, which would scarcely suit the limits of this work.

§ According to Mr Ross's account of the rock-tablets of Bavian (note, p. 143),

duced as ornaments, particula ly on the chariots. They are frequently accompanied by seven disks, which probably represent the seven great heavenly bodies, hat mysterious number so prevalent in the Sabæan system, or perhaps the Pleiads, like which they are grouped.*

It will be observed that in the earliest sculptures of Nimroud, the king is only seen in adoration before one symbol of the deity—the figure with the wings and tail of a bird inclosed in a circle, resembling the Ormuzd of the Persian monuments. Although there are eagle-headed figures, and other mythic forms, yet in no case do they appear to be objects of worship The king is generally standing or kneeling beneath this figure in the circle, his hand raised in sign of prayer or adoration.† The sacred tree is before him, but only, it may be presumed, as a type. The same symbol is also seen above him when in battle, and during his triumphal return. It is never represented above any person of inferior rank, but appears to watch especially over the monarch, who was probably typical of the nation. When over the king in battle, it shoots, against the enemies of the Assyrians, an arrow, which has a head in the shape of a trident. If it presides over a triumph, its action resembles that of the king, the right hand being ele-

they appear to be represented in those bas-reliefs. The sun, moon, and stars are common emblems on cylinders of all epochs. They were adopted by the Persians, are found on coins and gems of the Sassanian period, passed from the Persians to the Arabs, and are still preserved in the insignia of the Turks. The numerous symbols and figures which occur on Assyrian and Babylonian cylinders, evidently refer to a mythological system ; but a particular notice of them would lead me into a dissertation unsuited to the limits of these volumes.

* See note, p. 247, Vol. I. The seven stars are mentioned in Amos, v. 8, and in Job, ix. 9, xxxviii. 31, where they are translated in our version the Pleiads. The Pleiads are, however, only six in number ; the seven stars are more probably Arcturus.

† Two kings are frequently represented kneeling or standing beneath the winged figure ; but whether the two are representations of the same monarch, or whether they show the father and son associated in the government, or two friendly monarchs concluding a treaty, I cannot determine. The two figures are identical in every respect, and I am inclined to think that but one monarch is intended.

vated, and the left holding the unbent bow; if over a religious ceremony, it carries a ring, or raises the extended right hand. This emblem does not always preserve the form of the winged figure in the circle, but sometimes assumes that of a winged globe, wheel or disk, either plain, or ornamented with leaves like a flower. In this shape, its resemblance to the winged globe of Egypt cannot be overlooked.*

Emblems of the Deity. (N. W. Palace, Nimroud.)

This well-known symbol constantly occurs on the walls of Persepolis, and on Persian monuments

* This is one of the representations most intimately connected with Egypt resembling the symbol found on the cornices of tablets as early as the twelfth dynasty. In Egypt it was the sun, with the wings of a scarab; a red solar disk, and two pendent uræi. It is called the "Hut" (the name of the Coptic Atfoo, or Edfoo, Apollinopolis magna). M. Lajard, as I have already observed, endeavors to derive the Egyptian from the Assyrian emblem. (Observations sur la Croix Ansée, Mem. de l'Acad. vol. xvii.) Whether the winged figure in the circle, or the winged globe, or simply the sun, was the original form, I will not attempt to conjecture. According to M. Lajard, this symbol is formed by a circle or crown, to denote time without bounds, or eternity; encircling the image of Baal, with the wings and tail of a dove, to show the association of Mylitta, the Assyrian Venus—thus presenting a complete triad.

of the Achæmenian dynasty, as that of the supreme divinity. It is also seen in the bas-reliefs of Pterium, and furnishes additional evidence in support of the Assyrian or Persian origin of those rock-sculptures, and of the Assyrian influence on Asia Minor.*

We may conclude from the prominent position always given to this figure in Nimroud sculptures, and from its occurrence on Persian monuments as the representation of Ormuzd, that it was also the type of the supreme deity amongst the Assyrians. It will require a more thorough knowledge of the contents of the inscriptions than we at present possess, to determine the name by which the divinity was known. It may be conjectured, however, that it was Baal, or some modification of a name which was that of the great god amongst nearly all nations speaking cognate dialects of the Semitic or Syro-Arabian language.† According to a custom existing from time immemorial in the East, the name of the supreme deity was introduced into the names of men. This custom prevailed from the banks of the Tigris to the Phœnician colonies beyond the pillars of Hercules; and we recognize in the Sardanapalus of the Assyrians, and the Hannibal of the Carthaginians, the identity of the origin of the religious system of two nations, as widely distinct in the time of their existence, as in their geographical position. To the Jews the same name

* See page 225. Mr. Scharf is also inclined to trace in the oval form of the harpies of the Xanthian monument some connection with the winged globe, which, from the Persian origin of those figures, is not unlikely. (Observations on the Peculiarities of the Sculptures seen on the Monuments of ancient Lycia, by G. Scharf, Junior, p. 12.)

† As the supreme deity he came to be identified with the sun, the greatest divine manifestation in the Sabæan system. Hence much mythological confusion between Belus and Apollo, and the representation of the two with the same attributes. Thus the Phœnicians, according to Sanchoniathon, "stretched their hands towards the sun; for him they thought the only Lord of Heaven; calling him Beelsamin, which in Phœnician is Lord of Heaven, but in the Greek, Zeus." (Cory's Fragments.) "Linguâ punicâ Bal Deus dicitur, apud Assyrios autem Bel dicitur quadam sacrorum ratione Saturnus et Sol." (Servius on Æneid, i. 733.)

was familiar, and was applied very generally to the gods of the surrounding nations. Even under its various orthographical modifications, there can be no difficulty in detecting it.

From this Baal came the Belus of the Greeks, who was confounded with their own Zeus, or Jupiter. But whether he was really the father of the founder of the empire, or was himself its founder, as some have asserted, and then came to be considered, after the fashion of the Greek theology, its principal deity, there may be good reason to doubt.*

The descriptions handed down to us of the contents of the Babylonian temples are highly interesting, as illustrative of the monuments recently discovered. According to Diodorus Siculus, the three deities worshipped in the great temple at Babylon, were Belus (or Jupiter), Hera, and Rhea, whose statues were of beaten gold. Belus was represented upright, *in the act of walking*. His statue, weighing 1000 Babylonian talents, was forty feet in height. Rhea, seated on a chair of gold, had two lions at the sides of her knees, and near her were large silver serpents. Hera stood erect, holding in her right hand a serpent by the head, and in her left a sceptre ornamented with precious stones. Before these deities was a table of silver, and on it were placed three golden cups, one for each deity.

In a bas-relief, probably of the later Assyrian period, and discovered in the ruins of the southwest palace at Nimroud, we have a procession of warriors carrying on their shoulders

* According to Castor, Belus was king of the Assyrians, and, after his death, was esteemed a god. (Cory's Fragments, p. 65.) It is singular to find the Persians subsequently carrying as their principal religious emblems the figures of Belus and Ninus. (See p. 280.) They were either looked upon as divinities, or, as some have conjectured, represent the dominion of the Persian king over the Assyrian and Babylonian empires. The Roman author may have substituted these names for others. It has been mentioned that "Nini" is an emendation by Scaliger, the MSS. having "Pacis." Belus was confounded with Mars "After Ninus reigned Thyrras, whom they named Mars. He was very mighty and warlike, and the Assyrians placed him amongst the gods, naming him Belus, or Mars, the god of battles." (Arch. of John of Antioch, in Cramer, Anecdota Græca, vol. ii. p. 386.)

four images. It is doubtful whether they are the idols of a conquered people borne in triumph by the conquerors, or whether the sculpture commemorates the celebration of some religious ceremony, during which the statues of the gods were carried in procession by the people, like those of the Virgin and saints in Roman Catholic countries. It may record an expedition against the revolted Babylonians, whose divinities, as described by Diodorus, can, perhaps, be identified with the figures in the bas-relief; but, as nearly the same forms are found on the rock-tablets of Malthaiyah—pure Assyrian monuments—it is more probable that they are Assyrian. The gods of the two cities, Nineveh and Babylon, were, there can be little doubt, nearly the same.

The first deity mentioned by Diodorus is Jupiter, the Belus, or Baal, of the Babylonians.* He is seen, he says, in the act of walking. The commentators have objected to this description, that the chief of the gods would scarcely have been represented otherwise than seated on his throne. The bas-relief, however, confirms the statement of the geographer; for the god is represented with one leg in advance, as if in the act of walking. That it is the figure of Baal, or the great divinity of the Babylonians, may be inferred from the passage in the Epistle of Jeremy.† "Now shall ye see in Babylon," says the prophet, "gods of silver, and of gold, and of wood, borne upon shoulders.‡ And he that cannot put to death one that offendeth him holdeth a sceptre, as though he were a judge of

* Berosus in Alex. Polyhistor, apud Euseb. Chron. lib. i. c. 2.

† This epistle is supposed to have been written by the Prophet Jeremiah to the Jews when they were carried captive to Babylon. He intended it as a warning against the idolatry of the Babylonians, whose gods he describes, that his countrymen might be aware of the impositions practised upon the worshippers of those idols, and might avoid falling into similar errors. That the Jews looked upon the letter as genuine, is shown by the reference to it in 2 Macc. xi. 2, 3.

‡ Compare Isaiah, xlvi. 6, 7. "They lavish gold out of the bag, and weigh silver in the balance, and hire a goldsmith: and he maketh it a god: they fall down, yea, they worship. *They bear him upon the shoulder, they carry him*, and set him in his place."

the country. He hath also in his *right hand a dagger and an axe.*" He is thus seen in the bas-relief; and the introduction of the axe could scarcely have been accidental. The sculpture, therefore, appears to corroborate the authenticity of, and to illustrate the epistle.

The same document furnishes us with several interesting details as to the nature of the Babylonian idols. We learn that they were frequently made of wood and laid over with gold, and that parts of them were polished by the workmen. Crowns were made for their heads; they were decked in garments, and covered with purple raiment;* and fires or lamps were kept burning before them.

This account appears to confirm the assertion of Diodorus, that the statues in the Babylonian temples were made of beaten gold, or that they were gilded so as to have that appearance. Nor must the proportions assigned to them by the geographer be deemed exaggerated, if we remember that the image of gold set up by Nebuchadnezzar in the plain of Dura, was threescore cubits in height, and six cubits in breadth!†

The figure in the bas-relief has horns on its head; and would consequently appear to be connected with the divinity wearing the horned cap, so frequently represented in the Assyrian sculptures: but they have nothing else in common. On the older monuments, indeed, we have no figure which corresponds with any description of Belus furnished by the Greeks. The bas-relief just described may belong to the period when the older forms were corrupted, and when a more gross idolatry had succeeded to purer Sabæanism.‡

* Compare Jeremiah, x. 9. "Silver spread into plates is brought from Tarshish, and gold from Uphaz, the work of the workman, and of the hands of the founder: blue and purple is their clothing: they are all the work of cunning men." These idols at Babylon were of gold, silver, brass, iron, wood and stone. (Daniel, v. 4.)

† Daniel, iii. 1.

‡ Selden (de Dis Syriis, cap. i. p. 123) has collected the authorities on the Semitic Baal or Bel, connecting him with the Zeus of the Greeks, the Jupiter of the Romans, and Apollo and the Sun.

We have little difficulty in identifying Hera, the second deity mentioned by Diodorus, with Astarta, Mylitta, or Venus; whose worship, according to the united testimony of scripture and the ancient authors, formed so prominent a part of the religious system of all the Semitic nations, and particularly the Assyrians.* She held a serpent in one hand; and so she is represented in the Egyptian tablet.† In the bas-relief of the procession of the gods, it is not impossible that the object in the hand of the sitting figure, which has been defaced, may also have been a serpent. An inquiry into the origin and nature of this divinity, and of the emblems under which she was represented, would lead to a digression unsuited to the object and limits of these volumes. We have proofs of the prevalence of her far-extending worship on the earliest monuments with which we are acquainted; a female winged figure, partly naked, and undoubtedly representing the divinity presiding over generation, being, as I have already mentioned,‡ introduced into the embroideries of robes in the most ancient palace at Nimroud. But, whilst there can be no question as to the object of this figure, it is remarkable that in no part of the ruins have any traces been discovered of that peculiar emblem which frequently occurs on the cylinders of Assyria, and which was typical of the worship of Venus amongst most Asiatic nations. Indeed, the absence of unseemly symbols on the Assyrian monuments is worthy of remark, and shows a considerable purity of taste and feeling: even the two figures to which I have alluded would escape notice except on a minute examination. That this worship, even under its most degrading forms, did exist, can scarcely be doubted. Tradition has traced its introduction to Semiramis—that is, to the very earliest period. We have no evidence, however, of the corruption of morals, which might naturally be expected to

* Plutarch (in Vit. Crass.) and Julius Firmicus Maternus (de Errore Prof. Relig. p. 12, ed. Münter) identify Hera with the Assyrian Venus.

† See p. 169.

‡ See p. 171.

accompany it; nor do the monuments hitherto discovered present any proof of the existence in Assyria, of that infamous law which, according to Herodotus, marked the rites of the goddess at Babylon.*

She was "the Queen of Heaven," frequently alluded to in the sacred volumes.† Diodorus mentions the vases which were placed on tables before the divinities in the Babylonian temple; the prophet describes the drink offerings to her; and in the sculptures, the king is constantly represented with a cup in one hand, in the act of performing some religious ceremony. The planet, which bore her name, was sacred to her; and in the Assyrian sculptures, a star is placed upon her head. She was called Beltis, because she was the female form of the great divinity, or Baal; the two, there is reason to conjecture, having been originally but one, and androgyne.‡ Her worship penetrated from Assyria into Asia Minor, where its Assyrian origin was recognized.§ In the rock-tablets of Pterium she is represented, as in those of Assyria, standing erect on a lion,‖ and crowned with a tower, or mural coronet; which, we learn from Lucian, was peculiar to the Semitic figure of the goddess.¶

* The 43rd verse of the Epistle of Jeremy is a singular Confirmation of the existence of a practice which, notwithstanding the charges of credulity frequently brought against Herodotus for relating it, appears undoubtedly to have prevailed at Babylon. Similar practices amongst certain tribes still inhabiting the East is a further corroboration. We find that it also prevailed among several nations of Asia Minor of Semitic descent; for instance, the Lydians and Cappadocians, and the Armenians, who evidently owed its introduction to the Assyrians. (Herod. l. 93; Strabo, xi. 16, and xii. 36.)

† Jeremiah, vii. 18, xliv. 17, &c.

‡ Hesychius, voce Βήλτης; Megasthenes, apud Abydenum; Euseb. Præpar. Evang. ix. 41; Plut. in Vitâ Crassi. The Persian Mithra was also originally androgyne.

§ For the worship of Anaitis, or the Assyrian Venus, in Armenia, we have the authority of Strabo, Geog. l. xi.; Pliny, Hist. Nat. l. iv. c. 20; Dion Cassius, l. xxxvi. c. 32—36. A district of that country was called the Anaitic region.

‖ Texier, Description de l'Asie Mineure, vol. i. part i. plate 78.

¶ In the Syrian temple of Hierapolis she was represented standing on a lion, crowned with a tower, and having a cestus or zone round her waist. (De Dea Syria, 31, 32.) Mylitta (Astarta), with her feet on the lion, is also mentioned,

This may have been a modification of the high cap of the Assyrian bas-reliefs. To the Shemites she was known under the names of Astarte,* Ashtaroth, Mylitta, and Alitta, according to the various dialects of the nations amongst which her worship prevailed.

The goddess Rhea with her lions and serpents, as described by Diodorus, may perhaps be recognized both in the rock-sculptures of Malthaiyah, and in the bas-reliefs from Nimroud.† In these sculptures she is seen, like Astarte and other divinities, with a star upon her head.‡ This shows a connection with some system in which the heavenly bodies formed a principal feature; but the representation in a human form of the celestial bodies, themselves originally but a type, was a corruption which appears to have crept at a later period into the mythology of Assyria; for in the more ancient bas-reliefs, figures with

Macrob. Saturn. i. 23. May she be connected with the "El Maozem," the deity presiding over bulwarks and fortresses, the "god of forces," of Daniel, xi. 38.?

* It has been conjectured that this name was derived from the word "star" in the primitive Indo-European languages, from whence, it is well known, came the Persian female name Satara, the daughter of Darius, and that of the biblical Esther. David Kimchi, a Hebrew commentator, derives the name of Ashtaroth from a word signifying an egg, a curious coincidence with the tradition of Aphrodite and Semiramis. (Selden, De Dîs Syriis, c. 2) In a fragment of Sanchoniathon, Astarte, travelling about the habitable world, is said to have found a star falling through the air, which she took up, and consecrated in the holy island Tyre; hence the Phœnicians said that Astarte was Aphrodite. (Cory's Fragments.) According to a tradition resembling the Orphic legends, Aphrodite was born of an egg, which fell out of heaven into the Euphrates, and was incubated by two pigeons. (Hygin. fab. 197, Schol. ad Geron. 233) Also Ampelius (l. 2) says,—"Dicitur et in Euphrate fluvio ovum piscis in ora fluminis columbas assedisse dies plurimos, et exclusisse deam benignam et misericordiam hominibus ad bonam vitam:"—connecting the fables of Semiramis and Derceto.

† This divinity was probably the Ομορωκα or Ομορκα of Berosus (apud Alex. Polyhistor; Euseb. Chron. l. i. c. 11), the Thalath (Θάλατθ) of the Chaldees. She was particularly honored by the Trojans and Phrygians, who may have received her worship from the Assyrians. (Strabo, l. x.)

‡ This custom of placing the figure of a star upon the heads of idols is probably alluded to by the prophet. "The star of your god, which ye made to yourselves." (Amos, v. 26.)

caps surmounted by stars do not occur, and the sun, moon and planets stand alone.

On the earliest Assyrian monuments, one of the most prominent sacred types is the eagle-headed, or vulture-headed, human figure.* Not only is it found in colossal proportions on the walls, or guarding the portals of the chambers, but it is also constantly represented amongst the groups on the embroidered robes. When thus introduced, it is generally seen contending with other mythic animals, such as the human-headed lion or bull; and in these contests it appears to be always the conqueror. It may, hence, be inferred that it was a type of the supreme deity, or of one of his principal attributes.† A fragment of the Zoroastrian oracles preserved by Eusebius, declares that "God is he that has the *head of a hawk*. He is the first, indestructible, eternal, unbegotten, indivisible, dissimilar; the dispenser of all good; incorruptible; the best of the good, the wisest of the wise: he is the father of equity and justice, self-taught, physical and perfect, and wise, and the only inventor of the sacred philosophy."‡ This figure may also be identified with the god Nisroch,§ in whose temple Sennacherib was slain by his sons; for the word Nisr signifies, in all the Semitic languages, an eagle.‖ Sometimes the head of this bird is added to the body of a lion. Under this form of the Egyptian hieraco-sphinx it is the conqueror in combats with other symbolical figures, and is frequently represented as striking down a gazelle or wild goat. It also closely

* See woodcut facing page 71 Vol. I.

† Numerous instances will be found in my "Monuments of Nineveh." It is possible that these various forms represent different attributes of one and the same deity, and that the victory of the eagle-headed figure over the lion, or bull, may denote the superiority of intellect over mere physical strength.

‡ Eusebius, Præp. Evang. lib. i. c. 10; Cory's Fragments, page 239.

§ 2 Kings, xix. 37. Josephus (Antiq. Jud. l. x. c. 1) calls this image Arascus; Isaiah, Asarak; the Septuagint, Μεσοράχ.

‖ The form of this deity was conjectured to be that of an eagle, long before the discovery of the Assyrian sculpture. (And. Beyeri ad Joh. Seldeni de Dis Syris Syntag. addit. page 325.

resembles the gryphon of the Greek mythology, avowedly an eastern symbol, and connected with Apollo, or with the sun, of which the Assyrian form was probably an emblem. It may now be inferred, that the Greeks derived their mythical figure from the Assyrians.*

The winged human-headed lions and bulls, those magnificent forms which guarded the portals of the Assyrian temples, next deserve notice. Not only are they found as separate sculptures, but, like the eagle-headed figures, are constantly introduced into the groups embroidered on the robes. It is worthy of observation, that, whenever they are represented, either in contest with the man, or with the eagle-headed figure, they appear to be vanquished. Such is also the case on cylinders. Frequently a human figure is seen suspending them in the air by the hind legs, or striking them with a mace. I have already ventured to suggest the idea which these singular forms were intended to convey—the union of the greatest intellectual and physical powers; but certainly their position with reference to other symbolical figures, would point to an inferiority in the celestial hierarchy. Although the andro-sphinx of the Egyptians was the type of the monarch, we can scarcely believe it to have been so amongst the Assyrians; for in the sculptures we find even the eagle-headed figure, the vanquisher of the

* Apollo himself was called Gryphenias. I hesitate to attempt, at present, the identification, with the images of the Assyrian sculptures, of any other of the Assyrian deities mentioned in the Bible—such as Nebo and Merodach, who, from their frequent introduction into the names of monarchs, appear to hold a high rank in the Assyrian Pantheon, or to be different appellations of the supreme deity; Sesach or Saph, whose festival was celebrated at Babylon by a kind of Saturnalia, in which the order of society, as at Rome, was for a period reversed; Succoth Benoth, sometimes identified with Astarte or Mylitta; Nergal, conjectured, according to the presumed Semitic or Indo-European origin of the name, to have reference to a fire worship, or to that of the sun under the form of a cock; and Adramelech and Anamalech, gods apparently of Assyrian origin. Of Khiun, I have already spoken. Remphan does not occur in the Assyrian sculptures in his Egyptian form, unless the Priapean figure on the vase discovered at Nimroud (Vol. I. p. 119) has reference to his worship. As to all the Assyrian and Syrian deities, see Selden, de Syriis.

human-headed lion and bull, ministering to the king. Whether the sphinx originated with the Assyrians, or the Egyptians, may now become a question of some interest. It may not, perhaps, be out of place to remark that it was first introduced into Egypt in the time of the eighteenth dynasty; when so many Assyrian peculiarities suddenly appear on Egyptian monuments, that we are involuntarily led to infer some close and intimate connection between the two countries.* The sphinx, as an architectural ornament, occupies nearly the same position in the edifices of Assyria and Egypt, being placed at the entrances to temples and palaces.

The winged bull with the human head is evidently a pure Assyrian type. Its position in the religious system seems to be identical with that of the andro-sphinx; and in the mythic groups, as well as in architecture, they both occupy the same place. Power was probably typified indiscriminately by the body of the lion and the bull.

Various other emblematical forms and types are found in the Assyrian sculptures—such as the winged horse, so closely resembling the Pegasus of the Greeks, that we can scarcely doubt the identity†—the wild goat, the ostrich, the dragon with the eagle's head, and the human figure with the head of a lion.

To all these images some mythic meaning was undoubtedly attached.‡ They were emblematical, representing either the

* Mr. Birch (on the Nimroud Ivories) mentions that Thothmes III. is represented as a winged sphinx on a scarabæus in the British Museum; and it would appear that this is the first appearance of the sphinx as an Egyptian type. He also alludes to a painting of the Queen Mu-t-shem-t of the twentieth dynasty as a winged sphinx.

† Note, in connection with this winged horse, the Assyrian origin of Perseus, see p. 336.

‡ The Iynges, or sacred birds, belonged to the Babylonian, and probably to the Assyrian religion. They were a kind of demons, who exercised a peculiar influence over mankind, resembling the ferouher of the Zoroastrian system. (Ignasius, de Insomn. p. 134. ed. Patav. Schol. Niceph.) The oracles attributed to Zoroaster describe them as powers animated by God.

Νοούμεναι ἴυγγες πατρόθεν νοέουσι καὶ αὐταί·
Βουλαῖς ἀφθέγκτοισι κινούμεναι ὥστε νοῆσαι.

attributes of the Deity, or certain physical phenomena in nature. But I cannot venture, at present, to conjecture the signification of any of them; nor am I able to determine the character of the winged human figures which so frequently occur on the walls of Assyrian buildings. They may be the representations of presiding deities, or genii; or of priests who, during the celebration of sacred ceremonies, assumed that which was believed to be the outward form of the divinities. In two instances they were portrayed as females. Sometimes they bear animals or plants, either for sacrifice or as types. As they are frequently seen in an act of adoration before the king (whom they generally accompany), or before the mystic tree, their divine character may be questioned. They may perhaps be identified with the good spirits, or Amshaspands, of the later Persian theology.

The resemblance between the symbolical figures I have described, and those seen by Ezekiel in his vision, can scarcely fail to strike the reader. As the prophet had beheld the Assyrian palaces, with their mysterious images and gorgeous decorations, it is highly probable that, when seeking to typify certain divine attributes, and to describe the divine glory, he chose forms that were not only familiar to him, but to the people whom he addressed—captives like himself in the land of Assyria. Those who were uncorrupted by even the outward forms of idolatry, sought for images to convey the idea of the Supreme God. Ezekiel saw in his vision the likeness of four

(The intelligible Iynges themselves understand from the Father;
By ineffable counsels being moved so as to understand.)

(Zoroaster, Oracul. Magn. ad Calcem Oracul. Sybill. Ed. Gall. p. 80, and Cory's Fragments, p. 250.) Their images made of gold were in the palace of the king of Babylon, according to Philostratus. (Lib. i. c. 25, and lib. vi. c. 2.) They were connected with magic. (Selden, de Dis Syriis, p. 39.) It is possible that the bird borne by warriors in a bas-relief from the ruins of the centre palace, may represent the Iynges. This figure may, however, resemble the golden eagle carried before the Persian monarchs. (Xenophon, Cyrop. l. vii., Anab. l. ix.; Quintus Curtius, l iii. c. 3.)

living creatures, which had four faces, four wings, and the hands of a man under their wings on their four sides. Their faces were those of a man, a lion, an ox, and an eagle. By them was a wheel, the appearance of which "was as it were a wheel in the middle of a wheel."* It will be observed that the four forms chosen by Ezekiel to illustrate his description—the man, the lion, the bull, and the eagle,—are precisely those which are constantly found on Assyrian monuments as religious types. The "wheel within wheel," mentioned in connection with the emblematical figures, may refer to the winged circle, or wheel, representing at Nimroud the supreme deity.† These coincidences are too marked not to deserve notice; and do certainly lead to the inference, that the symbols chosen by the prophet were derived from the Assyrian sculptures.‡

The symbolical figures of the Assyrians, as we might expect from the evident identity of the two nations, were placed, at a very early period, in the sacred edifices of the Babylonians. In the temple of Belus, according to Berosus,§ there were sculptured representations of men with two wings, and others with four, some having two faces, others the legs and horns of goats, or the hoofs of horses; there were bulls also with the heads of men, and horses with the heads of dogs.‖

I must not omit to allude to the tradition preserved by Berosus, which appears to attribute to a foreign nation, arriving by sea, the introduction, at some remote period, of civilization and certain arts into Babylonia. According to the historian, there appeared out of the Erythræan, or Persian, Gulf, an animal endowed with reason called Oannes. Its body was like

* Ezekiel, i. 16. † See woodcuts, page 340.

‡ The lion with the wings of an eagle is also introduced as a type of strength and power by the prophets, who were intimate with the contents of the Assyrian and Babylonian temples. Compare Daniel, vii. 4.

§ Apud. Euseb. ed. Aucher, vol. i. p. 23.

‖ "Behold every form of creeping things, and abominable beasts, and all the idols of the house of Israel, portrayed upon the walls round about." (Ezekiel, viii. 10.)

that of a fish; but under the head of the fish was that of a man, and added to its tail were women's feet. Its voice, too, was human, and it spoke an articulate language. During the day it instructed the Chaldæans in letters and in all arts and sciences, teaching them to build temples; but at night it plunged again into the sea. Five such monsters appeared at different epochs in Babylonia, and were called "Annedoti."* The first was named the Musarus Oannes, and the last Odacon. Their images, he adds, were preserved in Chaldæa even to his day.†

In a bas-relief from Khorsabad representing a naval engagement, or the siege of a city on the sea-coast, we have the god nearly as described by Berosus. To the body of a man as far as the waist, is joined the tail of a fish. The three-horned cap, surmounted by the flower in the form of a fleur-de-lis, as worn by the winged figures of the bas-reliefs, marks the sacred character. The right hand is raised as in the representations of the winged deity in the circle. This figure is in the sea amongst fish and marine animals.‡

On Assyrian cylinders and gems, the same symbolical

* *i. e.* "coming out of," or "proceeding from."

† This fragment of Berosus is preserved by Apollodorus. (See Cory's Fragments, p. 30.) Such may have been the dragon of the Apocryphal book of Bel and the Dragon.

‡ This fish-worship extended to Syria, and appears to have been more prevalent in that country than in Assyria. The Dagon of the Philistines of Ashdod, evidently resembled the figure on the Assyrian sculptures and cylinders. When it fell before the ark, "the head and both the palms of his hands were cut off upon the threshold; only the fish part of Dagon was left to him." (1 Samuel, v. 4. See the marginal reading, which is to be preferred to our version.) The same idol is mentioned in Judges, xvi. The meaning of the word in Hebrew is "a fish." Although this image, like that of the Assyrians, appears to have been originally male, at a later period, it became female in Syria, as we learn from Lucian (de Deâ Syriâ), and Diodorus Siculus, who describes the idol at Ascalon with the face of a woman and body of a fish. (Lib. ii.) An ichthyolatry, connected with Derceto or Atergates, was perhaps confounded with the worship of Dagon. See the authorities on the subject collected in Selden, de Dîs Syriis, c. 3, de Dagone.

figure is very frequently found, even more closely resembling in form the description of Berosus.*

It may be inferred that the worship of fire, a corruption of Sabæanism, originated, or generally prevailed in Assyria, about the time of the building of the Khorsabad and Kouyunjik edifices. There are no traces of it on earlier known monuments. From the forms of the altars in the sculptures, and from the symbols accompanying them, we may conjecture that the Persians adopted, not only their system, but their ceremonies, almost entirely from the Assyrians.† The fire-altar represented on Persian coins, even as late as the time of the Sassanian dynasty, was found in a bas-relief at Khorsabad.

In a sculpture from the same ruins two eunuchs are seen standing before an altar, performing some religious ceremony. They bear the square basket, or utensil, carried by the winged figures of the older bas-reliefs.

That the cone on the high stand, or altar, represents fire, appears to be shown by its having been painted red.

From the ruins of Kouyunjik we have a still more curious representation of similar ceremonies. Two eunuchs are standing before an altar upon which is the sacred fire. Two serpents appear to be attached to poles, and a bearded figure is leading a wild goat to the sacrifice.‡

On cylinders, evidently of the same period, the emblems and ceremonies of the Assyrian fire-worship so closely resemble those of the Persians, that, until the discovery of the Kouyunjik sculptures, I was inclined to attribute these relics to a time long posterior to the fall of the Assyrian empire.

Amongst the ruins of Khorsabad were discovered two cir-

* Numerous instances are given in Lajard's large work on the Worship of Venus.

† This identity between the religious systems of the Assyrians and Persians, affords as good an argument in favor of the Assyrian, as the Persian, origin of several of the nations of Asia Minor, the Cappadocians, for instance

‡ On a very ancient bas-relief accompanied by a cuneiform inscription discovered by me in Susiana, a similar figure is seen leading a wild goat to an altar.

cular altars, which are so much like the Greek tripod, that they may be cited as an additional proof of the Assyrian origin of many forms and religious types, afterwards prevalent in Asia Minor and Greece. The altar is supported by three lion's paws. Round the upper part is an inscription, in cuneiform characters, containing the name of the Khorsabad king.*

The presence of eunuchs at religious ceremonies, not only as assistants, but apparently as principal actors, is worthy of observation. In the symbolical groups embroidered on robes, the eunuch is even frequently seen invested with outward attributes of a sacred character. It is possible that youths are meant; or that the priests, forming an exception to the general rule, shaved their beards. However, as far as I can judge, the Assyrians never portrayed a male figure without a beard; and the attendants, or priests, at the fire-altars cannot be distinguished, either by their features or their dress, from the eunuchs of the bas-reliefs. That the Babylonians had an order of priesthood, not only resembling the Magi of the Persians, but even bearing the same name, we learn from the title of one of the principal officers of Nebuchadnezzar, the king of Babylon.† He was the Rab Mag, or chief of the magians; another proof of the Assyrian origin of the Persian system.

The sacred emblems carried by the priests, are principally the fruit, or cone, of the pine, various flowers with three or five blossoms, and the square utensil; which, as I have already remarked, appears to have been of embossed or engraved metal, or of metal carved to represent wicker-work, or sometimes actually of wicker-work. M. Lajard, in an elaborate essay, has shown the connection between the cone of the cypress, and the worship of Venus in the religious systems of the East;‡ but I hesitate to identify the object held by the winged figures of the Assyrian monuments, with the fruit of that tree, or to assign any emblematical meaning to its shape. It has been suggested that, from its inflammable na-

* One of these altars is now in the Louvre.

† Jeremiah, xxxix. 3.

‡ Nouvelles Annales de l'Institut Archéologique, vol. xix.

ture, the fir-cone being an apt emblem of fire, wh lst the square vessel held the holy water, the two were introduced into sculptures as typical of the sacred elements. However this may be, it is evident from their constant occurrence on Assyrian monuments, that they were very important objects in religious ceremonies.* Any attempt to explain their use, or their typical meaning, can, at present, be little better than an ingenious speculation.

The flowers on the earlier monuments are either circular with five or more petals, or resemble the Greek honey-suckle.† From the constant introduction of the tree ornamented with them, into groups representing the performance of religious ceremonies, there cannot be a doubt that they were symbolical and were invested with a sacred character. The sacred tree, or tree of life, so universally recognized in Eastern systems of theology, is called to mind, and we are naturally led to refer the traditions connected with it to a common origin.‡ On the later Assyrian monuments, as it has already been observed, the lotus frequently takes the place of the honey-suckle, both as a sacred emblem carried by the winged figures, and as an ornament in architecture and in embroideries. I have attributed this change to a close connection with Egypt.

When the king is represented in the sculptures as engaged

* It will be remembered that Bacchus brought his thyrsus, surmounted by the pine or fir-cone, from the East, when he returned from his Indian expedition. The fan, too, as frequently seen in the Assyrian sculptures, was introduced in the ceremonies connected with his worship, and became a sacred emblem. I am inclined to assign an Assyrian origin to both.

† See woodcuts, page 231.

‡ We have the tree of life of Genesis, and the sacred tree of the Hindhus, with its accompanying figures—a group almost identical with the illustrations of the fall in our old Bibles. The Zoroastrian Homa, or sacred tree, was preserved by the Persians, almost as represented on the Assyrian monuments, until the Arab invasion. M. Lajard (Recherches sur la Culte du Cyprès, in the Nouvelles Annales de l'Institut Archéologique, vol. xix.) has collected all the authorities on the probable connection of this object with the worship of Venus, and of its introduction from Assyria into Asia Minor, Persia, and central Asia, on one side, and into Arabia on the other.

in the performance of some religious ceremony before the sacred tree, or beneath the image of the deity, he appears to be peculiarly attired. His waist is encircled by a kind of knotted zone, the ends of which fall down almost to his feet. Such was probably the girdle with which the Persian disciples of Zoroaster were invested on their initiation. He holds in one hand a mace, formed by a handle terminating in a globe or disk. A similar object is frequently carried by winged figures. It is sometimes replaced by a kind of bident, which appears to be connected by a wavy line with the figure of the divinity above.* Suspended round the king's neck are the sacred emblems, the sun, moon, star, horned cap, and trident.

The intimate connection between the public and private life of the Assyrians and their religion, is abundantly proved by the sculptures described in the previous pages. As amongst most ancient Eastern nations, not only all public and social duties, but even the commonest forms and customs, appear to have been more or less influenced by religion, or to have been looked upon as typical. The residence of the king, as I have observed, was probably at the same time the temple,† and that he himself was either supposed to be invested with divine attributes, or was looked upon as a type of the Supreme Deity, is shown by the sculptures. The winged figures, even that with the head of the eagle, minister to him. All his acts, whether in war or peace, appear to have been connected with the national religion, and were believed to be under the special protection and superintendence of the deity. When he is represented in battle, the winged figure in the circle hovers

* Representations of these objects will be found in my "Monuments of Nineveh."

† The scholiast on the Periegesis of Dionysius, already quoted (note, p. 208), observes, with reference to the dedication of a great house to Belus by Semiramis, "She dedicated upon the Acropolis a *great house* to Belus, that is to the king (for this Belus is Jupiter or the son of Jupiter, the king according to the Jews); instead of saying she dedicated or founded a great temple, and beautified and decorated it with gold and silver and ivory; for the expression placed and prepared a palace is convenable to a king."

above his head, bends the bow against his enemies, or assumes his attitude of triumph. His contests with the lion and other formidable animals, not only show his prowess and skill, but typify, at the same time, his superior strength and wisdom. Whether he has overcome his enemies or the wild beasts, he pours out a libation from the sacred cup, attended by his courtiers, and by the winged figures. The embroideries upon his robes, and upon those of his attendants, have all mythic meanings. Even his weapons, bracelets, and armlets, are adorned with the forms of sacred animals, the lion, bull, or duck. In architectural decorations, the same religious influence is evident. The fir or pine cone, and the honey-suckle, are constantly repeated. They form friezes, the capitals of columns, and the fringes of hangings.* Chairs, tables, and couches, are adorned with the heads and feet of the bull, the lion, and the ram, all sacred animals.† Even on chariots and on the trappings of horses, the Assyrians introduced their religious emblems. This singular connection between religion, and the duties and events of life, whether public or private, so remarkably illustrated by the monuments of the Assyrians and Egyptians, and by the Jewish law, is well worthy of philosophical inquiry. But the subject does not enter into the scope of these volumes.

It only remains for me to say a few words on the mode of

* Note the Ionic form of the capital of the Assyrian pillars already alluded to (p. 216), and the sacred character of the Greek Ionic column, which was exclusively used for funereal purposes. A column of this order stands alone in the centre of the pediment of a tomb at Telmissus.

† The bull has always held a prominent place in the religious systems of Asia. The sacred bull of the Assyrians, the Apis of the Egyptians, and the bull Nandi of the Hindhus, are evidently identical types The golden calf of the Israelites will not be forgotten, and for the use of the figure of the bull as a sacred ornament by the Jews, the brazen sea in the temple of Solomon may be cited. (1 Kings, vii. 25· 2 Chron. iv. 4, 5; and Jeremiah, lii. 20.) That in Assyria Baal, or the Supreme Deity, was worshipped under the form of a bull or heifer may be inferred from Tobit, i. 5. "Now all the tribes which together revolted, and the house of my father Naphthali, sacrificed unto the heifer Baal;" but the reading is doubtful.

burial of the Assyrians. As I have already observed, no tombs which can with certainty be attributed to that people, have yet been discovered. We may conjecture, as the analogies between the two nations are in other respects so evident, that the Persians imitated the Assyrians, in their funereal ceremonies. The body may have been inclosed in a coffin filled with honey, wax, or oi ; and this may also be inferred from the anecdote related by Ælian as to the body of Belus.* Traditions have been preserved relating to the tombs of the two most celebrated Assyrian kings—Ninus and Sardanapalus; but they are so confused and vague, that even the precise place of sepulture of those monarchs cannot be determined. According to some the tomb of Ninus was at Babylon, where, it will be remembered, Ovid places the "Busta Nini;" according to others, at Nineveh. Ctesias relates that when her husband died, Semiramis buried his body in the palace, and raised over it a huge tumulus or pyramid of earth, which was visible from afar, and was still standing after the destruction of the city and the fall of the empire.† From the ambiguous expression of the Greek author it might be inferred, that the palace itself was actually buried. The extraordinary preservation of the sculptures at Nimroud, and the existence of the pyramid, almost induced me at one time to believe that the building had been purposely covered up; and that the part of the mound inclosing the northwest edifice was actually the monument described by Ctesias. Nor can this conjecture be rejected on account of its mere absurdity, when we remember the extraordinary works of those ancient nations, which more

* See note, p. 175. Rich discovered a skeleton in a square wooden box or coffin amongst the ruins of Babylon. Under the head was a round pebble, on the outside of the coffin a brass bird, and in the inside an ornament of the same material, which had probably been suspended to some part of the corpse. But from the position of the coffin, it is doubtful whether it was of the pure Babylonian epoch.

† Diod. Sic. l. ii. Although Ctesias, as usual, has placed Nineveh on the Euphrates, the destruction of the city by the Medes identifies it with the city on the Tigris, and, at the same time, may connect the tumulus he describes with the Nimroud mound.

or less resembled the Assyrians in their customs, and in their political condition. An ancient tradition declares that Ninus neither died, nor was buried, in Assyria; but that, having been dethroned by Semiramis, he fled into Crete.* Semiramis herself is said by some to have been changed into a dove, and to have been honored with an apotheosis; whilst according to others she burnt herself at Babylon, on account of the death of a favorite horse,† an inscription recording her conquest and great works being placed over her tomb.‡

The same doubt exists as to the burial-place of Sardanapalus. Some have placed his tomb at Anchiale, in Cilicia, where it was said to have been seen by Alexander; others at Tarsus; others, again, at Nineveh. According to Amynthus,§ at the gate of the Assyrian capital was a high artificial terrace, or tumulus, which was the tomb of the monarch, and bore an inscription to that effect, in Chaldæan letters. During the siege of Nineveh engines of war, brought against the besieged, were placed upon it. But if this were the tomb of the Sardanapalus of history, who burnt himself, with his wealth and concubines, and after whose death the Assyrian dynasty and capital were totally destroyed, it may be asked how it could have been thus raised in the most conspicuous part of the city? It is most probable that the high terrace described by Amynthus was the pyramid or mound of Nimroud, and the tomb of a much earlier monarch. The epitaph inscribed upon the tomb of Sardanapalus—"Sardanapalus, the son of Anacyndaraxos, built Anchiale and Tarsus in one day: eat, drink,

* Moses Chor. c. xiv. Quippe vir ejus (Semiramis) Ninus, non ut fertur, mortuus in Nineves regiâ ab ea sepultus erat, sed ubi impudicitiam ejus ac mores flagitiosos perspecit, relicto regno, in Cretam confugit.

† Pliny Hist. Nat. l. viii. c. 42. "Semiramisin Babylonia equo amisso in pyram se conjecit." Mr. Birch suggests to me that the true reading may be, "regno amisso."

‡ Pollyænus (viii. c. 25) gives the inscription, which, however, may be looked upon as fabulous.

§ Σαθμοι. l. 3

and lust; the rest is nothing"—has been quoted for ages, and its authenticity is generally admitted. Yet some versions of the same inscription would give a more favorable view of the character of the monarch; although the sentiment, according to those who pretend to have seen the monument, was sufficiently illustrated by a statue, representing the king snapping his fingers in contempt, or in the attitude of a dancer.*

The manner of the death of Sardanapalus is no less doubtful than the site of his tomb. The Assyrian king, upon the funeral pile, surrounded by his wives, his concubines, and his treasures of gold and silver, gazing from the flaming heap on the great city, once impregnable, and now to become the prey of the conquering Mede, has long been a favorite theme of the poet, the historian, and the moralist. Some, however, pretend that the monarch, driven from his throne, and the victim of

* Various versions of this celebrated epitaph have been handed down to us. Athenæus gives three (lib. viii.); one by the poet Cherillus, in seven hexameter verses, from the works of Chrysippus; a second, by the poet Phœnix, of Colophon, containing fourteen verses, with a preamble of eleven; and a third from Amynthus, all in the same sense. Note that Sardanapalus is called Ninus in one of these versions. According to Clearchus, a disciple of Aristotle, the epitaph was merely "Sardanapalus, the son of Anacyndaraxos, built the cities of Tarsus and Anchiale in one day. He is now dead." Thus inferring the vanity of human power and greatness. The concluding words in the text, which convey the condemnatory sentiment, were added. (Essai sur l'Histoire, &c., des Assyriens de Ninive, by Freret, in the Memoires of the Académie Royale des Inscriptions, &c., from 1718 to 1725.) With regard to the form of the tomb itself, as represented on the imperial coins of Anchiale, it may be presumed that it is merely conjectural, or that it was derived from an ancient monument restored at a later period. Still there is something Assyrian both in the design and in the figures placed upon it. It consisted of a kind of pyramid, surmounted by an eagle, having in front an Assyrian god, holding a cone, and trampling on a sphinx. Two winged figures stood on the wall, or peribole, surrounding the pyramid. A massive ruin of stone and brick-work—consisting of a square base, surrounded by a wall of great thickness—in the midst of the modern town of Tarsus, has been by some identified with the tomb of Sardanapalus. This ruin was opened in one or two places some years ago by the French consul, but without results of any interest. The whole appears to be a solid mass of masonry, and was probably only the lower part of a monument, perhaps originally cased with marble.

luxury and debauch, wandered into a distant part of his former dominions, and died of premature old age.* Others, again, as it has been seen, place his tomb at Anchiale, with an inscription only becoming one who had died a monarch. Modern critics, at a loss to reconcile these anomalies regarding Ninus, Semiramis, and Sardanapalus, have been compelled to assume that there were two or more monarchs of each name; whose deeds and the period of whose existence have been confounded by ancient historians.†

But if an impenetrable mystery surrounds the lives of

* Athenæus, lib. xii. And yet he gives, at the same time, a full account of his death on the funeral pile, which was burning for fifteen days—every one, excepting a eunuch who was within the palace, believing that the king was offering up a great sacrifice.

† "Sardanapalus" may have been a title; or sardan, a title or name, and pul, great; as frequently conjectured. Atossa bore the name of Semiramis (Euseb. Chron.), and many of her works were attributed to the earlier queen. The arguments of Bryant (Mythology, vol. ii. p. 100) to prove that the name of Semiramis attached to a tribe or nation, typified, according to a very common Eastern custom, by an individual, are ingenious. A Semiramis of history was invested with a semi-sacred character. She was the daughter of a Syrian goddess, half fish, and a young man of the country. Being exposed at her birth, she was brought up by birds, and was ultimately transformed into a dove. From her mother, the Syrians worshipped the fish, and from her own apotheosis the dove became a sacred symbol amongst the Assyrians; whilst her name was supposed to denote that bird. Fabulous and legendary as these accounts are, they appear to have had an origin in Assyrian rites only understood by the initiated, and whose mythic meaning had perished altogether before they were described. The dove appears to have been an Assyrian emblem. Yet we have no representation of it in the sculptures, unless it be the bird carried by the warriors, which I have been inclined to identify with the Iynges. (Note, p. 350.) Mr. Birch has pointed out in his Memoir on the Nimroud Cartouches (p. 160), the coincidence of the name of the first husband of Semiramis, Onnes, with that of the Chaldæan sea god, Oannes. The legendary accounts of the queen go far to connect her with Astarte and Venus. A scholiast, on the Periegesis of Dionysius, makes her the same as the goddess Artemis or Dispoina. Note also the Assyrian and Syrian origin of Adonis, and the legends connected with him. The authorities on the worship of Astarte and Derceto are collected by Selden (de Dîs Syriis, c. 3). With regard to the historical Semiramis, the confusion as to the time of her existence, her deeds, and her connection with Ninus, is equally inexplicable. She is declared to be the wife, daughter, and even the mother, or step-mother, of that monarch. (Cramer, Anecdota Græca, vol. ii p. 170.)

kings who were connected with the greatest revolutions and political changes in Asia, how can we hope to determine the precise mode and place of their burial? If this obscurity hangs over the deeds of the three greatest characters in Assyrian history, how fruitless would be an endeavor to frame a narrative of any minor events, from the materials hitherto accessible! Although the ancients were unable to discover the records of more than thirty generations of kings, we cannot concur in their sweeping assertion that the lives of those monarchs were passed in inglorious sloth, and that their reigns were unmarked by a single achievement worthy of notice. These writers contradict themselves when they speak of the Assyrian power extending from India to the Hellespont, and the name of Assyria applying to a region stretching from the confines of Pontus to the borders of Egypt. History may have failed to chronicle the deeds of a nation which could maintain its sway over the largest portion of the then civilized world, and traditions, in which their remembrance was preserved, may have perished before history was ready to receive them; but the records of the people themselves have remained, and are now before us. From them we may hope to fill up a part of a great blank in the history of the world. The attempt to do so cannot be altogether uninteresting or unimportant. It is of Assyria we treat,—a name familiar to us as the seat of the earliest settlements of the human race, and as the birthplace of the first patriarchs. How far the civilization and worship of its inhabitants may have affected a religious system, which still maintains an influence over nearly one half of the human race, we are not yet, probably, fully aware; nor could I, at present, venture to inquire. A more palpable influence exercised over Asia Minor, and even Greece, has been casually, though imperfectly, pointed out in these volumes.* I might further enlarge on the diffusion of the arts and religion of the

* "In the time of the twelve patriarchs was Hesiod, who translated Assyrian writings into Greek." (Anecd. Græca, Tramer, vol. ii. p. 389.)

Assyrians, either directly or through their allies, over the distant regions of Egypt and Libya. Engaging theories, not devoid of plausibility, might be advanced, and at any rate an extended and impartial inquiry might convince us that the influence of Assyria was more extensive than a mere superficial examination might lead us to suspect. But such subjects are at present out of my province. I shall be well satisfied, and my literary labors, as well as those of a more active nature, will be amply rewarded, if I have succeeded in an attempt to add a page to the history of mankind, by restoring a part of the lost annals of Assyria.

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